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# INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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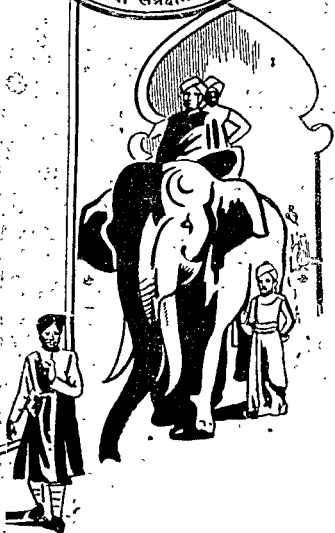
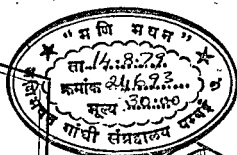
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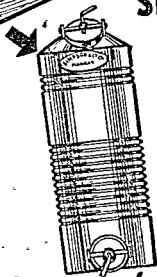
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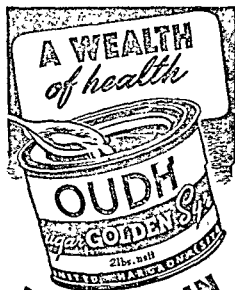
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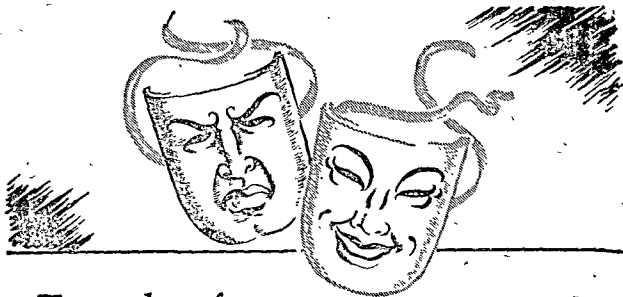
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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[No. 1.]

## TRANSPORT IN WAR TIME

BY THE HON. SIR EDWARD BENTHALL

— . 0 : —

TRANSPORT in war time, as most other things in war time, is a headache both to those who are in charge of it and to those who use it. War not only brings its problems of moving large quantities of military stores and personnel, in addition to the products of industry and agriculture which are geared up to the maximum output, but also a vast number of extra passengers who for one reason or another are spurred to travel in war time. Since the early months of 1942, 20 million more passengers a month are travelling or over 650,000 every day. It is difficult to think that all these are travelling purely on war work. The increase on pre-war travel has not been in the same proportion everywhere, in the Punjab it has been 100 per cent. whereas the inward traffic at Howrah (Calcutta) has curiously enough, in spite of its proximity to the war, only been 40 per cent. Military movement in terms of special trains has increased 27 times since the start of the war and the trend is still upwards.

But an even more exacting problem is to carry all the goods offering. Military

stores of awkward shapes and sizes are crowding the ports and these have to be cleared instantly. We cannot afford to have any congestion in the ports and, if necessary, wagons have to be routed empty to the ports to clear them when they might be more economically used in moving other traffic. Similarly the large programmes of food movements under the Food Department's basic plans have to be carried out punctually and without fail. (Incidentally the absence of criticism of food movements in the recent debates in the Central Legislature is in itself a tacit tribute to the rail distribution system). Coal too is of vital importance and entails a frequent lock-up of wagons in the main coalfield areas of Bengal and Bihar because we cannot afford when coal raisings drop temporarily, to let the wagons dissipate to distant corners of India to move cotton or groundnuts or any other products since it may take weeks to get them back when coal production bounds up suddenly. The control of wagons is therefore a constantly changing puzzle of indefinite fluidity, and necessitates a day and night watch of

the position by the controlling authorities throughout India to ensure that wagons are in the right place at the right time.

No wonder, then, that travel today is not exactly a pleasure, that trains sometimes run late and that fewer run than we could wish. Late running under war conditions happens in every country—England and America are no exceptions—and in India recently we have on some lines been badly handicapped by the bad quality of the coal supplied. A fireman cannot keep steam on coal which contains a large proportion of stone or shale, slack coal or dust and an engine breakdown for this reason may not only delay a mail train but a number of other trains as well. Not infrequently too the ordinary services have to be held up to allow priority of passage to a military special taking troops or stores to the front or a food special carrying foodgrains urgently to a deficit district.

Think therefore of the trials and tribulations of the hard-pressed railwayman who cannot as in pre-war days just be content to see the 9-15 train come in at 9-15 and depart at 9-20 and know that, if that is done, his immediate troubles are over. While the controller is dealing with the hurrying through of the abnormal traffic, the station staff have to struggle with abnormal hoards of passengers and abnormal quantities of parcels. Verily, like Gilbert and Sullivan's policeman, the railwayman's lot is not a happy one. It is remarkable, said General Russell, Deputy Quarter-master General, recently, how patient most railwaymen are.

Unfortunately for the comfort of the public, Government were forced into the decision, that the movement in war time of troops, military stores, foodgrains, coal and other priority commodities had to take precedence of the movement of passengers so that when we decided in 1942 to begin ordering more engines and rolling stock, the orders were for goods engines and goods wagons rather than passenger engines and coaches. As a result, the Indian railways in a year's time, when the bulk of the orders have been delivered, ought to be in very good position to move all the goods traffic necessary but the passengers will, I am afraid, not by then be any better off. The increase of passenger accommodation must be our next consideration and the necessary steps are under active consideration.

One way out of the difficulty would seem to be to restrict passenger traffic to those who must travel. But which Daniel will come to judgment to decide whether priority should be given to a military officer going on leave after arduous service, a business-man attending an important conference, or a father rushing to the bedside of his ailing daughter? Even if there were enough Daniels among us, there would not be the machinery or the time to give effect to their decisions.

A priority system *is* there, however. It takes the form of the Railway Priority Organisation, which has three main functions. The most important of these is expeditious movement, in the order of their importance, of commodities essential to the war effort and civil needs; the second is the elimination, as far as possible, of movements involving



wasteful transport; and the third function is the co-ordination of rail traffic with other forms of transport. Railways have been divided into convenient groups, each under a Regional Controller with authority to regulate movements within and into his region. These Controllers are assisted in their work by priority panels consisting of the local representatives of the Central Government and those of the Provincial Governments. A uniform skeleton priority list embodying the main items for which priority is given has been adopted and all Regional Controllers have prepared priority lists for railways in their areas fitting into the skeleton headings particular commodities requiring special treatment owing to regional needs. Advance programming of the principal commodities by other Departments of Government in consultation with the priorities organisation at the Centre does a great deal to eliminate cross movements, but where necessary a ban is placed on the movement of particular commodities from one area to another. Considerable progress has been made in diverting traffic from railways to coastal craft, both steamers and country boats. In some areas traffic by rail between certain points is prohibited and is forced to use the sea route in order to relieve the strain on rail transport. Wherever there are suitable roads and transport facilities, traffic is also diverted to them.

Indian Railways are now required to carry very large loads of troops and military

stores. A big problem in regard to military traffic is the enormous distances; stores for the troops on the north-eastern front travel 800 miles on an average and some even have to make the journey from Karachi to Ledo, a distance of 2,760 miles. In making these arrangements, there are many difficulties, and owing to unforeseeable changes in the progress of battles, arrangements have to be made or modified at very short notice. Twenty trains are required to move the personnel of one division and a further 48 trains to move its vehicles, guns and stores.

We see thus that military demands on coaching and goods stock are heavy and it is no secret that these demands will, in the months to come, increase rather than decrease. Civilian goods traffic too is going to increase. To meet all this, lines on many of the key sections have been doubled and quadrupled, loops and sidings have been added and many other works undertaken, and improved and more effective methods introduced. With a reduced supervisory staff owing to the loan of many capable officers for key positions in the services, with far more traffic, much more difficult working conditions and the constant need to try and push traffic through against time, the Railways have a tougher job ahead of them than ever. The overall picture so far as the civilian passenger is concerned is not particularly bright; but at no time have the Railways been more deserving of his patience and forbearance than now.

# WHAT INDIA MAY LEARN FROM RUSSIA

BY DR. SIR JNAN CHANDRA GHOSH

(Director, Indian Institute of Science).

RUSSIA has shown successfully that such long years of slow progress may be jumped, and a forced march in economic development is possible by deliberate national planning. In 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power, Russia was only on the threshold of industrial development and no better than India at that time. The Bolshevik leaders recognised that political revolution was no end in itself. It must be followed by technological revolution which must at least bring up every Russian citizen on a level with his fellows in Western Europe as regards standard of living, efficiency of production and facilities for self-improvement. A convenient criterion for such improvement in the condition of the people is the growth of per capita income. It should be remembered however that increase in total national income does not necessarily mean improvement in the standard of living.

A prudent nation should try, in the early years of economic uplift, to save and invest as much of her national income in productive enterprises, as is consistent with the maintenance of certain standards of nutrition, health, and educational facilities. In the early years of her planned economy, Russia was investing about 30 per cent. of her national income in productive enterprises. Accelerated industrial progress according to planned economy is not possible in the initial stages without some tears, without some tightening of belt specially for those whose waist line shows sign of expansions, and without a ruthless

cutting down of all superfluities and luxuries; under war-condition the well-to-do people in all belligerent countries are also feeling what this means;—no petrol, no motor-cars, no travelling which is not essential, no new furniture, no new housing, no silk garments, also no food, no clothing and no soap beyond that provided by rations. If planned economy in peace time were to succeed, such controls must be rigidly maintained at the initial stages; and the savings in national income compulsorily effected by such control have to be invested in machinery and productive enterprises.

In Russia, where this system of planned economy was evolved two decades ago, the first condition imposed was that every able-bodied adult, unless old or infirm, must do some useful work; otherwise he will have to face starvation. Nothing less than 100 per cent. employment was guaranteed and demanded. Consistent with full employment, with certain standards of nutrition, health and educational services, savings were effected continuously from national income; these were utilised to build up machines, and industrial plants, develop power resources, mines, forests and agricultural lands, and improve railway, road-motor, and shipping transports in such a manner that maximum production of goods and services was achieved. The Russians had many advantages. The workers, men and women, had a fanatical faith in technological revolution; and they toiled and slaved with a single-minded devotion to make the revolution a success.

Thus we find that a coal-miner like Stakhanov who by ingenious devices improved the output of coal per worker about seven times, was acclaimed as a national hero, and his exploits were given a full front-page publicity in Russian newspapers, while the abdication of King Edward VIII received passing mention.

Secondly, Russia had almost inexhaustible resources in power, fuel, mines, forests and agricultural lands, which make possible a self-sufficient economy. To develop these resources, the Russian planners utilised 30 per cent. of the national income which was effected by compulsory savings. If we assume that the annual output of goods and services is about half the capital investments, we can easily calculate how the national income will increase in twelve years. It will be at the end of twelve years five times the income at the beginning of this period. Credit goes to the Russian planners for demonstrating that such wonderful progress is not the dream of a scientist's imagination but is capable of actual realisation. Between 1928 and 1940, the National income of Russia increased from 25 billion roubles to 126 billion roubles—a little over 5 times.

Savings in national income which are made available for investment in capital goods must however be determined and restricted by the policy which the National Planning Authority may formulate for the welfare of the people. In Soviet Russia, national saving was not allowed to stand in the way of liquidation of illiteracy in 20 years. The worth of a state is the worth of the individuals comprising that State. Science is definite that ability is very

widely distributed in the community; and that it would be of the greatest advantage to the country as a whole, if opportunity for satisfactory training and scope for the play of such ability, are most widely spread. In the Soviet Union, every child, regardless of nationality, colour, religion or income of parents, is educated to the limit of his or her capabilities. Money however will not buy a place in an Engineering, Science, or a Medical college. Only talent will gain the youth's admission to such places who are paid wages and are not permitted to be a burden on parents and relations. Special emphasis was laid on the training of administrators, managers of industries and farms, engineers, architects, technologists, economists, statisticians, accountants, and teachers; and by the year 1939, out of a population of 170 millions, higher intelligentsia belonging to the above categories numbered 95 millions. In 1938-39, there were 12 million students in Secondary Schools, 725 Universities and technical colleges and in their rolls 600,000 students drawn from a classless Society only on grounds of merit. Paramount importance is attached to Science as a factor in the building of national life and scientific research workers are considered key-men who should be produced in maximum abundance and maintained in maximum activity. In 1938, Soviet Union had 902 Scientific Research Institutes with a budget of 12 billion dollars which is about 1 per cent. of national income.

We now come to the problems of public health and nutrition. In the initial stages of the operation of the plan, food-shortage was very acute in Russia; and in the year when private peasant proprietorship was

replaced by collective farming, there was even large scale famine due to wide-spread sabotage.

But by 1935, situation became much easier, and the state was able to guarantee a basic standard of diet for each citizen. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Food Industry in 1940 produced double the quantity of food-stuffs grown in Tsarist Russia and per capita consumption of protein food was even  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that of Germany. Public health work is considered of such fundamental importance, that the state spends 10 million roubles annually for the purpose. Mortality from Tuberculosis and other infectious diseases has decreased by 83 per cent. and there was not a single case of venereal disease among young men called up to serve the Red Army in 1937 class.

This transformation of the peoples of the many nationalities of Russia from an oppressed, illiterate, hungry and helpless mass of men into an educated, well-fed, self-reliant, and highly industrialised community closely knit together by common interests in the course of 20 years, is the miracle of modern history. As the Dean of Canterbury has rightly diagnosed, the strength of Soviet Russia which confounds the Fascist armies, and astounds the world—the reason which makes such miracles possible—springs from a twin source, the one moral, and the other scientific. These two are really one—Science is based on truth of things, and forces; Morality is based upon the underlying truth of human beings and human actions. Russians' secret weapon is the weapon of Science applied not for

the profit of the few but for the well-being of all. Her second secret weapon is the courage and limitless endurance of people who knew that they were defending with their lives the new way of life which they had built.

This example of Russia should give us confidence in our ability to do likewise in India; in fact it was not lost upon the Indian leaders. The Indian National Congress set up a Planning Committee in 1938 which secured the enthusiastic co-operation of some 300 experts and collected a large amount of material and information relevant for planning. But unfortunately the Committee became defunct when the Congress Ministries resigned office. Two members of the Committee however in association with six industrial and business magnates of wide experience issued six months ago a rough outline of a 15 years' plan for the economic development of the country. The Government of India, under the leadership of the Viceroy are prepared to produce and spend money to fight poverty, ignorance and disease as freely and with the same spirit as against Hitler and are preparing plans accordingly. It is very significant that Sir Ardeshir Dalal, one of the signatories to the Bombay Plan should have been appointed Member-in-Charge of Post-War Planning and Reconstruction.

The real and basic need of India is not so much to reconstruct as to construct. The average pre-war per capita income is Rs. 65 and even if the well-to-do class disappeared from the land, the average income would not have exceeded Rs. 70. "Here therefore," as Mr. J. R. D. Tata recently said, "we have

to create enough wealth to go round before we can ensure that every one gets a fair share of it. To-day that share for most of our long-suffering people is a share of poverty and misery."

The National Planning Committee aimed at securing for our people certain bare requirements as human beings. This includes a balanced diet, which will provide 2800 calories per day and also the protective foods like milk, vegetables, etc., clothing at 30 yards per person per year, housing of 100 square feet per person, sanitary and public health measures at Rs. 5 per head and educational expenses at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  rupees per head per year which will liquidate illiteracy in 15 years. The minimum per capita income which will be necessary for this purpose will be Rs. 80 at pre-war prices. If to that, we add Rs. 20 as savings, Rs. 10 as cost of amenities, and Rs. 20 as miscellaneous expenses such as social ceremonies, travels, taxation, defence charges etc., the least per capita income that we should aim at is Rs. 130. Hence if the population were to remain stationary, we should aim at doubling the national income. If, however, the population increases as now at the rate of 12 per cent. per year, the national income will have to be trebled in 15 years, in order that per capita income may be doubled during that period. The authors believe that this can be done by well-planned investment of 1400 crores in the first five years, 2900 crores of rupees in the next five years, and 5,700 crores in the third period of five years—the grand total for the whole period being 10,000 crores of rupees.

This three-fold increase in the total national income will be realised according to Bombay Planning by increasing the income from Industries by 500 per cent, the income from agriculture by 130 per cent., and from services by 200 per cent.

It is intended to find 4,000 crores for saving, 3,500 crores by creating paper currency, and balance of Rs. 2,500 crores from existing and potential capital resources. The proposal to inflate currency by 3,500 crores, creates a good deal of uneasiness. It would be wiser to be more modest about the provisions of housing accommodation and bring down expenditure under that head from 2,200 crores to 1,200 crores; it would be also wise to demand an annual saving of 10 per cent. as against the contemplated rate of 6 per cent, which would bring into the hands of the Planning Authority another Rs. 2,500 crores. In the beginning of this century U.S.A. and United Kingdom were investing 15 per cent. of national income on productive enterprises, and for the last 30 years, the Japanese have been saving at the rate of 20 per cent. of the annual income for creating new capital. It should not be difficult for Government enjoying the confidence of the people and imbued with the urge to improve their lot, to persuade them to lend 10 per cent. of their income to a National Saving Campaign which is solely intended for their own economic uplift.

Even a Planning Authority enjoying the confidence of the people will have to face many hurdles. The most serious is the alarming rate of the increase of population in a country where the density of population is already high and the standard of living very low. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the standard of living can only be improved if the rate of development of our material resources is much faster than the rate of growth of population.

# ESSENCE

BY NICHOLAS ROERICH

THE essential nature of people is fundamentally good. The first time this realisation was fortified in me was during an experiment long ago with the extrusion of the subtle body.

My friend, a physician, had put to sleep a certain G; and, drawing out his subtle body, ordered him to send it into a house where he had never been before. By means of following his subtle body, the sleeper pointed out a series of characteristic details. Then he was directed to rise up to a certain floor of the house and to enter a certain door. The sleeping man outlined the details of the hallway, saying that there was before him a door. Again he was directed to go further and to tell what he saw. He described the room and said that a man was seated at a table reading. Then he was directed:

"Approach and frighten him."

Silence followed.

"I direct you to go near him and frighten him."

Again silence, and then, in a timid voice: "I cannot."

"Explain why you cannot."

"Impossible, he has a weak heart."

"Then do not frighten him, but as much as you can without harm, make your influence felt. What do you see?"

"He has turned and lit a second lamp."

"If it is not dangerous, increase your influence. What do you see?"

"He jumped up and went into the adjoining room where a woman is sitting."

At the conclusion of the experiment, we telephoned our acquaintance, and without

telling him about the matter, indirectly led him to relate his sensations. He said:

"Today I had a strange experience. A little while ago I was seated with a book, and suddenly I felt some inexplicable presence. I am ashamed to tell you that this sensation was so sharp in its effect, that I had a desire for more light. Nevertheless the feeling became so strong that I went to tell my wife about it and to sit with her."

Apart from the experiment itself, which so clearly demonstrates the causes of many of our sensations, one detail had in it for me personally an unforgettable significance. In earthly circumstances, the man could not take account of whether some one had a weak heart. He would frighten, abuse, cause him evil, without considering any such thing. But the subtle body, that about which the Apostle Paul speaks so clearly, in its essence is inclined towards good. As you see, before carrying out the order to frighten, there was manifested the consideration of the heart. The essence of good whispered here that it would be dangerous to do harm to an already weak heart.

One such experiment, in the most ordinary everyday circumstances, already leads one beyond the boundaries of the bodily-limited. There resulted not only the extrusion of the subtle body, but a remarkable testing of the good of the essential nature. How much dark burden must weigh down luminous subtle essence for people to reach such misanthropy as they do. Again, as St. Anthony has said: "Hell is ignorance." Of course the whole dark burden is primarily from ignorance. In

such a situation, how needful are good thoughts, which with their unseen wings touch the oppressed beclouded forehead.

When in their ignorance, people say: "Why these concentrations of thought, why these hermits withdrawing from the world? Why, they are egoists and they think only of their own salvation"; there is a great mistake in such a judgment. If even in the most ordinary experiment we could convince ourselves of the good and noble essence of the subtle body, if we saw that a thought of good transcended all commands, usually so unquestioned in such cases, then so needful are these thoughts of good. What simple yet touching solicitude is told in the simple reply about the weak heart. And right now there are not a few weak hearts, and who has the right to overburden them? Right now there are many mortally smitten hearts which could no longer hold up under a careless impact. And this will be murder just as precisely as killing with a dagger, bullet or poison. Does not poison penetrate into the heart through an attack of malice? What an enormous number of murders, actual, intentional, malicious in their prolongation, take place outside the reach of any courts of penalties! To poison a man is inadmissible; this is right. But then why is it possible to gnaw and tear the heart of a man? Surely if people would even sometimes, though briefly, reflect in the morning hours about something good, apart from their own selfish interests, this would be a great offering to the world.

Of course ignorant cynics will probably sneer, considering that in any case this

thought is nothing more than a blade of grass in the wind. Any cynicism about thought, about the spirit, about intangible possibilities, will be a clear example of the grossest ignorance. When these ignorant ones, grinning maliciously say: "Whither should we, of small culture, plunge into an ocean of thoughts", this will be said not at all in humanity or timidity but will be the expression of the ugliest arrogance.

Often people dream in secret of encountering something, as they say in popular language, supernatural. Precisely as if in the greatness of nature there can be the natural, and as an antithesis, the supernatural, of course this ordinary expression, found in popular usage, does not lead to a true cognition. But the root of the matter is this, that as soon as people have chanced to come in contact with even the beginning of such an unusual manifestation, they have fallen into such unrestrained heart palpitation that the manifestation stopped short. It was suspended for the very same reason as in the case of the experiment related above. It has been clearly established that the uncultivated heart and the inexperienced consciousness cannot endure anything loftier than their trivial routine.

Very often certain inexplicable heart palpitations are spoken about. People attribute them to the category of sex, or to inordinate work, or to some other excesses. But among these manifestations not a few cases would be found, when some beautiful wings have already touched someone expectant or unexpected, yet he at the first proximity to

them suffered a mortal trembling. This too will so often be from the incompatible distinction between earthly language and the Heavenly tongue.

So much good and compassion is contained in the simple consideration about the weak heart. If people, even in their everyday life would admit to themselves more often this humane thought about a neighbour's pain, about over-fatigue and weakness of his heart, then surely in this way they would become in many cases more humane.

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Manifestations of the dead have been recounted in all sorts of narratives. They are entirely beyond question. Among them it is undoubtedly true that many times, though with a highly needful goal in view, departed relatives and friends could not tell them their good news solely because of that same animal terror on the part of those to whom they appeared. Cases are known, when, desiring to save a person from peril, departed ones have had to undertake a whole series of gradual approaches in order to free the person first of all from fear. Precisely fear so often prevents receiving the best news.

These manifestations, such good news and wishes to help, have been written about so much, that it is impossible to go into an enumeration of the individual episodes. Beginning with theological and on through many philosophical, historical, and poetic narratives, it is everywhere

affirmed that there is no death as such, and that the proximity of the worlds can be sensed even amid everyday life. All this is past doubting. But malice and hatred, which have so taken possession of humanity in our time, make it imperative to recall once more that the essential nature of man is good, and that everything evil and hideously harmful will be first of all an additional effect of ignorance.

The very dark ones, those creatures which have fallen very low, exert their influence first of all on the ignorant. Their favourite expedient is intimidation in many ways. They try so hard to obscure and to lower the consciousness of their victim, that he feels himself isolated, alone, and finally, he can see his fortune in communion with the dark ones. And these likewise try to deprive the victim of all true joys, imposing upon him all the shameful surrogates of self-indulgence.

Man wishes to forget himself. Instead of wishing it possible to reflect more clearly and to take up arms in the spiritual battle, he is compelled to forget himself. In the delirious desire of forgetfulness, it is easier to take possession of him and make him an obedient instrument, cajoling him into ignorance. Whereas, only the thought of good which lies in the foundation can impel one to a thirst for knowledge. And then man does not lose a day or hour in order to learn, to make better, and to make beautiful everything possible. In this process, thought of good will be also a thought of beauty.



# Responsible Government in Indian States

By SARDAR M V. KIBE

THERE is the feeling that since Treaties between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States are personal contractual documents, one party to it cannot unilaterally divest itself of its responsibility, power and authority. Thus were an Indian State's Ruler to leave the Government of the State to the representatives of the people responsible to a legislature, he would do this at the risk of breaking his treaty with or any other instruments from which he holds his state, with the paramount power. Perhaps it is this fear, which deters many enlightened rulers from granting responsible government to their subjects.

There is a common characteristic of the Indian States which is that they are dynastic states. The paramount power has, in the absence of heirs, and sometimes in supersession of the Hindu Law, bestowed a state on another, given sanction to the starting of a new dynasty. International Law recognises states of several characteristics and sorts. There is the tiny, but possessing attributes of sovereignty, republic of Marino and one or two others, as well as the Duchy of Luxembourg, which had an absolute monarchy. So States can have the connotation of a nation, by reason of their being ruled by a dynasty from generation to generation. Jurists have given many definitions of a Nation, which all include homogeneity of one sort or another. Its qualities sometimes are a common language, a common geographical position, one race and above all a common ideal. The loyalty to the person and throne on the part of the subjects, forms the states into

nations. Indian States possess this characteristic to the fullest extent and have therefore as much right to a separate entity as the nations to whom the now defunct treaty of Versailles gave a habitation and separate Government. The settlement of the present war will not be much different in spirit because it is human nature, which cannot give up habits of thought or practice, compelled by any outside force. The King of the Hellenes is not in essence different from King Charles of Denmark.

The ideal, and even the theory, which led the expanding power of the East India Company to enter into Treaties of alliance, or subordination, or led them to confer Sanads or make engagements, is also that the ruler and his subjects were one and what the Company was doing was to bind both the subjects and the ruler, the latter in his dynastic capacity. There is specific provision for maintaining good government in some treaties, while the paramount power always intervened in cases of misrule, whether there was a provision in the specific treaty or not. It follows that the only conditions that cannot be altered are the structure of the state as a dynastic monarchy, and the observance of the terms of the treaty, sanads or engagements made with the ruler and the state.

Full internal sovereignty is now recognised or conceded by the paramount power in the case of all states. The treaties even barred intercourse between states *inter se* although the Marquess of Salisbury, who had been also the Secretary of State for India announced in 1896 in his capacity as the Foreign Secretary that if an Indian State

had a previous treaty with a foreign power, the British Government will not interfere in its terms. In 1896, Lord Salisbury's Government made the following declaration to the French Government:

The States of India are not annexed to, nor incorporated in the possession of the Crown. The Rulers have the right of internal administration subject to the control of the protecting Power for the maintenance of peace and order and the repression of abuses. The latter conducts all external relations. The position has been defined as that of subordinate alliance. It has however, never been contended that if these states had had pre-existing treaties with Foreign powers, the exemption of protectorate of Great Britain would have abrogated these treaties. ("Extra territoriality" by Dr. Shih Shun Lin, Ph.D. Columbia University, New York).

Now, however, in practice there is no such case, but the paramount power does not at all enforce the provision barring correspondence, or even consultation, between the states on any matter, or even encourages such methods as regards matters of common interests, affecting the states, or the relations between them and the paramount power. Not only this, but by engaging to have Indian Princes on a commission of inquiry against a Prince, the paramount power has given them a share in the exercise of its powers possessed or exercised by reason of its paramountcy. If such departures from the letter of the treaties, in view of their spirit, is permissible to a party to the contract, the other party too is perfectly justified in adhering to the spirit of the treaty, rather than to its letter.

But in transferring power of internal administration, not only retaining the power of veto, but also the responsibility for the observance of the Treaty rights, even in the present polity of India, no objection can be raised to it. Because what the Ruler does is to transfer the functions from an executive

solely responsible to himself to one who is subject to satisfy the representatives of the people assembled in a legislature. If the latter are whimsical or unreasonable, the Ruler can exercise his veto. Indeed such has been the growth of the constitution in Great Britain. The treaties with that country and others, are made in the name of His Britannic Majesty. Similarly the Indian States have treaties with the Crown of Great Britain. Both these are so because that is the paramount institution in the country. Governments come and go but the King remains. If he finds that his government is against him he escapes personal responsibility and the people are ultimately responsible to the other contracting party or the outside world. If they unilaterally break the treaties, as did Germany, or later Russia, there is the arbitration of war.

To avoid this state of things and save people from the consequences of war, which in these days being total wars are more destructive than former ones, statesmen of the world are engaged at the present moment to devise surer means than what the dominion statesmen after the last world-war had laid down. The failure of the League of Nations was apparent from its start and it crumbled like the Walls of Jericho at the first sound of the drums of war-like preparations or the call for mobilisations.

Indian history is repeating in Europe. The decisions arrived at in Dumbarton Oaks in U.S.A. seem to be replicas of what the British did in India. The four great powers, to which a fifth will be added later, have decided to keep peace in Europe

and perhaps in the world in the same way as the British did in India. There was first introduced and enforced disarmament in India. Even exempted individuals had to be named in a list and others had to have licence. In the case of Indian States, not only their armies were reduced by disbanding troops, but they were thought to be unnecessary or superfluous by the paramount power, and the supply of arms to them was first regulated and then taken over. All this was done gradually. The looseness that existed before the Mutiny of 1857-58 gave place to rigidity in excluding the Indian Troops of the paramount power from the kind of arms and ammunition which the army of occupation had, and the quality of arms supplied to the troops of the Indian States were only in recent years made almost equal to that of the British Indian Army. All this is what is proposed to be done, with this exception that while it took years in India to have an armed force, the cost of which is borne by all the constituent, or subordinate states, in some proportion to those of the paramount power in the shape of state forces, which began with what was called "Imperial Service Troops", which were maintained more or less on a voluntary basis, apparently it is proposed to follow the same lines, not gradually, but adopting at once what India reached in the course of a century or more, for the whole of Europe and Asia. At present there is no talk about Africa or the two Americas. Indeed in the case of Africa it seems unnecessary since the whole continent is already under the Dominion or owes allegiance to European States and as regards the Americas the Northern one

has the USA as predominant and the Southern one is still undeveloped.

The drift of the argument is towards demonstrating that in the new order of things, except a very few big states, the smaller ones will be reduced to the status of municipal administrations, with confederations or federations for common sources of income and amalgamating services for public utilities, such as medical and educational service, to name the most outstanding examples of each. The ground in India is already prepared for that, while in other parts of the World the tendency is in that direction.

In India the difference between big States and smaller states being so wide in extent as well as in number, for public weal, regional confederations, or other confederations, are indicated. The process may begin with co-operation, but that phase, not being satisfactory, cannot last long. Not only federation among regional states is indicated but also for some scattered portions of a state or a state embedded in British territory. This process is being anticipated and expedited on a much larger scale by the stress of War schemes of procurement, supply and distribution of food stuffs, and other commodities are concerned on an all India scale, states being only executors of them. Whether they like it or not, they have to comply as best as they can. Therefore two sorts of federations, one in the nature of amalgamation and the other in federation between British India and the States in general, much in the sense as between British India and provinces and states, and the other smaller one, in the nature of federation between states among

themselves and with provinces, is inevitable in the period of re-construction after the war.

This being the case, it is obvious that in it the larger interests of the subjects rather than of the Rulers of the States will be predominant. It therefore, stands to reason that this party which is most nearly concerned should have its say, rather than merely government of a state, which may and does consist of the Ruler and his Ministers. The voice of the people would be at the disposal of the latter. In order that it may be effective, the Ministers of their choice would be their proper vehicle to convey their mind to the Ruler, as no popular assembly of any size can be in sessions continuously, year in and year out, and if it does, it also means responsible government. The presence of half the members, responsible to the electorate in a Cabinet, is the first step.

Happily, rapid movement, varying in character, is taking place. At one end is the tiny state of Oundh, in the Deccan, which has made all the Ministers responsible to an elected Council and it is as effective in work as people comprising Ministry in a small and scattered state can be. Porbundar has full responsible government, although franchise is functional, Then there is the state of Phaltan, a bigger one in income, owing to extraneous circumstances, which has made all the Ministers responsible to the elected Council, but has a Diwan, who is not a Member of the Council, but has a right to speak in it. He holds the portfolio of Foreign relations and is responsible to the Ruler. Then there are Mysore, Baroda and Sangli who

have appointed a Minister or two from among the elected members of the Council, having his tenure co-terminous with that of the Council. Gwalior had appointed a Minister with no such condition; the experiment proved unsuccessful. Kashmere has two Ministers from among the elected Members. Indore has made the provision of appointing one Minister from among the elected members of the Legislature. These are examples, which are being rapidly followed and will be adopted by all in course of time. The most conservative and halting will have to follow the example of the most advanced as the force of public opinion and the consciousness among the subjects advance. Indeed it is not difficult to admit that in such a development will lie the strength of the Indian States. The development of the country can neither be isolated, *i.e.* confined to particular areas under particular political administrations nor it can be retarded by the backwardness of any such government. The big electrical projects and irrigation projects in South India have been possible only by the Co-operation of the big states of Mysore and Hyderabad and the Province of Madras. This is a typical example. Louis XIV was King of France, Louis Phillipe became King of the French. There is hardly a sovereign independent state in the civilised world, which is territorial. They consist of peoples, who have formed a nation. Those who will take time by the forelock will be strengthened; the condition of those who will lag behind had better be imagined than described. This is the lesson of history and India with its bright future cannot be an exception to it.

That eminent lawyer, statesman and able administrator Sir C P Ramaswami Iyer, in a speech delivered in Bombay on the 6th October, 44 envisages a step beyond normal legislation in states, the provinces being already subject to laws of the Central Government in central subjects, according to the list of them. These days owing to the necessity of helping in the

War effort the states implement legislation, Ordinances Rules etc, issued by the Central Government. In such matters this procedure is likely to continue, as it has been found effective and in the interest of the country as a whole. Responsible governments in states, will be most helpful in promoting and consummating this goal.

## Our Trade Commissioner Service in Europe

BY MR S N GUPTA, CIE, ICS, (Retd)

*Indian Trade Commissioner, Hamburg, 1931-1937*

THE War has inevitably cut India off from her many valuable markets in Europe. Her trade connections with that continent date back to ancient times, and culturally as well as economically, they have exercised a profound influence on both sides. In the last 100 years, India has carried on a brisk and busy trade with France, Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Scandinavia, and the sum total of her exports to these and other countries in Europe represents a substantial percentage of her total foreign trade. One of the earliest and most pressing problems, therefore, facing India in the immediate post war period will be the restoration and expansion of her commerce with the countries of Europe. Whatever may be the degree of industrialisation achieved in our country under the inspiration of the various plans now being considered, India will normally continue to have large annual surpluses of agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials which it will be necessary for her to export to foreign countries for the purpose of creating those

credits which she will need to finance her imports of capital and consumer goods.

Up to the end of World War I, Indian commercial interests were represented exclusively by HMG in the UK by the India Office and in foreign countries by the commercial staffs of British Embassies (i.e. the Commercial Counsellors and Secretaries and the Consular officers). With the establishment in 1919-20 of the Indian High Commissioner's office in London, there was attached to that office the first Indian Trade Commissioner, whose duty it was to protect and foster Indian exports to the UK and to make enquiries on behalf of merchants and industrialists in India in search of manufactured goods and machinery for import into India. One important function of the ITC was the organisation of publicity propaganda for Indian commodities and manufactures by participation in important trade fairs and exhibitions (e.g., the British Industries Fair, London, the International Trade Fairs at Leipzig, Milan, Paris, Lyons, etc.).

This policy of independent representation was pursued very successfully for nearly a decade by the Trade Department of India House. In 1930, the Government of India took another step forward and decided to extend its own commercial representation in Europe. Offices were opened successfully at Hamburg and Milan. Our trade Commissioner at Hamburg was put in charge of Indian trade interests in northern Europe, while the Milan Commissioner dealt with the countries of Southern Europe. Their jurisdictions met in Europe. Their jurisdictions met in France, the southern part of which (embracing Marseilles and Lyons) went to Milan, while northern France (*i.e.*, Paris, Havre and the heavy industries of the north) was attended to by the Hamburg office.

It will be apposite at this point to specify briefly the principal duties performed by our Trade Commissioners in Europe:

(1) Attendance to enquiries from exporters in India re: markets for their commodities, effecting introductions to continental importers, testing of commercial samples and the supply of market and general information about European commercial conditions.

(2) Handling enquiries from continental importers re: introduction to Indian exporters, supply of commercial and general information on Indian markets, crops, industries, etc., to European enquirers.

(3) Participation in important international trade fairs and exhibitions, maintenance of a permanent show room in the T. C.'s office displaying Indian commodities and manufactures, formation in the T. C.'s office of an up-to-date library of Indian commercial and statistical publications

(Government and non-official) for the use of the business public, general publicity and propaganda work by way of lectures, press interviews and articles, and a loan service of photographs, lantern slides, films and brochures, depicting and describing Indian commerce, agriculture and industries.

(4) Assistance to Indian importers and industrialists desirous of seeking connections with continental manufacturers and exporters of finished goods, especially of machinery and other capital goods.

(5) Dealing with claims cases and trade disputes between continental and Indian firms.

(6) Furnishing reports (weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual) to the Commerce department, New Delhi and the D.G.C.I., Calcutta, special reports to other Government departments and officers in India, who seek assistance on commercial matters.

(7) Friendly personal touch with the officials of the Ministries of Commerce and of External Affairs in the countries within the jurisdiction of the T.C., intimate contact with Commercial Counsellors of British Embassies and with British consular officers in the most important towns, and finally, close and friendly relations with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the principal trade and manufacturing centres, especially of the great ports.

When the present War is over, our commercial organisation abroad must be rebuilt, strengthened and extended, if India is to recover her trade, recapture lost markets and draw closer the ties that have always bound her to Europe. How is this to be effected? In the first place, it will be necessary to redistribute the present territorial jurisdictions of our

T. Cs. in such a way as to enable these officers to function more intensively and more effectively in their respective areas. For this purpose, a third Trade Commissioner must be appointed, whose sphere should include France (in its entirety), Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain and Portugal. His office would be located at Paris. This officer would be in touch with the ports of Antwerp, Havre, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Barcelona, Lisbon and Vigo. In pre-war days our great oilseeds and oilcakes exports went to Marseilles, Barcelona, Lisbon and Antwerp, while our jute, cotton and hemp shipments destined for the industries of Northern France, Belgium and Luxembourg, were unloaded at Havre and Antwerp. Our Trade Commissioner at Hamburg would continue to protect and develop Indian interests in Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. The great harbours of Hamburg, Bremen and Rotterdam handle all imports for Central Europe and the first named port, Hamburg, is the centre for transshipment cargoes to Scandinavia and the Baltic States. Poland was within the area of the Hamburg office, and as the future of that country is yet uncertain, its re-inclusion within the jurisdiction of that office is a matter for future decision. Switzerland should be transferred from the Hamburg to the Milan office, as exports from India to that country go *via* Genoa and Trieste. Our T.C. at Milan would then deal with Italy, Switzerland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece. It may be mentioned here that Turkey falls within the sphere of our T. C. at Alexandria.

The territorial redistribution suggested above will undoubtedly increase the efficiency and usefulness of our commercial offices in Europe, and our T. Cs. will be able to put in far more intensive work in all branches of their activities. A closely connected reform is the absolute necessity of strengthening and expanding the staff of our trade offices. The pre-war personnel of these offices was the T.C. himself, a Chief Clerk and at most two or three assistants. This is manifestly inadequate and resulted in the slowing down of all branches of work and gave rise to numerous and vehement complaints from business houses in India and Europe, the majority of them justified and directly traceable to sheer lack of adequate staff. For the same reason, the T.C. constantly found himself prevented from following up enquiries and ascertaining the results of introductions effected by his office and from making personal investigation into a variety of matters and passing on his reports to the Government and the business public. It is therefore suggested that a T.C. should have an Assistant T.C. who would be a junior officer of the same service and status as the T.C. Under them would be two Chief Clerks, one for the general office, while the other would deal solely with publicity and propaganda. Finally, there should be ten assistants, four for the general office and six for the publicity branch. With this staff, a T.C. would be enabled to take part in many more trade fairs and exhibitions and to organise lecture tours with films, slides and photographs. Intensive publicity will be imperative in the post-war world

for pushing India's commerce throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Finally, our Trade Commissioners must be invested with fuller powers by Government. Up to now, they have worked at a great disadvantage *vis a vis* foreign Governments and semi-governmental bodies such as Chambers of Commerce and Federations of Industry. Believe it or not; our T. C.'s. have hitherto been precluded from carrying on official correspondence with the Ministries of foreign governments, not to speak of making protests, representations and suggestions. There is no such similar handicap in the case of the Trade Commissioners of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, who are all fully empowered to correspond officially with foreign ministries, lodge

protests, make representations and even enter into commercial negotiations. Our Indian T. C.'s must be put on the same footing as their Dominion confreres to enable them to be of the greatest possible service to India. In the post-war scramble for markets, the competition will be of the cut-throat variety and it will be imperative for Indian Commerce to have the protection and backing of fully empowered T. C.'s. Constitutional niceties must never be allowed to stand in the way of India reaping the maximum benefit from her officers abroad. Given the necessary support by Government, our Trade Commissioners will be inspired to give of their best in the service of India's commerce, and their reward will be the knowledge that their zeal and devotion will be contributing mightily to their country's prosperity.

## QUEUE BLUFF

BY "KIWI"

THE English are masters at the art of bluffing. That is why a little Island in Europe holds half the world in thrall. But let us see if we can call the bluff.

The war came on. The troops poured into the Island Fortress. What did they bring with them? Guns, tanks and trucks? No, they brought the queues. The habit spread. Soldiers formed queues everywhere. It was natural that the civilians should follow. To crown the event, the Government approved of, encouraged and firmly insisted on the queues.

Thus it was that Government officially proclaimed the first Sunday of the month as "Queue Sunday" or as the

lascivious worshippers of Bacchus would call it, "Arrack Sunday". They made the day a national holiday. The news was broadcast that if you would only care to queue up on a Sunday morning before a tavern door, you could get your two bottles of foul-smelling arrack. It did not matter if you dumped your two bottles in a neighbouring house and queued up again. It was only queue up!

So, every first Sunday of the month witnessed this sad and strange spectacle. If it was dull listening to a sermon, here was fun, great expectations, and an intoxicating reward in a fetid arrack queue. Being democratic, or demagogic if you



prefer it, every man, woman and child was permitted to be in the queue. Just like the idiots who queue up the previous evening to see a test match, people turned up on Saturday and slept at the tavern door. The following morning the rationing started. Half naked street urchins gaily walked away with a bottle of sealed drugs, guaranteed pure by Government, under each arm. The wrinkled street sweepers, the vociferous basket women and the toothless gram sellers were all smiles. A few yards away, the black market king plied his roaring trade, "Two bottles? Yes, twenty rupees! Queue up". Then, the not so interesting thing happened. In a single day the entire month's ration of alcohol was sold out.

Democracy had to do something about it. So it was ruled that no women and boys under 18 would be allowed in arrack queues. Still the queues formed. At opening time, the queue was already uneasy. Burly policemen saw that things were in order. From the tavern door the queue spread, along the entire pavement to overflow into the next street. Once again the unexpected happened. Every few minutes a man would coolly walk into the tavern while the thirsty men in the queue gasped in suspense. The arm of the law caught him—but the innkeeper intervened. He was only a tavern employee! But the outwitted sergeants wondered why there were employees and employees. Then it was whispered into their ears that two bottles each had already been sent to their homes. So it was that again, in one day, the month's ration was sold out. Queue up!

Democracy now had its final fling. On the next day it was announced that the

price of arrack had been doubled. Then, hey presto! The queues vanished! And that was the end of the arrack queues.

The queue habit had, like all bad habits, to go on. So they extended it to meat queues. Two pounds per coupon, thrice a week. Queue up! Here, it was real democracy—men, women and children. It was a blow—to the high-brows too. Previously they rode in their saloons and sent the cook to buy the beef. Now, that self-same august personality, Madame Society who-does-not-go-marketing herself, had to get down and queue up. Oh, those democratic queues!

The first issue day found half the queue without meat, although there were many rationing officials to see that the distribution was fair. It was due to an official under-estimate of the meat eating capacity of the cannibalistic citizens. On the next issue day, in spite of there being a larger number of rationing officials than before, hundreds in the queue had no meat. Meat was in short supply, as all things are, said the Meat Controller. Still, try next day, you may have a chance! Queue up!

But on the following day, in three hours, the queue broke up. Hundreds went without their meat. They threw away their coupons. They tore them up. Some even chewed them in defiance and the meatless swore that they saw several rationing officials walk away, to jaiting cars with big parcels in bigger shopping bags. They were officials—so they did not queue up. They were officials—they could threaten the butcher. And to this day, the meat queue farce goes on. But to save its face, the Government says: "Queue up!"

By now you ought to know that the queue is sheer nonsense. It is, like most inventions of the ingenious Englishman; not guaranteed. That was why the guy who first thought of the queue spelt it q-u-e-u-e when a simple 'q' would have sufficed. Oh, you English!

# CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW IN BARODA

VERY recently, the outstanding features of a draft Hindu Code prepared by the Hindu Law Committee of which Sir B. N. Rao is Chairman have been published in different newspapers for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon. It is also reported in papers that the Committee hopes to visit important cities in India later in the year to hear the views of representative persons on the subject. The draft now published by the Committee is only a tentative one and the Committee intends to revise it in the light of public opinion. At this juncture, it will be interesting for the public to know how things stand in the progressive State of Baroda with regard to Hindu Law. Under the initiative of its most enlightened ruler, the late Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad, different acts were passed from time to time in Baroda dealing with different aspects of Hindu Law, *vis.* joint family, inheritance, disposition of property, adoption, marriage, divorce etc. and finally in the year 1937, Hindu Law was codified in Baroda, previous separate acts fitting in harmoniously with each other without repetition or contradiction.

The draft code prepared by the Rao Committee is divided into six parts and deals with intestate and testamentary succession, marriage and divorce, minority and guardianship and adoption. With regard to intestate succession, the Rao Committee have based their suggestions mostly on the succession bill as amended by the Joint Select Committee. The Committee has, however, only provided for maintenance of parents and the widowed daughter-in-law. The Committee has further re-arranged the heirs in three classes and the re-arrangement

gives precedence to the father and mother over the son's daughter and daughter's daughter. The Committee has also provided a clause that interest in joint family property shall devolve in every case by testamentary or intestate succession and not by survivorship.

Let us consider the law of inheritance in Baroda. The law of inheritance in Baroda is exhaustive specially with regard to the rights of Hindu women as will be seen from the following:—

Under the amended law in Baroda,

(a) A widow of a coparcener takes the place of her husband as a coparcener in the joint family;

(b) She becomes an absolute owner of property which she acquires by partition or inheritance to the extent of property worth Rs. 12,000 and retains her limited interest in the surplus, if there is any;

(c) A widow can inherit her husband's self-acquired property along with her son obtaining a share equal to that of a son;

(d) Where a widow acquires limited interest in property, that interest has been liberalised by allowing her to alienate property for endowing educational institutions and charitable purposes and by restricting the right to challenge her alienation to specified number of reversioners;

(e) An unmarried daughter can claim a share in family property equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a son's share and can have it separated;

(f) A married but widowed daughter can claim maintenance from her father's property under certain circumstances;

(g) A widowed daughter-in-law has been given a place in the list of

heirs after the mother of the deceased father in law,

(b) Sons of a pre deceased daughter can claim inheritance with living daughters

These reforms have considerably improved the status and material position of women in Hindu families

Regarding the order of succession of stridhan property, order of succession of Vautak, Ayautak and Shulka is made uniform and the order laid down by Ayautak is made applicable to all of them

*Marriage*—With regard to marriage, the Hindu law in Baroda has removed all restrictions of Varna and has provided that any Hindu can marry any Hindu. Restrictions regarding the persons belonging to the same Gotra and Pravara are removed and marriages can now take place between two persons of the same Gotra or Pravara. Under the suggestions of the Rao Committee, either party must not be Sapind of each other unless the custom or usage gives each of them permission of a sacramental marriage

A clause to check the Dowry evil in the draft of Rao Committee is its special feature, not as yet incorporated in Baroda law

*Divorce*—The Hindu Divorce Act was passed in Baroda in the year 1931 and it provides for divorce, judicial separation, separate residence, nullity of marriage and restitution of conjugal rights. These separate provisions in Baroda Law may be said to be its salient features. The salutary provision in the Act which enables wife to claim separate residence without presenting a suit for judicial separation is indeed remarkable. This section while it gives relief and protection to the wife enables

parties to settle their difference and resume marital relations. The grounds on which relief can be sought are cruelty, drunkenness, desertion, adultery, impotency and incompatibility of temperament. Relief on these grounds is available to all Hindu persons belonging to the castes in which divorce is not permitted by custom and obtain relief only by a decree of Court, whereas the efforts are only required to register the dissolution of their marriage

*The Hindu Monogamy Act*—The passing of the Hindu Monogamy Act in April 1942 marks the culmination of the movement of reform of the Hindu Law in the State. The Baroda Government agree with the Hindu Law Reform Committee appointed by the Government of India that in special matters the statute book should reflect as far as possible the highest ideals of the race. The law was passed unanimously by the State Dhara Sabha and it received the assent of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb on 25th March 1942. In April 1942, Section 116 of the Code of Hindu Law was amended so as to make re marriage of a husband during the life of his first wife illegal

*Adoption*—In the matter of adoption the Rao Committee has made certain suggestions regarding the capacity of a boy to be taken in adoption and have prohibited the adoption of one who had been married or of one who has had his Upanayana ceremony. The Committee also lays down that the boy should not have completed the age of 15 years. In Baroda, however, no such restrictions are placed with regard to the age limit and Upanayana ceremony. The provision made by the Rao Committee regarding the registration of adoption is already incorporated in the Baroda Law

# PATIALA

By "POLITICUS"

**F**EW States in India are so richly endowed by nature as Patiala which is the biggest Sikh State in India. In flower and foliage, in minerals as in cereals,



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

in man-power as in the sturdiness, virility and enterprising spirit of its people, Patiala can boast of comparison with any other Indian States. It is for these reasons that it ranks amongst the foremost States in India. The long line of its successive rulers—ever since it became a separate entity—has added, bit by bit, to the glorious edifice of what we know of Patiala to-day. The task of carrying on the work initiated by his illustrious ancestors has now fallen on the broad shoulders of Maharajadhiraj Yadavindra Singhji. Inspired by the keenness of the young enlightened ruler and guided by the experience and wisdom of his ministers, the Government of Patiala has seized upon modern means

and methods to stimulate and develop those qualities and aptitudes in its people which are most likely to yield lasting results in the future.

Patiala State is divided into three main portions, of which the most extensive is situated in the plains south of Sutlej River. The State has an area of 5,927 square miles and a population of well over 19,00,000 according to the last census. The revenue from all sources amounts to about Rs. Two Crores. One hundred and thirty eight miles of broad-gauge railway line comprised of two sections—from Rajpura to Bhatinda and from Sirhind to Rupar—have been constructed by the State at its own cost. The N.W.R. and E.I.R., the B.B. & C.I., Bikaner, Sadulpur Rewari Railway, and J.B. Railway, traverse the State.

In matters of administration, His Highness is the source of all power and authority in the State, both executive and judicial. In carrying on the administration of the State he is assisted by a Cabinet composed of Ministers. The Cabinet meets at intervals and is presided over by His Highness or in his absence by the senior-most Minister present.

The Ministers and Heads of Departments enjoy such powers as are necessary for carrying on the administration of the subordinate departments under their control.

The judiciary is, separate from and independent of the executive. The Nazims or Deputy Commissioners, however, combine in themselves, as in British India, both judicial and executive functions and are

assisted in their administration by Naib Nazims who exercise magisterial powers.

His Highness has recently reorganised the judicial Department of the State, and has set up a Judicial Committee to advise him in respect of appeals against judgments of the High Court. A separate department of Legislation also exists to look to the promulgation and enactment of laws in the State.

His Highness' Government have sanctioned substantial increase in the salaries of all gazetted officers, ministerial staff, inferior servants and the personnel of the Patiala State Forces. It is estimated that the scheme will put an additional expenditure of Rs. 14.10 lacs per year on the State Exchequer. His Highness intends to reorganise the State Forces after the war when the whole question of their strength, equipment and emoluments will be further considered.

Patiala, like the rest of India, is essentially an agricultural State. The attention of the Government has, therefore, naturally been riveted in the development and extension of this industry. The Agricultural Department created as early as 1919 has been doing splendid work in the extension and improvement of agricultural methods of production as also acquainting the people to use improved varieties of seed and modern implements. With a view to improving the standard of living of the villagers and enlarging their outlook on life the Rural Uplift Department was created in 1939 which aims at educating and persuading people to give up wasteful customs and also improve the sanitation and drainage of the villages. So far

intensive work is being carried on in 300 villages and it is contemplated that within the next five years every village in the State will have the benefit of advice and guidance from the Rural Uplift Department.

Side by side, the education of the children of the soil is being equally attended to. Over 30,000 boys are studying in the various State schools and the budget ear-marked for education is being increased from year to year. Two colleges for boys, one at Patiala and the other at Bhatinda and one college for girls are maintained by the State. Primary education is free throughout the State territories. Besides this, a number of scholarships are annually granted to deserving students for getting training in important institutions outside the State.

Next to the dissemination of education and improvement of agriculture, the one thing that the Government is really keen about is to afford medical assistance in each and every village. With this end in view, 46 hospitals and dispensaries are maintained, and medical aid is given free. Recently a Maternity Ward was added to the Lady Dufferin Hospital. The Rajendra Hospital at Patiala is equipped not only with up-to-date and latest surgical instruments but is run by highly qualified surgeons and physicians. The Pasteur and the X-Ray Institutes are well-known throughout the State for their high standard of work and efficient handling of cases. The patients from far and near now come to these institutions for treatment. The scheme for the establishment of a T. B. Hospital at Patiala, whose foundation stone was laid by Her Excellency the Marchioness of

Linlithgow, is now complete, and as soon as conditions permit, the work will be taken in hand. A great innovation has been made in providing medical aid to the people at their very doors. The medical department has started three touring dispensaries in the rural areas each working within a radius of 200 miles. In addition to dispensing medical aid to the villagers free of cost, the doctors in charge of these three dispensaries are required to deliver lectures to the villagers on sanitation, rural uplift, hygiene and other allied subjects.

In the development of industries also, the Government of the State has displayed equally great interest. Already a Cement Factory capable of producing 300 tons of cement a day is functioning near Kalka and a first class Biscuit Factory has started working. The Factory claims to be the largest unit of its kind in the country with a productive capacity of 12,000 lbs. of finished biscuits per hour. For the present it will meet the demands of the Defence Services in furtherance of the country's war efforts. The total number of employees, both skilled and unskilled, on the rolls of the Company is 350. Proposals for the establishment of a Textile Mill and a Sugar Factory are also under consideration. An extensive survey of the mines at Narnaul and Padhan (Simla Hills) has disclosed rich deposits of iron, copper, lead and silver and steps are being taken to grant prospecting licenses for their exploration.

Being a State well-known for its activities in sports, His Highness the Maharajadhiraj is encouraging budding sportsmen to improve their talents in the

games in which they have marked tendencies. With a view to giving them thorough training, an up-to-date Stadium costing over Rs. 5 lacs with a first class cinder track and a bitumen cycle track has been built. The XI All-India Olympic Games were held here on 10th, 11th and 12th February, 1944.

No account would be complete without a reference to the State's contributions in men and material in the present war. No sooner was war declared than His Highness placed the services of the State at the disposal of the British Government, and it is gratifying to note that its contributions both in men and money have been unsurpassed by any other Indian State. Over 60,000 subjects of the State are at present under colours in various branches of the Indian Army. Besides this, the 1st Rajendra Sikhs, the 2nd Yadavendra Infantry, the 1st Rajendra Lancers and the 56 M. T. Company are now on active service and all the expenses of these units are being borne by the State. Two infantry battalions have been expanded to full active regiments and an Infantry Training Battalion (Full) has been expanded. The Army Training School, the Mechanical Transport Section and the Patiala Wireless Section have been reorganised as separate units. A full Mechanical Transport Company has been raised and is now on active service. The pre-war army budget of Rs. 15 lacs has now passed the figure of Rs. 35 lacs. It is a matter for gratification that the late Subedar Rachpal Ram and Lance Naik Nand Singh, two subjects of the State, have been awarded Victoria Crosses in

the present war. His Highness has settled a life pension of Rs. 25/- p.m. on the widow of the former and a similar pension to Naik Nand Singh. The First Rajendra Sikh Infantry which returned on leave after two and a half years' active service on the Burma front saw service in Chindwin, Kabaw Valley and the whole of Manipur area where their exploits won universal praise. The Battalion accounted for 1,000 Japs, dead and wounded, and bagged 14 Japanese Flags. The Ladies' Committee under the patronage of Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba has despatched 1,450 sets of knitted wear to a Patiala Regiment on active service.

In cash contributions His Highness paid Rs. 2 lacs to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, Rs. 1,000 to King George's Fund for Sailors and Rs. 15,000 to St Dunstan's Fund. He has also contributed £ 1,000 for the relief of Air Raid Victims in London, Rs. 1,000 to the Aeroplane Fund started by the Simla District War Committee, Rs. 2,000 for amenities to be

provided to Sikh recruits who pass through Free Artillery Training Centre, Muttra, and Rs. 50,000 to the Royal Navy Benevolent Association Fund. About Rs. 8 lacs have been contributed by the State subjects to the various War Purposes Funds. This is in addition to Rs. 7 lacs invested in Free-of-Interest War Bonds. As the leader of the Sikhs His Highness issued a number of appeals to his community to join the army in large numbers. To give an impetus to recruitment among the Sikhs, he created the Khalsa Defence of India League which is doing useful work in the sphere of recruitment, and has been instrumental in providing over 40,000 recruits for the Indian Army.

His Highness has recently returned from a tour of Italy and Middle East. During the course of his stay extending over a month he visited troops in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Paiforce and Italy. This was His Highness' third tour of a battle-front during this war.

## SONNET ON THE MORNING

BY PROF B N. KAKKAR

The morning glow was stamped on heaven's face,  
The earth had drunk the colour of the blue,  
The infant sun was feeding on the dew  
Its new born hunger; and all over the place  
A white grey shadow reigned; the garden vase  
Had donned its green radiance anew,  
The stately Banyan, cast in nature's hue,  
Seemed more lively than the lively race  
That on its branches sat, in silence deep  
And holy awe. The vast leafy growth  
Upon the bed of that strange sea of air  
Moved not, and lay as in eternal sleep  
Ensnar'd with music into magic sloth  
Of some enchanter nymph in golden hair.

# REALISM IN POLITICS

BY MR. B. S. MATHUR, M.A.

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NOW it has become fashionable for many to maintain that British Imperialism is a spent force and it is wrong to suggest that Britain is trying to maintain her position in India on account of her economic interests. This is a false propaganda and who can challenge the reality? To visualise that the British Imperialism is a spent force, or will be a spent force in the course of this war or after this war, when time comes for the establishment of permanent peace and international security is to assume too much. Only time can show what is in the womb of the present. Only God knows what is to come. After this war Britain may come out stronger: when the story of the war comes to be written it shall be the story of a chain of unbroken successes for Britain either because of actual fighting or because of diplomacy and scientific planning. This is not pure speculation. The British power cannot be regarded as a spent force: exhaustion is necessary after a life-and-death struggle covering so many years but this cannot be a permanent feature.

There are some who maintain that an era of imperialism is bound to go and internationalism has come to stay. This is true that no nation can thrive in isolation and international dependence is going to materialise, and international dependence may further strengthen the hands of imperialism for the world can never be constituted of big powers alone. Forces in modern politics tend to spread simultaneously nationalism, imperialism and

internationalism. Sometime ago General Smuts gathered his courage and made a plain prophecy about Britain, and he was condemned by one and all for his plain speaking. It is indeed true that General Smuts did not restrain his imagination because considerations of the present political conditions do not support such a talk. We must remember Mr. Winston Churchill. He has not become the Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire: he must hold what he has. Consider for a moment what Bernard Shaw has said, "there is no other power so imbued with the idea of her domination than the British. The very word Commonwealth as a substitute for Empire sticks in Mr. Churchill's throat every time he tries to pronounce it."

In the face of such assertions one cannot think of the great British power as gone and essentially confined to British Isles. It is possible that we may have to substitute "Commonwealth" for "Empire" as there is a change both here and there. In Britain there are many who have identified themselves with Indian aspirations, and they are trying to force Mr. Churchill to announce a change to give up India. But this is not easy and possible.

India is a fertile land for exploitation and dependence, and England cannot do all alone. Mr. Churchill said in 1935, "Two out of every ten of Englishmen depend on India." Indeed India is a great attraction because it is a semi-industrial country and it is a great economic



proposition In days of inter dependence India must export and import Nakedly speaking the British want bread and butter and they get it in plenty in India But do not forget the British have given us many things in return which alone determine the civilisation and culture of a country But to declare that Britain has no economic interests in India is to attempt to throw dust into the eyes of all thinking people It requires no 'third eye' to see through this propaganda

But who is to blame? Certainly not the British Our own wealth coupled with weakness has generated a strong desire in them to hold us and to hold our wealth by banking upon their strength This is

the reality We must blame ourselves, and we can build our hope and happiness on the solid structure of work Let us think of construction, and not of destruction The days of isolation are gone and co-operation is the thing The conclusion is that freedom has to be evolved by our own hand, heart and mind a freedom that is granted to us or thrust upon us cannot be perennial Let us work for it without descending to mud flinging and treachery Who can stop the hands of progress? Let us gather strength by work and co-operation What is there in overthrowing an administration when it simply means a change of masters? Other powers too, have their eyes on India

## ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION

BY SRI HARIKRISHNA MISRA, M.A.

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It goes without saying that education is the keystone of the foundation of good life The importance of education as the only factor of ensuring social good is being felt in all countries and the growth of democratic ideas has brought home to everybody the feeling that education is no longer a luxury, but one of the absolute necessities of life In fact the success of democracy depends on education more than on anything else Democracy cannot find a congenial soil where ignorance reigns supreme It is no wonder that in all progressive states great attention is being paid to the education of the mass The crude ideas that all enterprises should be left to private hands and that education is

one of the optional functions of the state are relegated to the background The days of let alone policy are gone and education like defence and maintenance of order and justice is now regarded as one of the essential functions of the state

Unfortunately in India, education has not received the same importance as in other countries Our educational expenditure is a few annas per head per annum while the figure per head is £17 in England The percentage of the literate persons in India is only eleven and the number is so unevenly distributed that in some places the percentage is even less than one The reasons for the absence of widespread education are not far to seek Apart

from the lack of innate desire on the part of the State to pursue a vigorous policy of literacy campaign, there are some causes at work which account for the prevalence of widespread illiteracy all over the country. These causes may be enumerated as follows:—

(1) *Our agricultural conditions necessitate the employment of boys and girls for lighter field works such as weeding, keeping watch, mending water courses and doing odd jobs. A large number of children are also employed in herding and grazing cattle. In many places compulsion is delayed by the necessities of agriculture. In many places is to be found seasonal absenteeism. All these are mainly responsible for flight from schools and lapse into illiteracy.*

(2) *The system of education as is being imparted in schools and colleges has got a very depressing effect on the minds of the people. The fact that even with a limited number of educated persons, the problem of the so-called literate class unemployment has been acute, is sufficient to dissuade the people from pursuing the present system of education. Though this problem is greatly solved by the war at present, the solution is purely temporary and the problem is bound to arise in all its acuteness after the war is over. Apart from the unwillingness on the part of the people, the inability to educate themselves is more marked. The real income of the majority of people is so low that there is hardly anything left after meeting the daily requirements to spend on education. In the absence of willingness and ability, education must cease to be wide-spread. Two things*

*stand quite distinct. The system of education is defective and it is very costly while judged from the point of view of the standard of living of the people.*

*The problem can be solved when right type of education is imparted and is made cheap so that not only the number of literate persons may increase, but also that they may be in a position to earn their living after the completion of their educational career. Unless these dual aspects are fully realised and put into practice attempts to impart the present system of education on a very wide scale will prove to be a remedy worse than the disease. In this connection reference may be made to the scheme of education postulated by Mr. Sargent, the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India. The scheme no doubt appears to be quite ambitious, but on clear thinking one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that it is both undesirable and impracticable. It is undesirable since it aims at retaining the present system of education in a slightly modified form. It is impracticable since the number of persons to be educated is to be increased about threefold whereas the amount of expenditure to be incurred is to be increased about fifteenfold. The scheme revolts against the guiding principle of economics that maximum efficiency is to be attained at the minimum amount of cost. The scheme if put into operation will result in minimum efficiency at the maximum cost. Unless the purchasing power of the people is considerably increased, the practicability of financing such a scheme is out of question and it is really very doubtful whether the real income*

of the people could increase to such an extent as to facilitate the financing of the scheme within a period of forty years. Besides, it is no exaggeration to state that if the scheme is put into practice it will lead to waste of national resources without corresponding national gain.

The problem can be solved mainly by giving a vocational tinge to our educational system. The decaying condition of our agriculture is to be largely attributed to the antipathy and indifference of the educated folk. In the schools and colleges rooted interest in land is to be fostered in the minds of the students so that they after educational career may be encouraged to divert their attention to land. Literate agriculturists are less likely to be duped by the village moneylenders and to be subject to the undue exploitation of the middle-man. They can easily take advantage of the scientific methods of improving the condition of land. The State may start a number of demonstration farms where educated persons having no lands of their own may find employment. Attempts should be made to make education as technical as possible so that on the eve of industrialisation, the country may not feel the dearth of trained personnel. The investment on education should be made profitable. Of course no scheme of education should ignore the importance of general education which has the good effect of widening one's outlook. But the period of educational career should not be made unnecessarily long so as to avoid the necessity of incurring a heavy

amount of expenditure. Besides, with reference to adult education, there should be the least interference with the routine of the ordinary life of the peasant without whose co-operation the task of universal literacy will be a chimera. Education has to be adjusted to the exigencies of rural economy. People's Schools as in Turkey and China should be started all over the country. It may be noted here that Turkey has solved the problem of the liquidation of illiteracy within a period of six years through People's Schools. The State should make thorough use of cinema and radio and start rural library movement to stimulate progress-mindedness in the country side. These should form the nucleus of social education, improvement of social manners and popular recreation. Itinerant teachers are to be appointed to wipe out illiteracy on a wide scale and to enable each adult, boy and girl to attain a minimum standard of literacy.

In any scheme of post-war reconstruction, planning of education should be given the most important place. In a country like India where illiteracy is universal and education that is imparted has no practical utility except to a favoured few the future of the nation is bound to be gloomy. In any planning of education care must be taken to see that it is of the right type and that it ensures a healthy standard of living for the people. When education is universalised and every body is guaranteed some economic minimum the obstacles in the path of the progress of the country are bound to be obliterated.

# The Philosophy of Yajnavalkya

BY DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, M.A., Ph.D

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IN Yajnavalkya's discourses found in the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad* we have probably the earliest exposition of Advaita. A scholar without par, skilled in the art of philosophical debate, Yajnavalkya had as his patron and pupil king Janaka. One of his two wives, Maitreyi, was a meet companion of this master of metaphysics; and she is responsible for eliciting from her lord some rare passages declaring the nature of Self.

In II, iv, is recorded Yajnavalkya's teaching to Maitreyi\*. At the end of a full and rich life as a householder the great philosopher informed his younger wife Maitreyi that he had decided to renounce the world and that he wished to partition his properties between her and Katyayani. Maitreyi was not sorry for her husband's decision to renounce; but only she did not relish the idea of enjoying his wealth after him. Of what use is wealth to one who seeks real happiness? She asked Yajnavalkya: "Sir, if this entire earth filled with wealth were mine, would I become immortal by that?" Yajnavalkya confessed that there was no hope of immortality through wealth. Then Maitreyi said: "What shall I do with that through which I cannot become immortal? Tell me, sir, what you know." The sage, in response, gave her the highest teaching about the Self. Nothing is dear for its own sake. The husband is dear to the wife not for the sake of the husband but

for the sake of the self. The same is true of all other things. The self is dearer than the son, as the Upanishad declares in another context, dearer than wealth, dearer than everything else and is innermost (I, iv, 8). It is the self that should be seen, heard, thought about and meditated on. Since the self is all, there can be nothing left unknown, after the self has been known. Self-knowledge, however, is not to be confused with objective knowledge. The self cannot be known as objects are known. "Where there is duality as it were, there one knows another. Where, indeed, for one everything has become the self, there through whom and whom is one to know? Him through whom one knows all this, through whom one is to know? Lo; through whom is one to know the knower?" The essence of Yajnavalkya's teaching to Maitreyi is that the self is non-dual, of the nature of happiness and knowledge.

There is a description in chapter III of a full-dress philosophical debate at King Janaka's court with Yajnavalkya as the central figure. Janaka once performed a sacrifice to which he had invited learned men from far and near. Desiring to know as to who among them was the most learned, he caused a thousand cows to be brought to the court with ten pieces of gold tied to the horns of each, and addressed the gathering thus: "O venerable Brahmins, whoever among you is the best learned in the lore of Brahman may lead these cows home."

\* This episode is repeated in IV, 5, with a few more details.

Yajnavalkya who was in the assembly rose up and asked a pupil of his to lead the cows to his house. But the other learned men would not let Yajnavalkya's claim go unchallenged. They put him several test questions, some of them bearing on ritual and the others on metaphysics. One of the scholars, Ushasta by name, asked Yajnavalkya to explain the nature of Brahman which is immediate and direct, and the self within all. Yajnavalkya replied that the Brahman-self which is within all is the life of life. When pressed to be more definite, he said, "You cannot see the seer of seeing. You cannot know the knower of knowing. This is the self of yours which is within all. Whatever is other than this is mutable." Another and by far the most formidable examiner of Yajnavalkya was a woman, Gargi. She started by asking about the support of all things. Yajnavalkya in a series of replies traced all things to deeper and deeper foundations and went as far as words can go. Then Uddalaka questioned him about the inner ruler of all beings. In a set of beautiful passages Yajnavalkya explained that the principle that lies behind all things, cosmic as well as individual, the principle which these do not know but which controls them from within is the inner ruler, and this ruler, said Yajnavalkya, is your own immortal self. Gargi stood up again and pursued her old question about the final support of things. "Across what is that woven warp and woof," she asked, "that which is above the sky, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between these two, that which is past, present and future?" Yajnavalkya replied "It is woven across

space." But across what is space woven warp and woof? The final answer given by the sage was that the Immutable across which space is woven can be indicated only by negative terms. Empirical categories like magnitude, colour, etc., are inapplicable to it. It is not an object of experience, nor even the subject of experience. "Not that does anything eat, nor does that eat anything." The Immutable is not a void, an airy nothing. It is the basis of all things. Under its mighty rule the planets keep to their places, seasons change, time is regulated and rivers flow along fixed courses. It cannot be seen, for it is the seer, or rather sight. Similarly, it cannot be heard, thought or known. Other than it there is no seer, thinker or knower. The Immutable is the support of all that is, even of ether. Gargi was fully satisfied with Yajnavalkya's teaching, and thoroughly convinced of his superior wisdom, addressed the assembly saying, "Never shall any of you beat him in rendering an account of Brahman." Not heeding these words, one Sakalya cross examined him further. In the course of his replies, Yajnavalkya said: "The self is to be described as 'not this, not this.' It is imperceptible, for it is never perceived, undecaying, for it never decays, unattached, for it is never attached, unfettered—it never feels pain and never suffers injury."

The same teaching is repeated by Yajnavalkya to Janaka on a subsequent occasion. The royal patron had heard from several scholars partial truths about Brahman. One of them had declared that speech was Brahman, another had identified Brahman with the vital force, a third said, the eye is

Brahman; a fourth, ear; a fifth, mind; a sixth, heart. Yajñavalkya characterised these views as inadequate and Brahman as thus identified is 'but one-footer' (*eka-pād*). Then he gave Janaka what he considered to be the true conception of Brahman. The self is not this, not this," he said. All determination is limitation. The Self is infinite. There are no limits to it. Therefore it cannot be characterised as this or that.

At another meeting with Janaka, Yajñavalkya discoursed again on Brahman and explained the nature of transmigration. The King started by asking the sage about that which serves as the light (*dyotī*) for man. The sun, the moon, fire, and speech are lights, no doubt. But these are not self-luminous, since they shine by the light of the self. The self is the inner light, the light that never was on sea or land. It is constant and unchanging through the changing states of waking and dream. It thinks, as it were, moves as it were (*dhīyati, līyati*). But in truth, it neither thinks nor moves. In dream there are not the external objects, and the self's inherent luminosity is realised. Waking (*buddhantā*) and dream (*savāpnantā*) do not alter the nature of the self which is unattached (*asanga*). In sleep there are neither desires nor dreams the self returns to itself, as it were; it is free from evil and is fearless. In this state a father becomes non-father, another non-mother, the worlds non-worlds, the gods non-gods, and the Veda non-Veda. All distinctions vanish, but consciousness remains; for consciousness which is the self

can never be lost; it is indestructible. But there is nothing which it can see, for there is no other than it. Where there is something else, as it were, there one may see something, one may smell something, one may taste something, one may hear something, one may think something, one may touch something, or one may know something. The self, however, is one without a second (*advaita*); it is infinite bliss. This self is Brahman (*ayam ātma brahma*). One who knows thus realises Brahman here and now. If one knows the self as 'I am this,' then what need is there for suffering in the wake of the body? There is no transmigration for one who sees unity; whereas one who sees difference, as it were, goes from death to death. In the self there is no difference whatsoever. The great unborn self is immortal Brahman, without decay, death and fear.

It will be evident from the teachings of Yajñavalkya that he is an advocate of the acosmic view. The self, according to him, is the central reality. The pluralistic universe is an illusory appearance, for there is no plurality, in truth. The travails of transmigration are not for one who realises the non-duality of the self. The self is Brahman. It is the seat of supreme happiness. It is light and love; it is the life of life. It is not an object of experience; it is experience *per se*. Any positive affirmation regarding the self should not be understood literally. It is not possible to determine its nature as this or that. All contradictions vanish when the self is realised. This, in short, is Yajñavalkya's teaching.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## British Labour Party and India

AT the recent Labour Party Conference, British policy in Greece and Poland and India came in for a good deal of criticism. One speaker said that India is like a running sore in the side of the British Commonwealth of nations. The Viceroy in his speech at Calcutta said that the Government of India had done everything they possibly could and the next move must come from the Indian side. How could the negotiations be conducted from the Indian side, he asked, if the people who could put forward the Indian views were inside prison dungeons? The Conference had therefore no hesitation in passing this resolution in defiance of the Executive who opposed it. The resolution declared:

This Conference, being of the opinion that granting freedom to the people of India to establish an independent Indian National Government will be a decisive factor in the fight against Fascism and towards the unification of all anti-Fascist forces, urges the immediate ending of the political deadlock by negotiations with all leaders of the Indian people with a view to the formation of a responsible National Government which will rally the entire population in India to the anti-Fascist cause. With a view to facilitation in negotiations we call for the release of Indian political leaders.

The debate emphasised the gulf between the ideas and outlook of the Party's National Executive and the attitude of the majority of the Party Membership. It was evidently a striking demonstration of disunity between the leadership and the rank and file. In the course of the debate Capt. John Dugale, Labour Member of Parliament observed:

The problem of India will never be solved while Mr. Churchill is Prime Minister. The fruits of his policy are crowded prison cells. The Labour Party Conference has demonstrated that their doors must be opened and there is no doubt that the conduct of affairs in India will be an election issue.

The good Captain's righteous indignation is all very well but notwithstanding the vigorous onslaughts on Government's policy at the Labour Conference, it is hardly likely that India will be an election issue. British Labour has not the moral strength to bring India to the forefront of its political programme.

## The South African Situation

Public feeling against the conduct of the Union Government in regard to the treatment of Indian residents has been expressed in an unmistakable manner, both in South Africa and in India. Apart from it the vigorous protest put up by the Central Assembly and the unanimous demand for the application of economic sanctions against South Africa as a measure of retaliation has had some effect on the Union authorities. Field-Marshal Smuts is reported to have relented a little and advised the Governor General to reserve his assent from the iniquitous Residential Property Regulation Ordinance.

The offensive Ordinance has for the moment been given up, but the Pegging Act, which is the root of all troubles remains. Marshal Smuts himself has admitted that the Ordinance is "not in accordance with the Pretoria Agreement". What then is the fun of simply suspending it, instead of withdrawing it altogether?

We see already the mischief that the Pegging Act is perpetrating. Racial intolerance expressed itself, without mercy or decency, in ejecting Mrs. Pather and her children from their residence, while Mr. Pather himself was in prison. Mr. Pather has since been released, but he did not evidently seek imprisonment merely to get out of it! The object remains unachieved. No wonder that the Indian members of the Broome Commission declined to serve on it seeing how useless it all is.

The reservation of the assent however affords Marshal Smuts an opportunity to review the position *de novo* and undo the great wrong that has been done to Indian residents in South Africa. Will the Field Marshal, who talks so eloquently of the glories of the British Commonwealth and the extraordinary virtues of citizenship in that Commonwealth rise to the occasion and vindicate his grandiloquent sentiments by acting up to them?

### The Future of Burma

Burma is still under enemy occupation but a Blue print for Burma prepared by the stay-at-home Conservatives is already on the tapis. Strangely enough it takes no account of the changing times and the changed circumstances. As in India, so in Burma, the old promise of 1935 still holds the field! The prospect of Dominion Status without control of defence or external affairs is not exactly very alluring. The Blue print prescribes an initial period of reconstruction "and the necessary arrangements for the establishment of self-governing institutions shall not exceed six years". British "capital" and British "skill," we are told, will be available for such reconstruction. But the Burmans are warned that British firms operating in Burma should be fully compensated for war losses and damage. In fact, the whole fabric of self-Government worked out in the Blue-print is vitiated by the domination of British Imperial interests from top to bottom. Evidently the compensation is to be wrung out of the Burman soil. There is no justification for this bounty to British business "because it is the British Government who failed to protect their interests, and not the Burmese people".

Now the extent of Indian interests in pre-war Burma was at least as great as Britain's but not a word is to be found in the Blue print as to how Indians and Indian interests will fare under the new order.

If the non-official plan is so defective and unimaginative, the government have nothing better to offer. Indeed Mr. Amery would not even accept the time-limit for the transfer of power which the Blue print offers. Britain, by her tactless conduct, failed to secure Burmese loyalty and active co-operation during the Japanese invasion. But Mr. Amery, like the Bourbons, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. What all he promises is simply

to train the people of Burma in every respect to take over themselves, at any rate to take an effective part in modern developments, which have contributed to make Burma what it was at the moment of invasion.

Could this be sufficient inducement for the Burmans to throw off the Jap yoke? In the debate in the Commons the Secretary of State claimed "we come to Burma as liberators". But to offer the Burmans after the expulsion of the Japanese complete Self-government "as soon as circumstances permit" is to ensure that they "will not welcome us as their liberators".

It is strange that Mr. Amery should refuse to commit himself to a definite assurance regarding the future of Burma. Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the Governor of Burma, has also issued the warning that it would be highly dangerous to dismiss Burman nationalism as something of no account.

If, then, the British Government in the immediate post-war period is to carry the goodwill of the country and successfully associate Burmans with the tasks of reconstruction, they must be made to feel that the attainment of self government is a certain fact at the end of a clearly stated period.

As Mr. Creech Jones pointed out in the course of the debate Burma is the signal of Britain's good faith and liberal intentions in that part of world. Even the six year period fixed by the Blue print is a thing that won't work in the Burma of to-day, inspired so intensely by the spirit of freedom and nationalism.

The Burmese demand their freedom, and it seems to me there is little use talking about their lack of experience and mental industry... Therefore, let us do what we can to shorten this period (time limit); let us try to set up a responsible Government at the earliest moment following liberation; let the Burmese themselves shape the constitution they want and let us as a nation be prepared to take risks in this matter.

Even a Conservative member of the House, Geoffrey Nicholson went on to declare that he stood unreservedly behind a fixed period for the present direct administration.

If Burma or India or any other country were allowed to think that certain steps in constitutional progress depend on British goodwill, it would be putting the whole thing on a wrong basis. The Government should make a definite statement of their intentions with the full purpose of carrying them out without any equivocation whatever.



### The Princes' Attitude

The Standing Committee of the Indian Princes resigned *en bloc* as a protest against the alleged attempt of the Crown Representative to "encroach" on their Treaty Rights. This spectacular protest of the Princes, on the eve of a meeting of their Chamber, is undoubtedly proof of their feeling on the delicate issues between the Crown and their Order.

But correspondents from New Delhi have pointed out that the crisis arose over the action of the Political Department in refusing to permit the Princes to discuss their grievances in the Chamber. The peremptory tone of the letter, it is stated, was resented by the Princes and they decided to resign.

One of the main points urged by the Princes in their representations to the Crown representative is that

the Crown's relationship with the States and the Crown's powers in respect of the States cannot and should not be transferred to any third party or other authority without the consent of the States concerned.

### The Princes protested against

the tendency to alter the States' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations by unilateral action without the consent of the States.

In his reply, the Viceroy assures the Princes that there has been no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian Princes and that the Treaties and Sanads remain "an integral part of H. M. Government's policy." He however added—and this is important—

that the interpretation of the text of relevant treaties has long been affected by usage and suzerainty and has in the nature of things to be related to the necessities of changing times.

It is obvious, observed the Viceroy significantly at Hyderabad,

that if the Indian States are to play their proper part in the future Indian polity, they must develop healthy and vigorous constitutional governments in their own territories. In such a development, it would be fitting if Hyderabad as the premier State gave the lead.

What is true of Hyderabad is equally true of other States.

### The Viceroy's Speech

The most amazing part of H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers at Calcutta is his supreme complacency at the posture of affairs in India. "I hope, I have been able to give you, on the whole, a favourable impression of the progress of our affairs during 1944 and of our prospects for 1945," said Lord Wavell. It is difficult to see what exactly are the achievements either in the economic or political field, on which he is so satisfied. More than one province is just emerging from the ravages of a deadly famine, millions are still on the verge of starvation and millions more find the price of food stuffs beyond their means. The natural leaders of the people are all in prison, causing widespread resentment and indignation and the deadlock continues and Lord Wavell gives us no hope that it will end in the near future.

Yet he blames the parties for not presenting a joint programme. For his own part he has no constructive suggestions to offer—because the previous offers have been rejected. But the Viceroy is full of platitudes on "faith cure".

I think the first requirement for a return to health is a faith cure, a belief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement and for the welfare and self government of the Indian people.

Sir H. P. Mody, Ex-member of the Viceroy's Council declared the other day that "if a solution is delayed too long, irreparable injury may be done to the vital interests of the country." If India, as the Viceroy had said, needed a faith cure,

Whitehall would appear to need a blood transfusion. Let both the remedies be simultaneously tried out.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

## The Greek Crisis

Evidently public feeling on the Greek crisis was so pronounced that the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill and the Foreign Secretary Mr. Eden thought it best to go to the spot and end the deadlock if possible. But their attempts to teach democracy to the Athenians were not quite successful as the conference of all Greek parties concluded without evolving any agreed solution.

It is reported that the representatives of the E.L.A.S. to the Premier's conference put forward a proposal demanding forty to fifty per cent. representation in the Greek Government. Their other proposals include the formation of a new Government the President of which would have to enjoy the confidence of a majority, establishment of a Regency if other parties do not object to it and the holding of a plebiscite on the question of the Greek King to be held on the first Sunday in February under the supervision of international delegates. It is also reported that some members of the Papandreou Government are opposed to these proposals. Besides, Mr. Churchill in his latest statement made it plain that "Britain could not withdraw from Greece until a fair and decent Government had been established." The firm stand taken by the E.L.A.S. and the subsequent climb down by the British show that they were not quite the negligible black sheep they were painted to be. Evidently they have more popular support than the Government sponsored by the British.

As we go to press it is a relief to learn that with the Greek King's approval a Regency has been established in Athens. Archbishop Damaskinos, in a message to the Greek people as Regent, has called for truce as a necessary condition for any solution of the Greek crisis. "In a truly democratic State," he said,

there can be no solution by use of force. In the name of the suffering Netherlands, we invite all armed persons to agree to lay down their weapons immediately and to have confidence in the Regency and its Government for a solution by just and democratic means.

## The Polish Question

Speaking in the House of Commons on the Polish question, Mr. Churchill said that Britain had never guaranteed any particular frontier line to Poland and that the Russian demands for reassurance about her Western frontiers were not unreasonable. Mr. Churchill does not wish to displease Russia. He advises the Emigre Government in London to accept the terms offered by Marshal Stalin. The Poles have been promised East Prussia and a large slice of Eastern Germany. "This would mean," says Mr. Churchill, "acquisition of territories more important and more highly developed than those lost in the East." In other words, Britain is directing the Poles to accept the plan proposed by Moscow. The plan looks alright on paper. But to carry out this plan, several millions of Germans would have to be expelled from their territories after the end of the war—a thing easy to say but not so easy to accomplish. Even if the war in Europe ends there may be no peace for many years in that distracted and ravaged continent.

The decision to transform the National Liberation Committee into a Provisional Government of Liberated Poland was taken by the Council of National Liberation on December 31. M. Stalin is having his own way.

It is learned that assumption of title of Provisional Government by the Lublin Committee does not create any change in the attitude of the British Government towards the Polish Government in London.

The assumption by the Polish Committee of National Liberation in Lublin of the title of 'Provisional Government' is termed an "act of lawlessness", in a statement, which the Polish Telegraphic Agency says it has been "authorised to issue". Accusing the Committee of cancelling all democratic liberties in the area under its administration, the statement says that the Polish Government emphatically protests against this attempt against sovereign rights of the Polish nation, which will never recognise any authority or totalitarian forms imposed on its territory.

**Mr Lloyd George Father of the House of Commons**

Mr David Lloyd George Father of the House of Commons has decided not to contest the next election. The retirement of the man who led Britain to Victory in the last war comes after 54 years of continuous service in Parliament. Mr Lloyd George who is nearly 82 has taken this decision on medical advice.

He became Prime Minister with almost bewildering rapidity and inspired the country in the last war as Mr Churchill has in this. With the invasion of Belgium in 1914 when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer he flung the whole force of his vivid mesmeric personality into the struggle which was to place him amongst the foremost names in history.

#### **Von Rundstedt's Offensive**

On the day before the Christmas the Germans were reported to have made a maximum penetration of 40 miles from the starting point. This is in the South of the front. The first rush and violence of the offensive had been checked.

The German tank attack in great strength near St Vith was stemmed by American Armour in one of the most outstanding Military stands of the war. This stand appears to be the one factor which might whittle down the results of Von Rundstedt's superbly executed military blow from being a chaotic trampling of the American armies to a mere military setback. The German Northern drive is being held in the St Vith Stavelot Malmedy triangle. Malmedy and Arelot have been recaptured by the Americans.

Already 55 German tanks have been shelled into destruction in this battle—the greatest clash of armour since the German push began. It is being fought south west of the important communications center of St Vith and though the battle is still raging large German forces are being successfully stemmed.

If the objectives of the Germans in their first rush were Meuse crossings the offensive has failed in its first phase. It is not all over yet but every day now sees an intensification of Allied counter measures.

#### **Mr Roosevelt on the Atlantic Charter**

President Roosevelt told a Press Conference at Washington on December 19 that nobody had ever signed the Atlantic Charter and there was no copy of it says *Reuters* Special Correspondent. Ending the minor Washington controversy as to the existence of this historic document and its absence from the National Museum, President Roosevelt said there never had been a formal document.

The President added there has been a document scribbled with corrections by Sumner Welles and Sir Alexander Cadogan and their Aides had been instructed to send this off to the Governments and to release it to the Press.

Referring further to the Charter the President said that all the nations had however put their signature to the obligations outlined in the Charter in the United Nations declaration of Washington. He recounted the series of mishaps when the Mexican and other Ambassadors gathered at the White House to sign the declaration and found that they had neither documents pen nor ink.

So that is the end of the much discussed Atlantic Charter over which the British Premier and the American President waxed eloquent for months together. Mr Churchill had of course told us that India was outside the ambit of that charter but it is now made clear that the charter itself was a great hoax.



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**GANDHI.** By Carl Heath. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 2 sh.

The seven chapters that comprise this booklet deal with different phases of Gandhiji's life and thought. To be great is to be misunderstood and the Mahatma is one of the most misunderstood of men. In this book, Carl Heath calls for an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of perhaps "the most disturbing man in the Commonwealth and Empire." The war is around us in all its fury and destructiveness, says the writer, but even the greatest of wars come and go and are forgotten. "The figure of Gandhi persists." And in Gandhi, concludes the writer, India speaks to the world.

A message that shall leave all the race.

**FOOD FOR THOUGHT.** By Bernard J. Duffy, M.A. Longmans Green & Co.

The volume under review is an able and a graphic account of the varied and interesting Problems of Psychology *e.g.*, memory, dreams and hallucination. The treatment is clear and significant. It answers the needs of the lay reader as well as the technical student of psychology. The essays are replete with experimental data that are furnished today. No phase of human Psychology is ignored. The last chapter on Psycho-analysis, Behaviourism, etc., is very good.

**WITH THE "FOURTEENTH ARMY."** By D. F. Karaka. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 4-12.

In this interesting little book which is nothing more than a personal diary, Mr. Karaka, the well-known author and war correspondent, has given a very vivid account of the daring attempt of the Japs to make "an all-out bid for one of the most strategic points on the Indo-Burma border"—Imphal. How the Japs failed in their attempt and how the Allies succeeded eventually in driving the last Jap from the Indian border are well described.

The author who saw a good deal of fighting on the Burma front, is full of

praise for the daring exploits of some of the young Indian officers, particularly of the Air Force.

"If they were proud that they belonged to the Air Force, they were even prouder that it was the Indian Air Force. . . . This was not an Air Force of mercenaries. It was an Air Force of Indians, conscious of their country, their heritage and all the things that go to make India this land of ours." "Out there where our men are doing a first-class job in the shape of eliminating a powerful enemy, they do not speak the language of our communal leaders. This is gratifying, for it lays the foundation of the new India." The Indians in the Army there work as a team. . . . That barrier which is to be found in social life in the cities, that even greater political gulf which has not yet been bridged, that exclusiveness and aloofness of one or the other race, that fundamental difference of civilizations, racial, national—these do not exist there. . . . Cool courage is characteristic of these men of the air. An Air Force so born and so conceived will long endure. It trains men to become aware of their responsibilities and trains them to face the world with that same cool courage. It disciplines the mind; and discipline is what will uplift our people to the heights to which they aspire, and it is of these qualities that great nations are born. . . . Seeing our men in action has been a most inspiring sight".

**THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: ITS MEANING AND PLACE.** By M. K. Gandhi.  
**CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: SOME SUGGESTIONS.** By Rajendra Prasad. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

The Constructive programme in Gandhiji's words aims at the construction of Poorna Swaraj or complete independence by truthful and non-violent means. It includes communal unity; removal of untouchability; prohibition; khadi; village industries; village sanitation; basic education; Adult education; uplift of women; education in Health and Hygiene; propaganda of Rashtra Bhasha; love of one's own language and working for economic equality.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his pamphlet explains in a lucid manner this thirteen-fold programme, giving detailed instructions so that workers may know how to give effect to it. Both these pamphlets are reprinted by the Navajivan Press,

**SPOTLIGHT ON YUGOSLAVIA** Edited by Mohan Kumaramangalam People's Publishing House, Raj Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay As 8

This short pamphlet gives us an idea of the National Liberation Movement of the Yugoslavs battling against the foreign Nazi invaders internal reactionaries and traitors like Mihailovich and his followers and the emigre Yugoslav Government With limited arms and supplies the partisans and the Yugoslav people are carrying on stubborn resistance under Tito's able leadership and today they are holding at bay 17 German divisions apart from satellite forces In this fight the Yugoslavs have blazed a new trail and have shown a new way of life for the Balkan peoples under Nazi tutelage.

**INDIAN VILLAGE HEALTH** By J N Norman Walker. Oxford University Press Rs 2 8.

Important problems which concern public health in Indian villages are discussed in this book in clear and lucid language and in its short compass of 90 pages the author has packed much information on all aspects of the subject Measures for the prevention and control of many infectious diseases which are prevalent in rural areas such as Malaria, Typhoid, Dysentery, Guinea worm, Small pox, Tuberculosis and Leprosy occupy the author's attention He recommends sound measures for adoption and rightly stresses the urgent need for survey, propaganda and effective treatment in the campaign against the diseases which periodically take their toll

## BOOKS RECEIVED

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**PROGRESSIVE U P FINANCE** J. K Industries, Kamla Tower, Cannore

**THE ABDUCTIONS OF AMBROSE ALLINGTON** By B A C Neville Thacker & Co, Ltd, Bombay Rs 2 8

**ANTIDOTE TO AUSTERITY** By C E Jacomb Thacker & Co, Ltd, Rs 1 8

**CHINA AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF WAR** Published by The Chinese Ministry of Information, P O Box 107, Chung King China

**AN INTRODUCTION TO BANKING PRINCIPLES PRACTICE AND LAW** By Brimal C Ghose Oxford University Press Bombay

**FISCAL POLICY OF INDIA** By P Dasgupta M A General Printers & Publishers Ltd Dharamtola Street Calcutta.

**THROON SOVIET RUSSIA** By Major A S Hooper, Thacker & Co, Bombay

**A CROSS WORD PUZZLE** By T N Roy Joynarayan Bros 11 D Arpuli Lane Calcutta

**THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS** By Sophia Wadia International Book House, Gandhi Rd Bombay

**RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION** By B S Guha Oxford University Press Madras

**THE TORCH IS YOURS** By J W T. Leith Thacker & Co, Bombay.

**GURDEV NICHOLS ROEBICK** By K P Padmanabhan Tamby B A, V V Press Branch, Trivandrum Rs 2 8

**WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA** By V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, M A With a Foreword By Lt Col Dewan Bahadur Dr A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar Macmillan & Co, Ltd, Madras

**LET US WIN THE PEACE** By N B Parulekar Popular Book Depot Lamington Rd, Bombay

**ECONOMIC PROGRAMME** By V L Mehta Popular, Book Depot, Lamington Rd, Bombay

**SHORT STORIES** Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras.

**CIVIL SERVICE IN INDIA** under the East India Company By Akshoy Kumar Ghosal, M A Ph D University of Calcutta

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- :o:—
- Dec. 1. Government of India enforce Reciprocity Act against South Africa.  
—Governor of Madras inaugurates National Savings Campaign.
- Dec. 2. Coventry Indian Conference pleads for ending of imperialism.
- Dec. 3. Sapra Committee personnel announced: Non-party leaders' Committee issues statement on situation.
- Dec. 4. Dr. T. V. Soong replaces Marshal Chiang as Premier.  
—Standing Committee of Princes' Chamber resigns owing to difference with Crown Representative.
- Dec. 5. Union Government "reserves assent" to the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance.
- Dec. 6. Soviet all-out attack on Budapest.
- Dec. 7. Mr. Roger Thomas, Sind Minister, resigns to serve as Adviser.  
—American press attacks British intervention in Italy and Greece.
- Dec. 8. Mr. Churchill gains a vote of confidence in the Commons over Government's policy in Greece, by 279 votes to 80.  
—Jap planes over Orissa coast.
- Dec. 9. Fierce fighting in Athens.  
—Viceroy in Hyderabad. (Dn.).
- Dec. 10. Pegging Act enforced in Durban.  
—Treaty of alliance signed between Soviet Russia and France.
- Dec. 11. 127 Prominent Americans, in a letter to the British Government through Lord Halifax demand release of Indian leaders.
- Dec. 12. In the debate on Burma Mr. Amery repeats old declarations.
- Dec. 13. Labour Party Conference criticises British intervention in Greece and demands armistice with ELAS.
- Dec. 14. Viceroy addresses Associated Chambers at Calcutta.  
—Mr. Amery in the Commons declines to give orders for release of Congress leaders.
- Dec. 15. British Labour demands release of Indian leaders.
- Dec. 16. Filipino guerrillas launch offensive.  
—Sir A. Dalal describes Government plans and pleads for National Government.
- Dec. 17. Nazis re-enter Belgium and Luxembourg.  
—E.A.M. demand Government of National Unity.
- Dec. 18. Seventh army assault on Seigfried line begins.
- Dec. 19. German thrust into Belgium.  
—Greek Premier asks for Regency.
- Dec. 20. Emergency debate in the Commons on the situation in Greece.  
—Roosevelt says Atlantic Charter was never signed.
- Dec. 21. Sir A. Rowlands appointed Finance Member.
- Dec. 22. In the Lords debate on Greece, Lord Faringdon's remark that British troops may mutiny caused great excitement.
- Dec. 23. The Greek King agrees to Regency proposal: ELAS accepts disarmament demand.
- Dec. 24. Mahasabha Conference meets at Bilaspur, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee presiding.
- Dec. 25. British clearing up Athens area.  
—German petrols over the Meuse.
- Dec. 26. Mr. Churchill and Eden in Athens.  
—Conference of all parties held.  
—Leyte campaign concluded.
- Dec. 27. Athens talks conclude: ELAS' new terms to Government. Mr. Churchill declares British position.  
—Mr. Lloyd George retires from Parliament after 51 years.
- Dec. 28. Mr. Churchill shot at in Athens: narrow escape from bullets.  
—Failure of Athens talks.
- Dec. 29. Conciliation Committee meets at New Delhi: Dr. Sapra defines scope of work.  
—Greek King accepts Regency proposal.
- Dec. 30. Archbishop Damaskinos appointed Regent of Greece.
- Dec. 31. New Greek Government formed.

## THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The *Political Science Quarterly* for September last contains an illuminating review of Gunnar Myrdal's book entitled—'An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy'. The publication is a revealing study of the United States and the place of the Negro in the American community. The writer observes that if the Negro could be all things to all men, then the issues would have a different quality and the problem would be the white man's. "But the Negro is not all things to all men—he is also a man with prejudices, attitudes, habits, wishes, and ambitions. More than that he has become culturally a European, a white man with a black face". Continuing, the author pertinently says

The trouble is that the Negro expects to be treated like any other American, because he feels himself like any other American and we expect him to feel that way—except when the heavy burden of the past stands in our way, we behave as if all that we believe, and have taught the Negro to believe, was not true. Our doctrines have a universal reach and flavour all men are created equal. All American citizens are equal before the law. We do not say that we do not believe it, and yet we practise it. When our darker brother rises to taunt us with our hypocrisy, our weary conscience gives us no rest.

Concluding, the writer, observes

Unfortunately there is no magic formula toward social felicity, not even in the preaching of the American credo. The human imagination is ingenious in devising subtleties of feeling and thinking that make the incongruous seem normal, and the unreal, real. The Southerner can be both a democrat and a practitioner of race discrimination in fact, even if he has a bad conscience over the matter. The way out is, not to concentrate upon the issue in hand, but to concentrate upon something else: concentrate upon opening up avenues for the good life of all of the people in the South, white and black, and in time—in the long time—fears will diminish, memories fade, new practices and new attitudes replace the old and the Negro will cease to be a Negro and become a man—just another Southerner, just another American.

## THE WORLD AND THE WAR

Summing up the present position in the Eastern theatres of war, Mr Kedarnath Chatterji, Editor of the *Modern Review*, observes

In the Pacific a new phase has been entered into by this bold bid on the part of the U.S.A. armed forces for the reoccupation of the Philippines. This is the first major assault upon the Japanese defences and much will depend on the events of the next few weeks. In China the Japanese campaign is still making headway and the situation still remains grave. The Japanese have achieved considerable success and if they are left in undisputed possession of their fresh gains for any length of time, then serious complications may arise in the execution of the Allied plans for the war against Japan.

In Eastern Europe, the campaign of the Soviets is already meandering down to a slow ding dong fight.

In East Prussia the Russian advance has come to a standstill and further south the Soviets are now hitting at key points. But a great deal has been attained by the Russians within the month of October. The Germans have been driven out of Rumania and a large section of the Balkans. In the Northern sectors, the German forces have been driven back across Finnish territory, beyond the Norwegian border. East Prussia has been invaded and the Baltic States substantially cleared of the enemy.

The Germans are fighting with great skill and with extreme stubbornness everywhere, says Mr. Chatterjee. In Italy the same slow progress in the face of bitter and skilled defensive fighting continues.

In short, the German effort to pin down the offensives of the United Nations to a static condition of positional warfare still continues and winter conditions are likely to help them. Germany has lost all her satellites with the exception of a few Hungarian divisions her own fighting strength has also come down to below 20,00,000 according to Allied estimates. But in spite of all this there does not seem to be any cracking up of her morale or letting-down in her war effort. There is still talk about fighting down the Allied campaigns to a standstill and of holding on till the opponents will to fight is worn out. All this points to a prolongation of the war in Europe.

Since then Von Rundstedt's offensive has made rapid inroads into Belgium.

## THE ART OF ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

"The position that Dr. Abanindranath Tagore occupies in Modern Indian Art is in many ways unique, and is not unlike that of Rabindranath, the poet, in the realm of letters", writes Mr. O. C. Gangoly in *XX Century*:

Both represent the quintessence of Indian culture, yet both brought to old Indian thought new forms of beauty, new forms of expression. Both accepted the Indian-ness of Indian spiritual culture, yet both were rebels against the prevailing conventions of artistic forms which had exhausted their possibilities and, therefore, had survived their uses. Both the artist and the poet were misunderstood by their immediate contemporaries and were denied, at the earlier stage of their progress, any manner of understanding or appreciation.

Many people wrongly believe that Abanindranath is a revivalist resuscitating and repeating the formulas of ancient schools of painting. His genius consists in freely adopting methods and manners from all countries and schools and creating a mysterious fusion of a happy and well-assimilated harmony of his own.

The leading traits of his wonderful miniatures are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them on a far higher level than the plane of a merely literal naturalism. Yet he has rarely dabbled in mystical or symbolical themes; and even in the subjects borrowed from the old Hindu Puranic sagas he has an intensely poetic manner of rendering a theme which lightens the burden and heaviness of the transcendental mysticism of the Indian Puranas. As the quality of his draughtsmanship reveals, his inclination has been towards the tiny miniature quality and the educated and the mannered refinement of the Mughal Qalam. The subtle grace and the one-hair minutiae of his lines sometimes far surpass the accomplished brushes of the Mughal masters. Yet the range of his vision, and the breadth of his palette is not confined or restricted by the narrow outlook of the Mughal school. The extremely wide range of his vision, theme, and technique makes it very difficult to group his works under lending characteristics, or dominating tendencies and it is almost impossible to put any 'label' on the general character of his works, or to characterize the leading phases of his creative brushes.... At the risk of being grotesque—one is inclined to characterize his work as a curious amalgam of Burne-Jones, and Bihard, of Molaram and Ogata Korin. Yet he is nothing but himself—a wizard of form and a magician of colour.

## DISRUPTIONISM

The fourth annual number of the *Social Welfare* is packed with articles on a variety of topics by well-known writers. The Editor, Mr. K. M. Munshi, points out the danger of disruptionism in the Indian situation.

Disruptionism is for the moment the most serious impediment to the country's progress. It asks the Congress to give up its demand for independence; to foreswear the demand for a federal centre and for a democratic constituent assembly; and to withdraw the August Resolution, "which is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." To Britain, threats are delivered from time to time not to do anything to offend Muslim India on pain of facing "strife, bloodshed and misery."

This attitude has thriven on a belief that the Hindus could easily be overawed. The self-restraint which the Gandhian policy has imposed on the Congress Hindus, who form the majority of politically-minded Hindus in the country, is taken as weakness. In the Congress antagonism to British government and its policy of non-cooperation, Disruptionism finds its greatest opportunity.

The Hindu-Muslim tension will grow, says Mr. Munshi, till the life of the country is marred by a long-drawn internecine conflict. And in the end, the military power of Britain will continue to enforce law and order as in Palestine, to the prejudice of all parties including Britain herself. The Indian deadlock cannot therefore be resolved, concludes Mr. Munshi, unless Britain reverses her policy of supporting Disruptionism.

Britain will not do it unless she rids herself of the nightmare of India seceding from her ambit; and unless Britain and the nationalists both realize that secession in the post-war world is a physical impossibility, it will not be got rid of. British statesmen will realize this fact soon enough; but not the panicky British bureaucracy. The Nationalists, non-Congress to a man, and a large section of the Congress also realize the same. But for the anti-imperialist section of the Congressmen the realization has been and will be difficult; for it represents the Ideal, which forms the motive power, and creates the sanction, in all mass movements of freedom.



## THE HINDU FAMILY

Mr. M. N. Banerjee, writing on the above subject in the *Indian Journal of Social Work* for December, says:

No society ever remains in a static condition. There is no denying the fact, that with the impact of Western culture and with growing economic difficulties, the bonds holding the different members of the Hindu family together have been fast breaking down. Relaxation of the sense of duty to other members of the family is in evidence and there is greater individual demand for a rise in the standard of living. A Hindu family is usually larger than an English or an American one. Married brothers and sons with their wives and children often live in the same joint orthodox Hindu family under one head, the family, however, generally disrupts on the death of the father. Brothers, uncles and nephews in many cases continue to live together, each contributing to the total cost proportionally to his income.

Hindu religion embraces the whole structure of society in all its aspects and it evolved a body of rules affecting the conduct of individuals in a family in various directions. Religion and society were very closely knit together.

Very high values were attached to the ideal of chastity in women, divorce and remarriages of widows not being approved by custom and usage. Hindu marriage is not a contract entered into out of love between the parties, but a sacrament. Parents and guardians were enjoined to get their daughters and sisters married early before puberty set in. Hindu society advocated the ideal of securing a bridegroom for every bride, the earlier the better. Among some castes the practice degenerated into an institution of child marriage.

The Hindu culture tended to set up for the women the ideal that her personality should merge into that of her husband as far as possible. She was traditionally taught to identify herself with her husband in matters mundane and spiritual. But during recent times the dependence of women on men has been fast disappearing. The spiritual outlook of Hindu culture has come into clash with modern materialistic civilization. Thus at the present time all the basic principles of Hindu culture seem to be rudely shaken.

## THE TEHRAN AGREEMENT

Europe has been mapped into zones in which Russia, Britain and United States respectively will be the prevailing power, according to "A Student of Europe" in the *Sunday Observer*. The Teheran Agreement, he says, is a great historic partition treaty and although the scheme may not yet be complete, no one will doubt, for example, that Poland lies between Russia and Greece in British zone.

These two cases, he writes, show one of the greatest weaknesses of the Teheran policy, that it pays little heed to the wishes of the people concerned. But the case that can be made for Teheran is formidable. Would not the alternative, as far as Britain and Russia are concerned, be either a scramble for positions in Europe with war as the probable outcome or a pact of mutual non-intervention leaving the balance of power in the hands of Germany?

But it would be naive to think that the realisation of the Teheran Agreement is a foregone conclusion.

Even now very great obstacles are coming into sight. The reefs on which the policy may be wrecked are threefold. Firstly, local resistance—in some cases the 'allocation' of a country to some zone fits the desires of its people. In others it may not. Secondly, mutual confidence between the two main partners, Russia and Britain, may be severely strained where complete spontaneity of local resistance is not unquestionable. The third and biggest reef is still only half visible. Only if the big three combine to uphold it, has it a chance to be carried through.

He says, it is clear that the position of the United States is not exactly the same as that of Britain and Russia and there are indications that she, not being in Europe, might perhaps dissociate herself from it where it meets local and national resistance. "But", he concludes,

Americans have plenty of reasons for needing as much as Russia and ourselves to make Teheran work so that zoning is the basis of a new essential unity.

### THE TREND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Central European Observer, published as a fortnightly in London, has a thoughtful article on the trend of mind in Czechoslovakia. The writer Mr. Korbel truly points out that in time of war many values undergo severe cross examination and people change their opinions in many respects. This appears very much to be the case in a country where the enemy has deprived the citizens of their property and reduced all classes of the population to abject poverty. This has happened in Czechoslovakia.

The industrialists have seen the confiscation of their once-cherished property for the safety of which they were ready to oppose the social progress of other classes. The peasants have found their traditional animosity towards the urban population serves the interests of the common foe. The workers have come to the conclusion that no class struggle will realise their justifiable claims as long as the general disposition of the people provides nothing but barren soil for such ideas. The intelligentsia has discovered that it cannot flourish except as an inseparable part of the whole national community, and that its fate is closely linked with the life of the whole nation. Hence one elementary principle arises out of these experiences: solidarity. People have come to realise their dependence upon each other, and in the future they will give fundamental issues priority over secondary ones. Private life will be more genuine, family life deeper. There will be a distrust of any mechanical slogans in public political life. Democracy will find its real and proper content.

### THREE STAGES OF THE WAR

"A startling change has come over the strategic scene within the last few months. Mr. Churchill has summed it up by saying that he "no longer feels bound to deny that victory may come soon". Looking back over the five years of toil and turmoil, three distinct stages in the journey may be distinguished," says a writer in the Round Table.

"In the first, there was nothing to do except to hang on everywhere in the hope that the enemy's strength would not be so great as to win everything vital to an ultimate come-back. In the second, there was a deliberate economy of available

strength everywhere where it was possible to economize in order to put every ounce of weight behind the final counter-offensive. This was hardly a less difficult stage than the first, because it required infinite patience, unprecedented confidence between the Allies, and exposure without answer to uninstructed criticism. We have now reached the third stage of the grand assault, though still only the early stages of that stage; and both the enemy and the Allied peoples can begin to see that, long though the journey has often to be, the route chosen has in fact been the shortest and therefore the wisest possible."

### COLOUR PEACE OR COLOUR WAR?

"A colour war is threatening the world unless white races abandon discrimination and show greater friendliness towards the coloured races. Racial feeling is running high in the Empire and in the U. S. A., and the economic pressure of the coloured races has become a world problem as much an economic problem as a colour problem," writes Mr. J. L. David in the United India Survey.

Mr. Curtin, Prime Minister of Australia, told a Daily Express interviewer that "immigration restrictions were introduced for purely economic reasons, to prevent the importation of cheap coolie labour."

And all these years the advocates of a White Australia have held that vast country for a handful of seven million people, while Japan, which has one-twentieth the acreage of Australia, has nearly ten times the population. That is a contributory cause to World War II.

In South Africa, Indians are being segregated as an economic menace.

Not only are they under statutory segregation but they are denied the rights of self-respecting citizens. And as they object to segregation, the authorities propose to achieve the same end by laying out land for their occupation and not calling it segregation.

# INDIAN STATES

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## Hyderabad

### THE VICEROY IN HYDERABAD

'It was obvious that if Indian States were to play their proper part in the future Indian polity, they must develop healthy and vigorous constitutional Governments in their own territories, and in such a development it would be fitting if Hyderabad, as the premier State, gave the lead,' observed His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell, speaking at a banquet given by the Nizam on December 9 at Hyderabad

His Exalted Highness in a speech emphasised the importance attached by Hyderabad to the British connection, and said 'Hyderabad has always valued the British connection as a guarantee of peace and tranquillity in India and never more so than at a time when the safety of the country is being threatened by a powerful and ruthless enemy. It is for this reason apart from considerations of sentiment, that I have always taken personal pride in the title 'Faithful Ally' bestowed upon me by the King Emperor and have tried to live up to its ideals'

### HYDERABAD UNITS

Broadcasting from the Hyderabad radio station recently on the State's great contributions to the Allied war effort, the Prince of Berar, Commander in Chief of the Hyderabad Army, said they had eight units serving outside the State comprising artillery, mechanised cavalry infantry and mechanical transport units, organised armed and equipped on a par with the units of the Indian Army. In order to provide these units and maintain them up to strength with trained personnel, as well as to replace them for internal security duties, six new units have been raised

## Baroda

### FOOD SITUATION IN BARODA

An appeal to the State to avoid waste of foodstuffs in view of the existing food situation in the country was made by Mr Badrashilrao Gaekwar, Dewan of Baroda, in his inaugural address to the Baroda Assembly

The Dewan President reviewing the food situation said that careful balancing and adjustment of diet and absolute prevention of waste are the only remedies against food famine 'and I appeal to the people to adopt them wholeheartedly, bearing in mind the experience of the past and the present situation'

After referring to the progress of the Savings Campaign the revision of grades, dearness allowance for State servants and the post war development plans for the State, Mr Badrashilrao said 'His Highness the Maharaja Sahib attaches great importance to post war development of agriculture and industry in the State. For this express purpose a new Ministry has been created. A five year plan for the development of the State in every possible avenue will be prepared'

### BARODA SERVICES

To the several orders passed by the Maharaja to increase the efficiency of the services in the State is now added one more namely the revision of grades of all Government servants up to the grade of Mahalkaris (included) at an annual cost of about Rs 4.95 lakhs. The main feature of the present revised grades is that a uniformity of grades of servants in all departments throughout the State has been adopted

## Mysore

## LABOUR LEGISLATION IN MYSORE

The Mysore Government have constituted a committee of officials and non-officials to review the working of the existing labour legislation in the State so as to provide a coherent body of labour laws which in actual application would ensure prompt and effective settlement of industrial disputes. In this connection, the order stresses the importance of the question of introducing a scheme of compulsory insurance against unemployment of industrial workers and the desirability of making separate legislative provision for regulating employment of children in industrial undertakings on the lines of Employment of Children's Act in British India.

## HOUSING PROBLEM

The Mysore Economic Conference in Mysore has established the fact that out of the 48,606 families in Bangalore 19,712 have less than 100 sq. ft. for each family to live in, while 17,621 families each live in an area between 100 and 300 sq. ft. The average family consists of 4.6 persons and there are cases where 10 people occupy a living space of less than 100 sq. ft., or, as one member put it, "the whole family cannot even sit together for their meals, let alone sleep in the house!" In these circumstances something must be done. So the Conference has put forward the novel suggestion that the Government, the City Municipality and the leading insurance companies should assist in the flotation of a joint-stock company to acquire land and construct thereon at least 10,000 houses of types suitable for occupation by the lower and middle classes.

## Travancore

## SIR C. P. ON HINDUISM

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, delivering the Commemorative Address of the Temple Entry Proclamation at Trivandrum on November 18, said that the Temple Entry Proclamation was inaugurated by the Ruler of the State in order to effect not only social reform but also to bring about a religious revival. The Dewan mentioned that His Highness had just set his signature and seal to another Proclamation abolishing capital punishment in the State. This was the first time in India, or rather in Asia, that such a step has been taken with the single exception of the State of Aundh. According to the Dewan, a true Hindu was also a true Christian and a true Muslim, and, in any case, he sees no hostility between his creed and fundamental tenets of other religions.

## TRAVANCORE'S ENTERPRISE

Travancore has distinguished itself as the first administrative unit to start the chemical fertiliser industry which, in the words of Mr. E. P. Pawley, Director, and Mr. L. C. McCarty, Engineering Director of the Intercontinent Corporation of New York, "is the most significant facet of a type of British, American and Allied co-operation, so essential for the present and post-war economic development which would ensure lasting peace."

These industrialists foreshadow that requirements for the next two decades will demand much more of this type of development than all the world's industrial capacity can supply if we are to increase the standard of life all the world over.

**Bikaner****REFORMS FOR BIKANER**

An important constitutional step forward, giving more powers to the Bikaner State Legislative Assembly has been announced by H. H. The Maharajah on the occasion of the official celebration of his birthday.

The Legislative Assembly already enjoys the elected majority, and out of a total strength of 51 the number of nominated members is 25 and of elected members 26. Three more seats will hereafter be transferred from the nominated members to the elected members, thus raising the number of the elected members to 29 and reducing that of the nominated element to 22.

A Deputy President of the Assembly will be appointed from among the elected members.

The powers of interpellation will be enlarged and the Assembly will also be given the right of moving adjournments to discuss matters of urgent and public importance.

**Cochin****COCHIN'S NEW CHIEF JUSTICE**

The appointment of Mr. K. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, retired Judge, Madras High Court, as Chief Justice, Cochin High Court, has been notified in the State Gazette, Cochin. Mr. Krishnaswami Iyengar takes over charge on January 29, 1915, the date on which the present Chief Justice Mr. C. A. Kunjuni Raja, retires from service.

**MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE**

A new stage in the growth and expansion of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, was marked with the inauguration of the Technological courses attached to the Maharaja's College by Dr. Al. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar, Managing Director of the Cochin Textiles.

**Indore****INDORE BAR ASSOCIATION**

Delivering judgment in the Contempt of Court case launched against the Indore Bar Association, the Full Bench of the Indore High Court convicted the Bar Association and ordered it to pay a fine of Rs. 500.

It is believed that this is the first instance in the judicial administration of India when a Bar Association as a whole has been found guilty of contempt of Court.

**General****PRINCES' DRAFT RESOLUTION**

The text of the draft resolution which was framed for discussion by the Chamber of Princes on the Crown's relationship with the States was published in the *Hindustan Times*. The resolution runs:

The Chamber of Princes considers it necessary to reiterate in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms that the Crown's relationship with the States and the Crown's powers in respect of the States cannot, and should not, be transferred to any third party or other authority without the consent of the State concerned.

The Chamber requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the States, by the recent tendency to alter the States' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the States, notwithstanding the solemn Royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian Princes by His Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy.

The Chamber further requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian Princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement.

As the session of the Chamber of Princes was cancelled, the resolution was not moved.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## Burma

### INDIAN EVACUEES FROM BURMA

"The question of compensation for the loss you have incurred in Burma is a post-war problem. It is a complicated international affair, but your claim is reinforced by the recent blue print of the British Conservative Party. If the Britisher has a claim in Burma, you have no lesser claim there. If the Secretary of State for India upholds the claims of Britishers, he cannot deny the claims of Indians," observed Mr. Jammadas M. Mehta, Representative of the Government of India with the Government of Burma, in reply to a memorandum presented by the Burma Indian Association, Surat.

Referring to the question of allowance given to the refugees from Burma and the Far East by the Government of India, Mr. Jammadas Mehta assured the refugees that there was no reason to entertain any fear that the Government had decided to discontinue the financial assistance. He added that he should try to help those refugees who were not allowed any allowances.

## Ceylon

### RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN CEYLON

Mr. M. S. Aney, Government of India representative in Ceylon, speaking at Hartley College, Colombo, suggested that in view of the imminence of the arrival of the Soulbury Commission, the rights of Indians in Ceylon, particularly regarding franchise, representation of trade interests, immigration and general status, ought to engage the serious attention of leaders of public opinion in Ceylon and that they must make an earnest effort to reach satisfactory solution this time.

## South Africa

### SET ASIDE PRETORIA PACT

In an editorial on the Indian crisis, the *Natal Indian Opinion* founded by Mahatma Gandhi, says that the way out of the unfortunate impasse is for the South African Government to set aside the Pretoria Agreement and the Natal Ordinances and direct a Natal Indian Judicial Commission to inquire into the question of parliamentary, provincial and municipal franchise for Indians and to make recommendations. With franchise, says the paper, Indians could co-operate with Europeans on matters of common interest and if they had the confidence that they would be justly treated, the causes of friction would disappear. The friction to-day is often the work of a smaller group of Europeans or Indians. Given the Franchise, Indians would probably look less to India, except in exceptional circumstances, such as a threat to India or themselves—just as British-born South Africans look to Britain today and just as Transvaal Outlanders appealed to Britain 41 years ago.

Condemning the Pretoria Agreement, the *Indian Opinion* says the Natal Indians who accepted it betrayed their community, believing that occupational control is harmless as long as opportunities for investment remained.

"They are disappointed because occupational control has now been extended to include some form of control of acquisition. . . . The feeling of the Indian community has been roused by their actions as well as by what has been happening in the provincial council."

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### AMERICAN LEADERS' LETTER

A demand for the immediate release of India's democratic leaders is made by 127 prominent Americans in the course of a letter to Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in Washington. The following is the full text of the letter:

It is now two years since the leaders and thousands of members of the Indian National Congress were imprisoned without trial by the British Government in India. Many of the men and women imprisoned have long been known for their devotion to the ideals of freedom and democracy and for their opposition to Fascism. Among them are the most widely followed leaders of Indian thought such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress.

These mass imprisonments have solved no problems. They have served to intensify the bitter cleavage between the British and Indians and they have made it difficult for Indians to join wholeheartedly in the war for world freedom. Even belated justice to these prisoners would do much towards restoring the confidence of millions of Asia's peoples.

Every member of the United Nations must face the fact that the continued imprisonment of India's democratic leaders is an ever present challenge to our professed war aims and a denial of those broad principles of human rights upon which true civilisation anywhere must be founded.

India's freedom is not India's question alone. It is a question of human liberty. So long as suppression and injustice are allowed to continue in India, they are a threat everywhere in the world.

Mr M K Gandhi was released from jail for reasons of health. Since his release, Mr Gandhi has made a number of far reaching suggestions for the solution of the political deadlock. It would seem to be of the utmost importance that these suggestions should be explored as fully as possible. These explorations would be facilitated by making it possible for Mr. Gandhi to confer with the leaders and Members of the Working Committee of the Congress Party who are now in jail. We believe that the release of these leaders would be a definite sign of Britain's good faith in desiring a settlement of the deadlock.

A settlement would be of direct benefit to the United Nations not only in the prosecution of the war but also in the conclusion of a lasting peace. We therefore urge you to transmit to your Government this request for the immediate release of India's leaders.

### COMMANDER IN CHIEF'S IMPRESSION

Even the humblest in India were bearing the burden of the war effort, and the sacrifice which the Indian peasant, with his small margin of reserve, was called upon to make was severer than the deprivation of comfort which people in other countries with higher standards might suffer, said His Excellency the Commander-in Chief of India, at a press conference in New Delhi, on December 18.

Explaining the scope of the Military Reorganisation Committee, Sir Claude Auchinleck said it was a purely exploratory committee in the military field and was intended to ensure that the great fund of military knowledge and experience gained during the last five years of war was not lost as after the last war, but that it should be utilised in a way that would be valuable to any future Government of India whatever its constitution.

### INDIAN BRIGADE

For the first time in the history of the Indian Army what is virtually an all India Brigade, led by Indian Officers, has been in action against the enemy and has given a good account of itself in operations. This Brigade, forming part of the 25th Indian Division, is on the Burma front and was recently visited by the Supreme Allied Commander, Lord Louis Mountbatten.

# Utterances of the Day

## MR. STEVENS ON BRITAIN AND INDIA

Britain must either make India her willing associate or else get out, declared Lieut. Col. G. R. Stevens, addressing the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London, on December 12. Col. Stevens added that

the only way to make India's willing associate to the enormous advantage of Indians and Britons alike is to persuade the 400 million people of different races, habits and character that the British are prepared to relinquish their status as superior beings and are willing to become partners and associates in the business of living in India.

He believed that it was possible to use the British army in India as ambassadors of goodwill to dispel old notions and to create a new concept of what Great Britain in 1910 really is and really stands for. He maintained that the British forces to-day represented that tolerant, practical and fair-minded Britain which had so much to offer to the world. Col. Stevens continued:

Imperial gulfs between the ruler and the ruled have not been bridged and cannot be bridged by the generation of officials and commanders whose roots are in the system that is rapidly passing away. With the best will in the world they cannot administer an enterprise based on what is to them a new and revolutionary psychology. They are not in rapport with the Indian intelligentsia and I fear that in some cases at least they are even more out of touch with current British thought.

## REV. HODGE ON INDIA'S DESTINY

The belief that for practical and sentimental reasons Indian political destiny lies in a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations is expressed by Rev. Z. Hodge, lately Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, addressing the East

## India Association, London, on "India's Political Future and Rural Reconstruction."

Although there are those who look to a partnership in a new alignment of nations comprised of India, China and Russia, I cherish the conviction that the present clouds of suspicion and estrangement will lift and India, by her own free choice, will elect to remain with us and share our common destiny.

I share the widespread regret that the negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah have broken down but the ice has been broken and at any rate we see clearly now that Pakistan, as interpreted by the latter, means partition of India. Since this fundamental problem has its roots in race and religion, no effort of British statesmanship and no extension of British administration can remove it; wisdom would therefore seem in leaving its solution to Indian hand. The risks are certainly grave but I cannot reconcile myself to the view that Britain must stand perpetually on guard to keep the peace in India. I cast the anchor of my faith in the good sense of the Indian people. Much depends on framing a new Indian constitution. The approach of independence has accentuated the demand for security by various communities.

## SIR T. B. SAPRU'S CALL TO BRITAIN

"If the Hindus and Muslims do not accommodate each other, what will they do when the British impose a constitution on India reserving large powers in their own hands. It would be a disastrous consequence. It is no use blaming the British, Mr. Jinnah or Mahatma Gandhi. Hindus and Mussalmans must look to the future and ask themselves: 'Are we prepared to turn over a new leaf?'" observed Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while addressing the members of the Progressive Club (Society of University Deans and Intellectuals), at Allahabad on December 8.

Sir Tej Bahadur, proceeding, said that lending accommodation was no surrender. He stressed the imperative necessity of achieving communal agreement,



## MR. JINNAH AND DR. SAPRU

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has expressed his inability to meet the Sapru Conciliation Committee. Sir Tej Bahadur wrote to Mr. Jinnah on December 10, a letter in the course of which he said:

The main function of the Conciliation Committee is exploratory. It will endeavour by personal contacts and otherwise to ascertain the views of the main political parties in regard to the basis of the future constitution of India it will study carefully the full implications of the proposals of the Muslim League in regard to Pakistan as well as the full import of the proposals made by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari during the recent Gandhi Jinnah talks. It will study with no less care the demand of the Hindu Mahasabha, of the Sikhs, of the Scheduled Classes and other important bodies. The Committee hopes that, by a thorough and unbiassed examination of these conflicting views it may find it possible to make concrete suggestions which may pave the way for a solution of the present controversies. I am, therefore, earnestly approaching you on behalf of the Committee and on my own behalf to enquire if you will kindly allow me and one or two other members of the Committee to see you in order to obtain clarification on the practical aspects of the problem. I shall, therefore, be much obliged if you would kindly fix two alternative dates that may suit you and also let me know the place where we can meet you.

Mr. Jinnah replied.

I regret to say that I cannot recognise the Non Party Conference or its Standing Committee, and it follows, therefore, that I cannot recognise the Committee recently appointed by the Standing Committee of the Non Party Conference for the purpose and the manner in which you propose to proceed and deal with the present political situation. My views about your Non Party Conference are already well known to you and the public. In these circumstances, I am unable to comply with the request contained in your letter.

Commenting on this Sir Tej says

so far as the Muslim League's point of view is concerned the Committee will now proceed upon the published resolutions of the Muslim League and the speeches of Mr Jinnah and other relevant matters including the recent Gandhi Jinnah correspondence which had been published

## I. L. P. EXECUTIVE'S DEMAND

The Independent Labour Party Executive, with James Maxton and John MacGovern representing the Parliamentary group, declared in Glasgow on December 22, that events in Greece had destroyed the last illusion that the Government was fighting the war for Democracy.

It was decided to ask every section of the labour movement to demand immediate cessation of the war against the Greek people, withdrawal of Labour representatives from the Government, and ending of the political truce.

It was held that the time had come for the workers of Britain to challenge Mr. Churchill and the Tory Party. Notice was given that the Party would take steps either alone or in conjunction with others to contest every bye election in Tory constituencies between now and the general election.

Mr. Frenner Brockway, Political Secretary of the Independent Labour Party in an exclusive interview, said:

The I.L.P. challenges Mr. Churchill not only because of his European policy but also because of his policy towards India and the eastern peoples. India is an occupied country and we must stand by her resistance movement in the same way we stood by the Greek resistance movement.

The Indian Freedom Movement Committee of which I am a member has already decided to launch a campaign in the new year for the implementation of the Labour Party's resolution and for effective action by the Labour rank and file to bring pressure upon the Labour Executive to compel the Labour Ministers in the Cabinet to act on India now. The I.L.P. will not waver in the supreme task to bring before the electorate during the election, the demands of the Indian people to be free from British Imperialism and British rule.

I am not surprised at Mr. Jinnah's and Dr. Ambedkar's Non Co Operation with the Sapru Committee because I have always felt that nothing can happen unless the third party—the British—withdraw from India.

# Educational

## SIR M. GWYER ON GOVT.'S DUTY

"Governments throughout India might have raised educational standards more than they have done, if they had insisted that every educational institution in receipt of Government assistance must qualify for that assistance by complying with certain minimum conditions", declared Sir Maurice Gwyer, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, in his Convocation address to the University on December 16.

"Autonomy", he asserted, "is purchased at too high a price, if for example it implies freedom to neglect the interests of University teachers, and I fear that in far too many cases Governments have stood by and watched without emotion teachers being compelled to accept conditions of service which are a scandal and a disgrace. These things must stop, if there is to be any progress in education, and the interests of the teachers, which in the fullest sense means also the true interests of the Universities, must be the first care of every Government which is distributing educational grants."

## THE LATE SIR R. M. STATHAM

We regret to record the death of Sir Mervel Statham, Director of Public Instruction Madras on December 27 after a short illness. He was aged 51.

Sir Mervel came to Madras in 1918 as temporary Professor of History in the Presidency College. The following year, he was appointed Principal, Kumbakonam College. He served in several capacities, in different parts of the Presidency until 1920 when he was made Deputy Director

of Public Instruction. He was for sometime Principal of the Arts College, Rajahmundry before he was appointed Special Officer in connection with the constitution of Andhra University. In 1935 his services were placed at the disposal of the Travancore Government. Returning to Madras a year later, he served with the Government of India as Officiating Educational Commissioner in 1935. The following year he was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Madras and in this capacity he served till his death except for a short period during which he served as a member of the Sargent Commission.

## MRS. NAIDU AT THE VISVA BHARATI

The "Samavartana Utsava" (Convocation) of Visva Bharati was held at Santiniketan on December 24 when diplomas were awarded to students successfully completing the course of study prescribed by the various departments, namely, Kala Bhavan, Siksha Bhavan and Loka Siksha Samsad.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, delivering the Convocation Address, exhorting the students receiving diplomas to follow the ideal of Santiniketan—the centre of national unity and international fellowship—said:

Humanity is only a brotherhood. We should cease to think in terms of frontiers and boundaries. We should think in terms of international amity and so fulfill the dream of Gurudeva.

Mr. Rathbindranath Tagore read out the annual report of the Visva Bharati. He said: "The Visva Bharati acknowledge India's obligation to offer to others the spirituality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best".

## CONVICTION OF A BARRISTER

The District Magistrate, Balaghat, Mr. S. K. Bannerjee, I.C.S., convicted Mr. V. P. Verma, Barrister, of contempt of court and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 50, or in default to seven days' simple imprisonment. The allegation against Mr. Verma was that, when, on December 4 last, the District Magistrate entered the Court Mr. Verma greeted him with the words "Good Morning". The Magistrate contended that the omission of the word "Sir" displayed lack of respect for the Court. Mr. Verma is stated to have replied that it was not his practice to say "Sir" to any Court. Thereupon, the Magistrate told Mr. Verma that he would have to take up the matter, to which Mr. Verma was said to have replied, "Please do". The District Magistrate thereupon started proceedings against him for contempt of court.

The District Bar Association, Balaghat, at a special meeting, adopted a resolution on the subject condemning the District Magistrate's action as "unjustifiable" and opining that the very fact that, when any court takes its seat, all the members of the Bar present stand up, showed sufficient respect to the Court and thus the business court start without salutations of "Good Morning" or "Good Morning, Sir".

## "FORCED LOANS"

In the Patna High Court on December 19, Mr. Justice Agarwala and Mr. Justice Meredith ordered the prosecution under Section 161 of the Indian Penal Code on a charge of bribery of a clerk employed in the Patna Collectorate (Arms Department) who is alleged to have bargained

with Mr. B. K. Sen, an Advocate, that his gun licence would be removed if he does not invest at least Rs. 100 in the National Savings Certificate of the Bihar Government.

Mr. Justice Agarwala in the course of his judgment with which Mr. Justice Meredith concurred, observed that whatever might be the Government's laudable object in selling National Savings Certificates, from the manner in which they were obtained they had become in the nature of "forced loans." His Lordship held that the words of Section 161 I.P.C. excluded the defence that the benefit bargained for was to go to somebody else and also the notion that the officer was protected if he agreed to let his official acts be swayed by the motive of accepting gratification to be used for advancing some public and not private object, such as, charity, religion, etc.

Their Lordships held that on the basis of the allegations, a clear case of bribery had been made out and directed the clerk's trial by the Munsif Magistrate, Patna.

## DECISION AGAINST SECURITY ORDER

A full bench of the Nagpur High Court on Dec. 11, set aside the order of the Provincial Government under Indian Press Emergency Powers Act demanding a security of Rs. 1,000 from the printer of *Bhavitavya* a Marathi Weekly of Nagpur edited by Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, for printing and publishing an article entitled "The Message of the August Revolution" in his paper dated 11th August, '41.

In the course of their judgment, their Lordships while discussing one of the eleven objected passages pointed out how the word revolution had been used in Montford Reforms in the sense of revolution in people's thought and held that the writer used the word in that sense only. "Moreover the word revolution has become a slogan with Socialists and lost all its sting by frequent reiteration", observed their Lordships.

## INSURANCE LAW AMENDMENT

Notable changes are proposed in the Insurance Law in India by amendment of the Insurance Act. The Bill has been referred by the Central Assembly to a Select Committee which will meet about the beginning of this month. In the meantime, the Bill is being circulated to the Insurance Advisory Committee. It is expected to come up for discussion before the Central Assembly in its budget session.

The Amendments sought to be made to the Act aim at affording more protection to policy-holders, making insurance companies financially more stable, and eradicating some of the unhealthy practices which hamper the healthy growth of insurance business in India.

The important amendments provide for:—

(1) Separate investment of assets in the Life Insurance Fund.

(2) Raising the Life Fund to an amount equal to the liabilities under life insurance policies before registering an insurance company for other classes of insurance business such as Fire, Marine or Accident.

(3) Restricting the amount of commission payable to employers of insurance agents e.g., chief agents, and the terms of their contract.

(4) Assessing solvency or otherwise of a life insurance company or provident society without taking into account its uncalled capital.

(5) Cancellation of registration of an insurance company or provident society

which delays beyond a certain period payment of a claim after it has been adjudicated in a court of law.

(6) Preventing insurance companies and provident societies from remunerating their executive heads, managers, managing directors, etc., on a commission profit sharing basis.

(7) Taking away from the scope of Married Women's Property Act, 1874, nominations in favour of wife and children made under Section 89 of the Insurance Act.

(8) The transfer and amalgamation of provident societies with the sanction of the Superintendent of Insurance.

Speaking on the Bill, the Commerce Member, the Hon. Sir M. Azizul Huque said that these amendments sought to rectify the defects in the law.

## CITY HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN

A city health-insurance plan has been formulated by Florello Ee La Guardia, Mayor of New York City. The plan is put into operation from the first of this month with 190,000 city-employee subscribers. All New Yorkers earning less than \$5,000 a year are eligible.

Mayor La Guardia's plan is the first of its kind in the world. Medical, surgical and hospital care is given to every citizen, his wife and all children under 18, for 4 per cent. of his income, half of which he pays and half his employer.

If enough doctors sign up, medical care will be provided by an open panel of doctors on fixed fees. And the patient can choose his doctor. Otherwise, there will be a closed panel on salaries from \$ 6,000 to \$ 20,000 a year.

## IMPORT OF "CAPITAL GOODS"

"It is understood that industrialists in other countries are already, in expectation of an early ending of the war, placing orders for their post-war requirements of capital goods for rehabilitation and expansion of industry. It is, therefore, desirable that Indian industrialists should lose no time in booking their orders, and the Government of India are anxious to render all possible assistance in enabling Indian industry to obtain its requirements," says a Press Note.

With this end in view, it has been decided that firms who have placed or intended to place orders for post-war requirements of capital goods from overseas, should be called upon to register their orders with Government.

Orders for goods which are expected to be shipped before July 1, 1945 need not be registered, for such goods import licences should be applied for in the ordinary way. All orders for capital goods which are likely to be shipped after that date should, however, be registered, except that it is not necessary to register orders for machine tools of an estimated F.O.B. value less than Rs. 10,000 and for other capital goods of an estimated value of less than Rs. 25,000.

## TERMINATION OF WAR CONTRACTS

A proposal for setting up machinery to secure carefully planned termination of war contracts, is mentioned in a message which the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, sent on December 12, to the meeting in Bombay of the Advisory Panel of Accountants attached to the Finance Department.

"As procurement principles and policies have become established, it has been natural for Government to have had fewer problems to refer to you," says the message. "He

would be a bold man who would claim, however, that the worst is over. Nevertheless, even if there may be little lightening of the supply load in the immediate future, the time cannot now be very far ahead when demands for war supplies will cease. We shall then be faced with the problem of terminating our war contracts, of settling our obligations to our contractors, and of clearing their workshops of unwanted materials. "We shall want to do this in a business-like manner and with the utmost possible expedition, so that they may be free to devote their energies to the production of much-needed goods for the civil market."

## WAR SHARES IN NEW YORK

A sudden and continuing boom in values in war shares on the stock market with prices at their highest levels since the war began awakened the Americans last month to the realisation that Washington's prophecies of a long war still ahead have reached a kind of certainty, which hard-headed businessmen are prepared to back in solid cash.

The exhilaration at the midsummer stories of a collapsing German regime and the optimism about being out of the trenches by Christmas have speedily evaporated, and are giving place to a new aspect of the American war effort. Unquestionably, the effort in recent months had begun to slacken off. Then came sharp warnings about shell shortage, followed by the startling revelation that boys under 19 were being sent overseas.

Finally, to dispel the illusion that all this was an administration scare to speed up war production, has come the realisation that the nation's businessmen are basing their transactions on the theory that the road to victory will be long and hard,

## MRS. PANDIT ON INDIA'S CASE

In an interview with the *New York Post* Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, who is in America on a lecture tour, said:

The desire for independence in India is not the result of the work of any political party or any super-imposed propaganda. It is the natural result of world conditions. Gandhiji did not create the desire for independence. If only people would realise that India's desire for independence is more than a matter of merely wishing to become a 'nation'! What's actually at stake is the whole question of freedom itself.

Only such a man as Pandit Nehru who stood up against fascism long before the British can offer a solution either for the conditions in India or for the world at large. If the Four Freedoms are to have any meaning at all, certainly they might have a meaning for those who are supposed to fight for them. India after all represents one-fifth of the human race. If promises are constantly broken, how can one believe in those who make the promises?

I am not here to propagandise. India's case needs no cheap propaganda. I am not here to answer cheap propaganda. To those who say that differences in India among the various sections must be wiped out before we deserve independence, I can only reply that whatever differences there may be cannot be ironed out until the English domination is removed.

The *New York Post*, which devoted nearly a full-page article to Mrs. Pandit said: For the first time since the beginning of the war an Indian leader has been permitted to come to America directly from India. That this leader should be India's 'first lady' can be of the greatest consequence to everyone who believes in the Four Freedoms everywhere.

## WOMEN AND SANSKRIT LEARNING

A meeting under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy was held on December 19, at Ranade Hall, Madras. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry presided.

Smt. Kshama Row of Bombay addressing the gathering on "Women and Sanskrit Learning" in Sanskrit traced the history of learning, education and the social status of women in the ancient, medieval and modern periods. She referred to the fact that among the Vedic seers there were ladies like Apala, Ghosha, etc., and there were women among the sages of the Upanishads. She also pointed out how

the institution of Upanayana for women in ancient times kept up their learning. In epics of Ramayana, ladies were described as practising Vedic rites and chanting mantras. Women took up to monastic life in Buddhist and Jain periods. Then the independence of women suffered some eclipse. The speaker appealed to the women to take up to Sanskrit learning and produce poems as in the ancient days.

## HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY

The Federal Court passed an order on December 19 in a case in which the principal question to be determined was the validity of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act. The Court held that in their interpretation of Section 8 of Sub-section 1 of the Act it should be understood that they will be entitled to half share, subject to the limitation in regard to immemorial property.

Discussing the validity of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, Mr. Justice Varadachariar and the Chief Justice Sir Patrick Spens held that the Act was validly enacted by the Indian Legislature and that the objections raised to its validity were untenable.

Mr. Justice Zafrullah differed from this view and held that it was not a valid piece of legislation. Mr. Justice Zafrullah said that he shared the Chief Justice's regret that the Legislature had not so far chosen to put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt by appropriate validating legislation. He expressed the hope that that course might yet be adopted not only with reference to this Act but also with regard to any other measure or measures the validity of which might be open to doubt on similar grounds.

The Federal Court granted leave to appeal to the Privy Council in the Case.

## NEWSPAPERS OF THE FUTURE

Future wonders of the Radio were described in the House of Commons the other day by Mr Leonard Plugge M P for Chatham

Radio is going to become a new method of travelling he said. It will be quite obsolete to pack your bag and go into a train ship or aeroplane. You will be able to detach your mind completely from your body and park your body by the seaside in sunshine extract your mind from your body and send it with the speed of light through ether carry out your business and bring back with the same lightning speed. He predicted that we shall have television in colour and in three dimensions.

The newspapers of the future will be printed in our own house by the radio. When you go to bed you will switch on the button of radio and according to your taste you will tear off your newspaper with its items and up to the minute news its features and photographs ready to read.

## JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

At the annual general meeting of the Journalists Assn of India held at Bombay on December 19 the following office bearers were elected

President Mr B G Horniman Vice Presidents Messrs N C Kellar and K P Khadihar Chairman of the Executive Committee Mr K Gopalaswamy Messrs U G Rao and Batuk Desai were elected secretaries and Mr Salkade as Treasurer

The meeting adopted a resolution expressing disappointment at the resolution adopted by the Standing Committee of the AINEC regarding the emoluments and terms of service of journalists.

## NEW ENGLISH DAILY FOR PUNJAB

The donations announced by the various District Zamindars Leagues in the Punjab up to date amount to nearly Rs 12 50 000 of which about Rs 7 00 000 has actually been received.

It is proposed to use the bulk of the money to start a first class English daily to be managed by a trust on non communal lines.

## MR WELLS ON CHURCHILL

Under the heading "Churchill Must Go". H G Wells, in the Socialist Weekly, Tribune describes the British Prime Minister as would be British Fuehrer. Mr Wells says

Churchill's ideology picked up in the garrison life of India on the reefs of South Africa in his maternal home and in conversations in wealthy conservative households is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively, of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicuous. He has served his purpose and it is high time he retired before we forget the debt we owe him. We want him to go—now—before he discredits us further for his own sake as well as ours and if he takes all the royalties in the world with him—so much the better for human hope. The matter is urgent.

## ROGER THOMAS

Mr Roger Thomas Minister for Agriculture and Post war Development in Sind who resigned his office has been appointed Adviser to the Government of Sind for Agriculture and Reconstruction.

Ministerial circles consider the resignation of Mr Roger Thomas a direct sequel to the agreement said to have been reached between Mr Jinnah and the Sind Premier during the latter's visit to New Delhi.

## NEW FINANCE MEMBER OF INDIA

A *communiqué* says His Majesty the King has approved the appointment of Sir Archibald Rowlands at present Adviser to the Viceroy on War Administration to be a Member of the Governor General's Executive Council in succession to Sir Jeremy Raisman whose tenure of office expires in April 1945.

## MR. S A BRELVI

Mr S A Brelvi the editor of the Bombay Chronicle has been unanimously elected to preside over the ensuing session of the All India Newspaper Editors Conference to be held on 27th and 28th January 1945 at Calcutta.

## MEDICAL MEN TO ORGANISE

The importance and necessity of a professional organisation for the medical profession as a whole, whether practitioners or scientific researchers for maintaining the rights of this noble calling, was stressed by Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who inaugurated the seventh Maharashtra and Karnatak Provincial Medical Conference held at Sholapur on December 16.

After a passing reference to the present political conditions as they affect the profession, Dr. Mehta voiced the feelings of the medical profession with regard to their part in the present day democracy. "We as a profession are keenly interested," he said, "to see that the interests we represent not purely from a professional point of view, but of the nation as a whole whose health and general welfare it is our function to serve, are duly represented in the Centre and the Provincial Legislatures. This can only be done by a proper and careful organisation of our own."

## CURE FOR LEPROSY AND TUBERCULOSIS

Two young chemists on the research staff of Parke Davis and Company, Detroit, have developed a new Sulfone drug—Promin—which may lead to a cure for tuberculosis and leprosy, says an article in *Collier's Magazine*. The article, written by J. D. Ratcliff, says that out of a group of 425 T. B. patients tested, one-third were "unquestionably improved, many of them making quick recoveries enabling them to go back to work." Then, Dr. G. H. Faget, staff physician at the National Leprosarium, Carville, Louisiana, hearing of Promin, decided to experiment. He injected the new drug into the veins of 22 patients with Leprosy. "There was no dramatic response to the drug," the writer says. "But as time went by, the coppery skin patches—the badge of leprosy—began to take on the tone of normal skin. Open sores healed, and leprosy lesions of the eyes which threatened blindness, closed up." He said the summary of results with 22 lepers showed that 15 were definitely improved, and Dr. Faget concluded that it could be regarded "as the most hopeful experimental treatment ever undertaken."

## REST HASTENS DEATH

Elderly persons who get sick must be gotten out of bed and back on their feet as rapidly as possible in order to stave off death, says the *Oriental Watchman*.

Confinement to bed hastens death in persons over 60 years. The reason is that remaining inactive for long periods allows the blood to accumulate in the small veins and arteries. The total volume of blood is thus reduced, and its circulation is further impeded, by the hardening of the blood vessels that occurs in old age.

The blood therefore remains in the capillaries until it is forced out by contractions of the muscles, but a person confined to bed moves his muscles so little that the blood does not circulate enough. As a result, tissues degenerate, ulcers form, and the body is slowly poisoned by absorption of the products from the degenerated tissues. The patient sinks into stupor, and the final invasion of the bacteria into the lungs causes the fatal pneumonia.

The way to prevent all this is to order elderly patients out of bed as soon as possible, or while they must remain in bed, to give breathing, and frequent shifts of position.

## DIET &amp; PALPITATION OF THE HEART

Does shortness of breath indicate heart trouble? A medico writes:

As a sign of heart trouble, breathlessness by itself is not important. Flabby muscles and overweight may be responsible. A medical examination will often sweep away needless fears.

The sufferers from palpitation of the heart are also often fearful that something is wrong with that organ. Generally speaking, it is not at all a serious symptom.

Palpitation becomes an illness only when the pulse races along for hours at a speed of over 100, and jumps up to 120 with the slightest excitement. As a result, the heart is tired by night-time, and there are long hours of sleeplessness.



## FRENCH GOLD

The Bank of France is said to have at least £600 000 000 worth of gold and dollar balances which have been held abroad throughout the period of German occupation. A part of the gold has been in West Africa, another in Martinique, but large funds were deposited by the bank in the United States. So far as is known, no substantial assets are held in England.

Now that the French Provisional Government has been recognised it may be taken for granted that Washington will release the £250 000 000 or so of French assets owned either by the Central Bank or by private persons which have been blocked since 1940. In some cases the release to individuals may be delayed until the legal ownership has been proved and confirmed by the French authorities.

But the main thing is that France can now make free use of a large hoard of gold and dollars—probably larger than England's—to place contracts for all the materials that must be brought in for the physical reconstruction of the country.

## MONEYLESS GREECE

A feature of the Greek Government's difficulties of which little has been heard in India is the fact that before they retreated, the German occupation authorities deliberately sabotaged the Greek currency. As Mr Churchill announced in the House of Commons the British Government is to do its best to help Greece stabilise her currency and British Treasury officials have already arrived in Athens.

It seems that the Allies have lent the Greek Government a certain amount of gold in order to enable it to finance its most essential expenditure.

According to reports now arriving from London the drachma notes put into circulation by the Germans ran into astronomical figures which surpassed even the wildest inflation of 1923 in Germany. These notes have ceased to have any purchasing power and the Greek nation is at present virtually without a currency. It is hardly surprising that such a catastrophe should have profound political as well as economic effects.

## DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

"The immediate development of Indian railways after the war seems likely to be aimed as much at quality as at quantity," said Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, in a special interview to the Associated Press.

"There are of course, a large number of projects, which must go forward as rapidly as possible and it is tempting to lay before the public a plan to bring the railway to every village of any size. But the motto for post war development in transport is rationalisation and co-ordination, and we have to consider in each case whether transport interests will be best served by developing a railway or a road on a particular alignment."

"In making the choice, or course the views of the user as represented largely by the Provincial Governments are of the greatest importance. Hence, in preparing all such development plans we are busy taking the views of the Provincial Governments and the greatest weight will be attached to them."

On the question of railway construction Sir Edward believes that the Soviet construction programme between 1918 and 1936 offers many useful points of comparison for India. During that period the Russians built about 500 miles of railway per year. The improvement in the quality of railway operation and of road transport must have been phenomenal to have enabled the Russians to accomplish what they have done in the war.

## TRAIN ENGINES CONVERSION

Mr J F C Reynolds, General Manager of the South Indian Railway addressed a press conference at Madras on December 16, on war time railway traffic in South India at which he revealed that the South Indian Railway had under consideration the conversion of certain express broad gauge engines from coal to oil.

## CONCESSION TO RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

The Railway Board have sanctioned an increase in dearness allowance and certain other concessions regarding prices in railway grain shops for railway employees.

## CHAIR FOR DRAMA AND FILMS

It is possible that in the near future Oxford will have a chair for Drama and Films, writes Campbell Dixon in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Sir Alexander Korda has given £5,000 to cover the cost of preliminary investigation in America and 8 representatives of the University are to leave in March or April to study the courses already existing there.

"The cultural importance of the Stage and the Screen has long been recognised in a recent speech. "Harvard, Yale, Berkeley and other Universities have very successful courses. In Moscow, there is a special University at which famous film directors like Eisenstein and Pudovkin are professors. Apart from teaching the right attitude to film production, the course such as I have in mind would be of great practical use to the industry. When I started film productions I took many young technicians—cutters, for example—from Oxford and they turned out extremely well."

## VISHNU DIGAMBAR UNIVERSITY OF MUSIC

A University of Music, called the Vishnu Digambar University of Music, was inaugurated at Allahabad recently when the Prayag Sangit Samity concluded the celebrations in connection with their Convocation week.

The University has been started to commemorate the name of Vishnu Digambar and to conduct examinations in music. For the present the functions of the new University will be confined to the conduct of the examinations and the grant of certificates and diplomas. The schools which were affiliated to the Mandal and the Sangit Samity will now be affiliated to the new University.

## INDIAN MUSICAL CONFERENCE

The Indian Musical Conference was opened by Maharani Shantadevi Gaekwad on December 18 at Baroda. Her Highness reviewed the encouragement given to music by the Baroda Government and expressed the opinion that music needed public patronage more than that of Government.

## INDIAN LAWN TENNIS ASSOCIATION

Pandit Amarnath Jha has been elected President and Mr. L. Brooke-Edwards, Secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association for the year 1914-15.

The Association has removed the ban on the acceptance of the entries of Messrs. Y. Singh, Sayoor and Sohanlal for the tournaments sanctioned by the All-India Lawn Tennis Association.

The question of fixing the All-India Championships for the 1915-16 season has been entrusted to the Bengal Lawn Tennis Council.

## CRICKET FESTIVAL

In the four-day festival cricket match between the Services XI and the Cricket Club of India XI, which was held last month at Bombay at the Brabourne Stadium, the Services XI, batting first, made 848 runs, two minutes before closing time.

C. K. Nayudu hit up 91 runs, while Mushtaq Ali gave a magnificent display and compiled 90 runs at a fast rate before being dismissed shortly after lunch. He was concerned in a century stand for the second wicket with Hotchkiss.

Denis Compton was out early for 16, while Hardstaff contributed 27.

## AMERICAN LAWN TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP

Misses Louise Brough of Beverly Hills, California and Margaret Osborne of San Francisco, have won the national Women's Doubles Tennis title for the third year in succession by defeating Miss Pauline Betz of Los Angeles and Miss Doris Hart of Miami, 4-6, 6-4, 6-8.

Frank Parker, the United States Army player, won the Singles crown by defeating William Talbert of Indianapolis, Indiana, 6-4, 8-6, 6-3, the latter having accounted for Segura in the semi-final round, 8-6, 6-3, 6-0.

## INTER-PROVINCIAL BADMINTON

Delhi won the Inter-Provincial Badminton Championship by two matches to one by winning the Doubles on December 20, when S. L. Jaini and D. Charanjit followed up their victory over Ashok Nath and Prakash Nath in the semi-finals of the Men's Doubles, by scoring another grand victory over Prakash and Davinder to claim the Inter-Provincial Championship after three thrilling games.

## NOBEL PRIZE AWARDS

The Nobel Awards for 1918 and 1941 were announced on October 26, at Stockholm. The prize for Physiology and Medicine for 1918 is shared jointly by Professor Kenrik Dām, Copenhagen, and Professor Edward Adelbert Doisy of Saint Louis, Missouri, for the discovery of Vitamin "K." The same award for 1941 is shared jointly by Professor Emeritus Joseph Erlanger of Saint Louis and Professor Herberts Gasser of New York.

Vitamin "K" occurs in green vegetables, pig liver, fat, hempseed, spinach and alfalfa. It was discovered by the two workers at the Biochemical Institution at Copenhagen University. Its discovery was the result of dietary experiments on chickens. The vitamin seems to be of use in adding to the clotting power of blood and in anaemic conditions.

Vitamin "K" probably acts on some process in the liver and is reported to be useful in arresting dental decay.

## INDIAN SCIENTIFIC OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Chairman of the Indian Scientists' mission, touring the United States, said India intended to open in Washington a central scientific office with the purpose of exchanging students and experts and thoughts regarding scientific matters between the two countries.

Sir Shanti Swarup said the present delegation will contact many industrial, agricultural and other scientific groups and learn their methods of organisation and operation particularly for laying the foundation for the exchange of information between the United States and India. He declared that he himself would visit most of the places with the group, and was going to pay particular attention to the chemical, pharmaceutical, steel and plastics industries, oil refineries and petroleum research. He commented: "It will be an eye opener for Indians who will come and see the great developments here, and America's high standards of living." Many of the most prominent men in the United States have already shown the Indian mission greatest hospitality.

## INDIA'S FILM INDUSTRY

A far-reaching post-war programme for the expansion of India's film industry, which it is hoped will play an important part in helping to eradicate the illiteracy of the Indian masses, was described by Mr. Akbar Fazalbhoy, a member of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference.

Pointing out that India's 390 million men and women are served by only 1,700 cinemas as compared with 17,000 in the United States, Mr. Fazalbhoy, at a press conference, declared that India's post-war programme called for 10,000 cinemas, an annual production of 800 feature films, 104 instructional shorts and 52 weekly newreels. To achieve this programme, he added, India needed the help of the American motion picture industry.

Mr. Fazalbhoy continued: "The Indian film industry also recognises that it has a task to perform in bringing Indian art and learning not only to its own people, but to people in other countries throughout the world. To achieve this, India plans to produce films in the English language for international trade." He added that Indian film producers were looking forward to making technicolour films.

## INDIAN MOBILE CINEMA IN ITALY

News recently flashed round an Indian divisional H.Q. resting behind the front line in Italy that an Indian mobile cinema unit had arrived in the area. "Nai Roshni" and "Sant Sakhubai", it was said, were the films to be shown on two successive nights.

Indian troops poured in by the hundred each night. British officers and men who were curious to see an Indian picture also joined the throngs. As they saw the familiar sights of India on the screen and heard again their favourite stars, Indian troops showed their delight in no uncertain manner. Both films proved extremely popular.

Films for the troops are carefully selected. Those which proved popular in India are booked for showing to the men fighting abroad.

## INDIAN CYCLE MAKERS

The *Economist* writes that the report of British cycle and motor-cycle manufacturers has caused alarm in India. Mr. R. D. Birla, Chairman of Hind Cycles Limited, pointed out that Indian cycle manufacturers have prepared a post-war programme for the manufacture of half a million cycles to meet "fully" India's requirements, and reminded British factories of the British Government's settled policy to allow Indian industries to develop to their full capacity.

The *Economist* says that it would indeed be very wrong if British industry tried to prevent India's industrialisation, but there is no trace of any such suggestion in the bicycle manufacturers' report.

They merely stress the difficulties in exporting to the Dominions and to India, if these countries were to bolster up local manufacture with import duties. Mr. Birla wants to keep them out from India altogether. If this be the aim of Indian industrialists, how can Britain be expected to pay its war debt to India?

## MOTOR VEHICLES FOR INDIA

About 20,000 surplus motor vehicles will shortly be made available to India, it is revealed in reports issued by the United States Department of Commerce and Trade.

In the new year, an even bigger number will be made available to India, but the Department adds that only a small portion can be re-conditioned so as to make their continued use as motor vehicles a practical proposition. Some of the surplus vehicles will be made into bullock carts and trailers.

## BRITISH MOTOR INDUSTRY PLANS

The British motor industry is going ahead with plans for a post-war export drive, although the British Government has not yet decided the new basis of car taxation which will make it possible for the industry to produce the type of car favoured in overseas markets.

The latest move by the Society of Motor Traders and Manufacturers is the appointment of a trade ambassador to cover the Near and Middle East from headquarters at Cairo.

## INDIA IN THE AIR COUNCIL

The Chairman of the Cuban delegation to the Air Conference, Senor Felipe Pazos, withdrew Cuba from membership of Interim Air Council in favour of India. Cuba's motion was accepted unanimously by the conference and India is now recorded a member of the Council.

Norway offered to give up her membership in the first place immediately the final session of the conference opened. Cuba followed with a similar offer and the Cuban offer was accepted unanimously.

After the election of India, Sir Gurnath Bewoor said, "This generous gesture on the part of Cuba has now given a seat to India." He proposed "a hearty vote of thanks" to Cuba and to the conference.

It may be recalled that Sir Gurnath earlier announced that India is not signing any of the documents as a protest against her non-inclusion in the Council.

## THREE NEW INDIAN WING COMMANDERS

Three new Indian Air Force Wing-Commanders figure in the latest list of officer appointments. Squadron Leader Mehar Singh, D.S.O. the first I.A.F. officer to win that decoration, Squadron Leader Hem Chondhuri who until a few months ago commanded an I.A.F. squadron on operations and Squadron Leader Narendra, one of the earlier members of the I.A.F. are given the acting rank of Wing Commander. Seven officers have been made Squadron-Leaders including Flight-Lt. Rajaram. The average age of these seven squadron-leaders is only 26, the oldest being 36. Among those appointed to the rank of Flight-Lieutenant is C. Satyanarayana.

## JET PROPULSION CRAFT

Rolls Royce Limited, makers of Britain's famous Merlin Gifford engines, are now engaged in work for jet propulsion craft. This fact which has long been a top secret in British aviation circles was first revealed by Mr. E. W. Hires, an executive of Rolls Royce, during a lecture to the Royal Aeronautical Society recently.

## WATUMULL FOUNDATION

Mr. Gobindram J. Watumull and his wife, founders and contributors of 'Watumull Foundation', devoted exclusively to provide scholarships in American universities to outstanding Indian scholars, said that applications numbering more than 600 had been received from India. They said

The purpose of the establishment of the Foundation is to produce leaders for India secondly, to promote the cause of cultural and economic co-operation between India and the United States. India is most anxious to be industrialised and we hope these students will return home and help the country fulfil her needs.

Mr. Watumull, who is a wealthy merchant, comes from Hyderabad in Sind province. He said

We are also completing arrangements with American industrialists to bring post graduate students to the United States to receive industrial training in American factories for one to two years. One of the organisations co-operating in this plan is the International Training Administration Incorporated functioning under the auspices of the National Foreign Trade Council whose activities formerly were devoted to bringing Latin American students here. They have now extended their plans globally and India is included in the present set up. The Watumull Foundation will give the Council a list of applicants and will pay the recipients travelling expenses to and from India.

The Watumulls are most pleased that their activities have the heartiest approval of the United States State Department. Mr. Watumull said

I firmly hope similar foundations will be established in India by the more wealthy people. They could do the same thing to promote the welfare of their country.

## CONCENTRATED FRUIT JUICES

Concentrated citrus juices promise to be among the first of the new products at every one's disposal after the war.

More than 10 per cent of all American oranges were concentrated last season, 5,900,000 gallons of concentrates containing high vitamin C made from 36,000,000 gallons of juice, which is 40,000 tons of oranges.

American prisoners of war report that their German guards go first for the orange concentrate when "swapping" for prisoners' supplies. So do the Eskimos dealing with Arctic traders for furs.

## FOOD FOR DEFICIT AREAS

As against a total movement target of about 2,600,000 tons of all foodgrains from surplus to deficit areas under the *kharif* and *rabi* plans of the Central Food Department, about 1,900,000 tons are reported to have already been despatched up to August 15. The shares of Bombay, Bengal, and Travancore Cochin are 262,000, 196,000 and 160,500 tons respectively.

The *kharif* plan is operative from November last to October next and *rabi* plan from May last to April next. On the basis of present estimates rice, wheat, grain, barley and millets quotas are likely to be fulfilled within the respective crop years. There is likely to be a short fall in the case of millets.

A meeting of the Standing Food Advisory Committee of the Central Legislature was held last month under the presidentship of Sir J. P. Srivastava. On the question of improving the quality of foodgrains purchased by Government, majority opinion in the Committee favoured the establishment of an intermediary agency to guarantee quality, where it was not practicable to establish a Government monopoly.

## MANURE FOR HIGHER YIELDS

The Government of India and the Punjab Government are jointly financing a scheme of preparing compost from waste vegetables. The Government of India has agreed to pay a sum not exceeding Rs 1,98,860 while the Punjab Government will pay the remaining 25 per cent upto Rs 61,620. The staff required to carry out the scheme will be trained by a government bio chemist.

Another scheme is for green manure for 20,000 acres in the districts of Montgomery, Lajalpur, Shapur, Multan and Jhang. The seed for this purpose will be distributed free, and of the cost estimate, Rs 40,030 will be paid by the Government of India, while Rs 60,100 by the Punjab Government. The seed will be purchased this year, and the scheme will be put into operation shortly.

Yet another scheme is of oilcakes manure for irrigated wheat for which purpose both the Government of India and the Punjab will pay Rs. 18,000.

### HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEME

It is learnt that consideration of the health insurance scheme for industrial workers, prepared by Dr. B. P. Adarkar, is now being expedited by the Government of India.

Views of provincial Governments and employers' and employees' associations are being invited, and these will be discussed at a tripartite meeting of the next Standing Labour Committee. Consequent on this discussion a draft legislation will be prepared and circulated for comments.

The Government of India, it is further learnt, have approached the International Labour Office, asking them to send out an expert on social insurance. The expert is expected to arrive in India after a preliminary examination of Prof. Adarkar's scheme is made, and will stay on to participate in the discussions at the tripartite meeting.

### WORKERS' RIGHT TO SUE THE BOSS

A British worker will, in future, have the right to sue his boss if he is underpaid!

Cabinet sanction has been given for the introduction of a Bill next session which will set up a novel precedent in ensuring that all employers pay the "wage for the job."

This Bill will give any employee who finds that he is not receiving the rate of pay fixed by Trade Board or other machinery the right to go to the County Court and sue as if the amount underpaid were an ordinary civil debt.

### WELFARE OF U. K. JUTE WORKERS

The Chief Inspector of Factories in the United Kingdom, Sir Wilfred Garrett, has appointed an informal technical committee to consider practical methods of improving the conditions of work in the jute industry. The committee, which held its first meeting last month, is composed of four representatives each of employers and trade unions, with three from the Factory Department.

### 10,000 U. P. LABOURERS FOR ASSAM

It is understood that the Government of India propose to send 10,000 U. P. labourers to Assam to intensify the Grow More Food Campaign in the Province.

### TRIBUTE TO INDIAN ARMY

"One of the most encouraging developments of the war in the S.E.A.C. area is the splendid fighting qualities displayed by the Indian Army in its battles with the Japanese," says Lt-Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler, American Deputy Supreme Commander, S.E.A.C., in a statement, in which he pays tribute to the part played by the men of the Indian Army in the recent successes in Burma.

"I have been closely associated with the Indian Army in India, Assam and Burma for over 8 years," says Lt-Gen. Wheeler.

While initiating the construction of the Leda Road, and as Commanding General, Services of Supply, C.B.I. Theatre, I had many Indian service troops and guard units under my command. These Indian troops performed their duties in an excellent manner, and were loyal and faithful to the Americans with whom they served. The administration and discipline of these units were superb.

The record of the fighting qualities of the Indian Army speaks for itself. During the past monsoon season, Indian troops kept up pressure on the Japanese and carried on the fight under severe weather conditions, and over rugged terrain.

Their dogged determination helped to throw the enemy out of India and back into Burma. The magnificent campaigns - of the Indian Divisions down the Tiddim road, and across the Chindwin river, coupled with the accomplishments of the Indian supply units, are some of the major factors contributing to the success of the present Burma drive.

### CONGRESS PRESIDENT REFUSES FACILITIES

The Congress President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, who is in detention, has declined to take advantage of the facilities granted by the Government of India in the matter of interviews with relatives.

In a letter to his nephew, he writes: "You must have already seen in the papers that we have now been allowed interviews with relatives. But I want you to be aware of the fact that I have already decided not to avail myself of the facilities. Therefore, neither you, nor any other relative should seek interviews, or send any application to Government in that respect."

Other members of the Working Committee, like Nehru, Kripalani, Dr. Pattabhi and others have addressed similar letters to their relatives.

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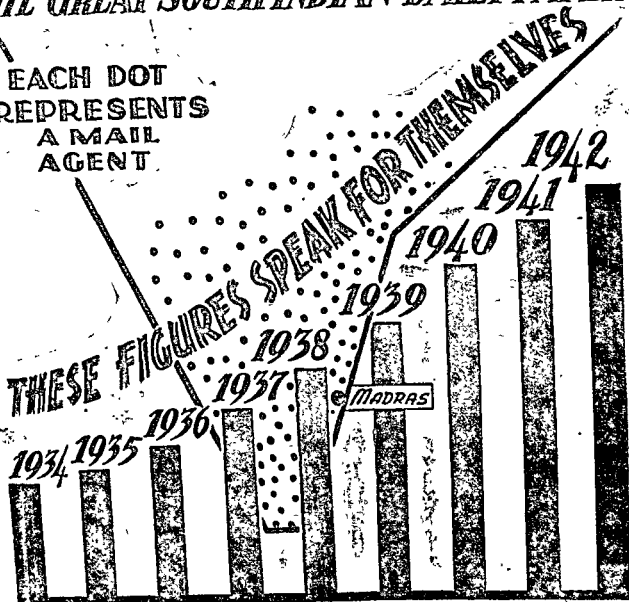
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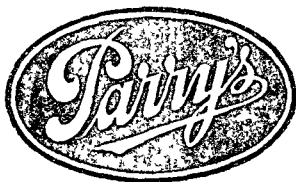


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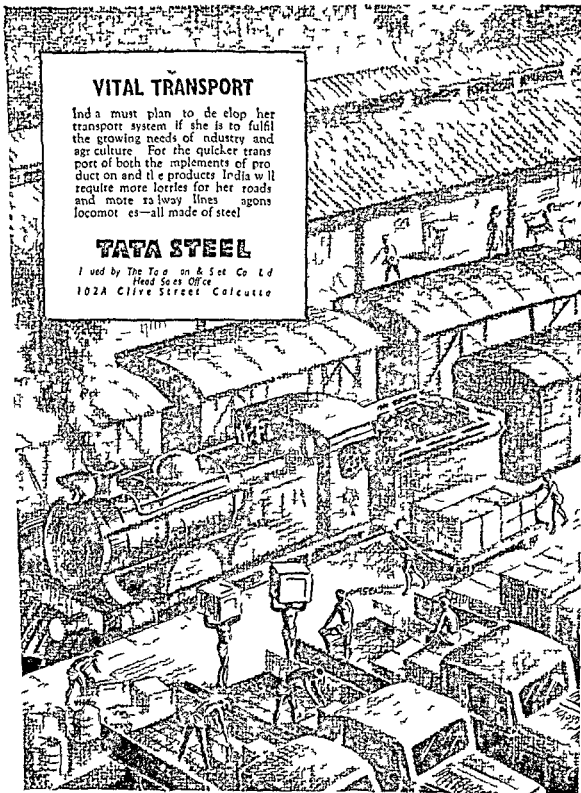


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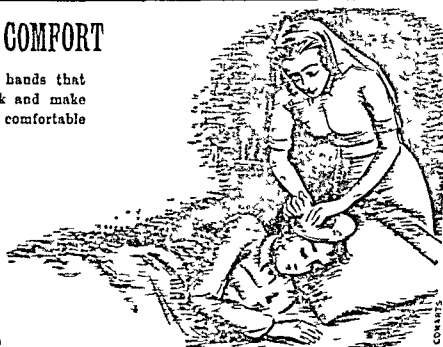


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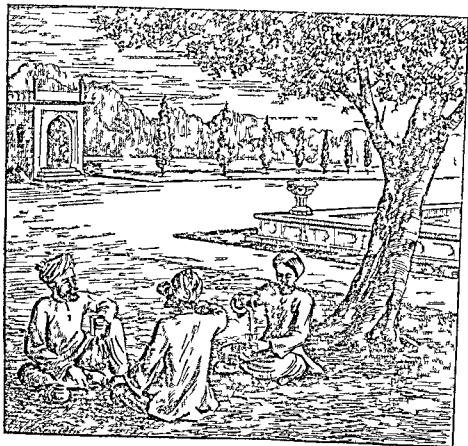


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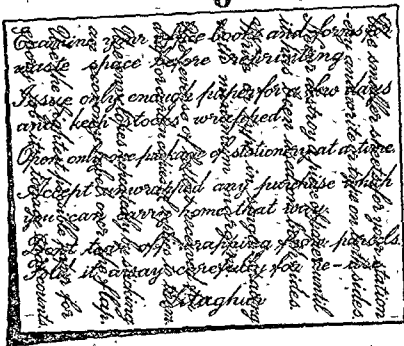
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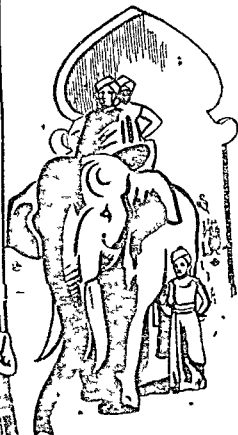
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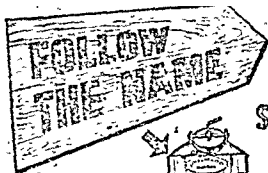
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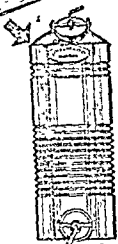
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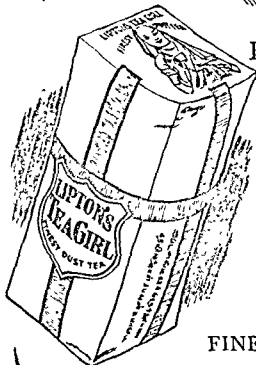
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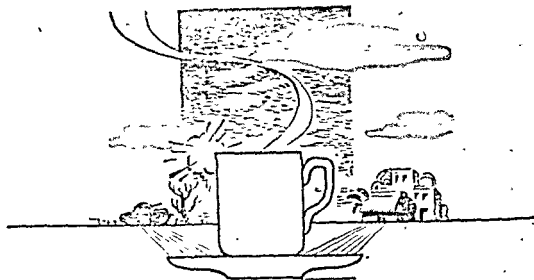
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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## THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM IN INDIA

By SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, Kt, KCLE

THE Hindu Muslim problem is our shameful trouble today. Judging from my own long experience, I do not regard it as by any means an insoluble problem, or one that need fill us with dismay, as, I confess, it is apt to do sometimes. Time and world conditions are factors which will tell in the end and bring about a national and cultural fusion. We cannot go on quarrelling for all time, nor over things which do not really matter. Good sense will, sooner or later dawn upon us and we shall realise that so long as ill will and animosity pollute the atmosphere, nationalism cannot flourish.

Some are apt to blame "the third party" overmuch for all our present day troubles. Let us not forget that the present times are vastly different from those of early British rule in India. Conditions have changed all over the world and men's ideas, too, have undergone a vast change. Adjustments are as inevitable as the change of seasons, and we have to make them, if we are to survive in such a world. English education had to come. The English language, which is fast becoming a world language, was bound to become the principal medium of communication between the educated classes. These were

inevitable developments, and why need we regret them?

It has been suggested that our history books should be rewritten, and let us hope that this will be done before long. We must see to it that the youth of the country receive the right kind of education that will make them worthy citizens of India, and which will make them think not in terms of their own community or religion, but of the country as their common motherland. Common schools, common hostels, common political ideals, common enterprises will bring the various groups of youth together.

I attach special importance to the association of members of different communities in common industrial enterprises. Nothing so surely brings people together and keeps them together as earning money together.

Religion need not be neglected, but it should not be allowed to dominate social and political life. Nationalism should do that. It is to the youth of India, the coming generation of leaders, that the country can look with some confidence to come to her rescue and to extricate her from her present embarrassments.

It is a curious fact—but nothing strange in a land of inconsistencies and perplexities—that communalism and sectionalism should be rampant among the intelligentsia, the English educated classes, but not among the masses. It is the former who are trying to resurrect the dead past, and creating unnecessary trouble for themselves and others. The drum-beaters of the moment are only to be found in their ranks.

I heartily endorse the following proposals put forward for solving the communal problem. First, the Muslim League should be recognised by the Congress as the sole representative body of the Muslims. This recognition would not, of course, mean the desertion by the Congress of its Muslim members. I would even go further and say that the Congress should unreservedly accept the fact that the League is at present the largest political organisation of the Muslims in India, and can legitimately claim to represent the Muslim point of view as no other organisation does. Secondly, the Congress and the League, the two chief political organisations of the country, should enter into a pact guaranteeing to the minority communities their legitimate rights and privileges.

Nor can I see any good reason why the Congress and the Muslim League should not effect a settlement on the following basis:—

1. *Autonomy in the provinces to the fullest possible extent.* The aim should be to have a Central rather than a Centralised All-India Government; a Supreme Government is a vital necessity for India, as it is for the United States of America.

Both history and necessity support this suggestion.

2. *Composite ministries in the provinces, composed not merely of representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, but also of other important interests and groups like, for instance, the Sikhs in the Punjab, minorities elsewhere, and the scheduled castes; nor should non-League Muslims and non Congress Hindus be left out for that reason.* The more mixed a ministry is (paradoxical as it may sound) the more popular and stable it is likely to be.

A special responsibility rests upon the Congress, as representing a vast majority of non-Muslims to bring the two major communities together, and to refrain from doing anything likely to hurt the susceptibilities of the Muslims or to encourage the feeling that either their language, religion or culture is in any danger.

India is passing through a most critical period in her political history. Once we get through it and allow time—that solver of difficulties—to play its part, India will emerge a united and powerful nation. The various religions will, as I hope, continue to exist, but they will come to occupy their proper place in the life of the peoples. The quarrel between Hindi and Urdu will also, I am hopeful, cease and circumstances will force the two contending parties to agree to have a common language. A language acceptable to the majority of the people will somehow come into existence. If the respective protagonists will only let events take their own course, the evolution of such a national language may be expected to follow as a natural result.

# BANKRUPTCY OF STATESMANSHIP

BY PROF HARICHARAN MUKERJEE

It is sad to contemplate how true statesmanship has become a rare thing in the present day world and how as the result of it the different nations are made to suffer the greatest misery and difficulties and how these sufferings instead of easing in the near future are likely to be accentuated all the more. As honesty is always the best policy so true statesmanship consists in being fair and square in one's dealings with all other nations in being sympathetic to their just demands and to all their legitimate aims and aspirations and not at all in being selfish and grasping. If this enlightened policy were consistently followed there would have been no wars and rumours of wars in this world disturbing the concord of nations and they would have lived in perfect peace and amity. But if this idea be something utopian if national interests demand that these should be safeguarded and interests of other nations trampled under foot and injustice should be done to the latter, expediency dictates that these injustices should be done under the cloak of doing something righteous and an attempt should be made to hoodwink the world or a section of it and under no circumstances the jealousy of other competing nations should be roused or at least a workable arrangement must be arrived at with these latter by admitting them to a share of the booty. That was exactly the course followed after the last Great War when mandates were given to certain great powers to administer certain conquered areas as mandates in the

interests apparently of the mandated territories but really in the interests of the mandatories themselves. So everything was in perfect order and managed quite nicely.

Furthermore statesmanship also dictates that when some great danger threatens a number of states and there is need for joint action, no effort should be spared to keep in check personal or national greed and ambition, at least so long as the crisis is not over and all causes of friction must be eliminated for the sake of smooth and harmonious working to remove the menace and bring the struggle to a successful conclusion.

But what we notice in the present day sometimes leaves us gasping. The greatest statesmen of the world who are the undisputed leaders of their own people wielding vast influence and who are charged with the task of moulding the destiny of the human race have been behaving in such a manner as to make us doubt sometimes their very sanity. Or is it rather the plenitude of power which has turned their heads and made them even careless of quarrelling with their colleagues and brothers in arms upon whose help and cooperation they have to depend so much? We can first of all take the case of Mr Churchill himself the undisputed dictator of the British Commonwealth. When he was in sore straits and the empire was tottering he put his signature to the famous Atlantic Charter guaranteeing freedom to all dependent nations of the world. But as soon as

he felt a little sure of his ground he qualified it by saying that the Charter was meant only for the victims of aggression and not for India at all. Then came the Phillips' affair and we were left wondering how he could dare to trail on the coars of his great colleague Roosevelt whose timely intervention in this war has brought about the welcome change in its tide, by declaring his 'special envoy as a *'persona non grata'* and demanding his recall. But this action as it referred to India, 'a subordinate branch of the British administration' did not at all create a crisis. But emboldened by this he took a further step which far outshone his previous performances and brought down on him angry denunciations of the American publicists and a sharp reminder also from the state department. British intervention in the domestic quarrels of Belgium, Italy and Greece has precipitated a first class diplomatic crisis and Mr. Stettinius, the new American Secretary of State has cried 'hands off' to Britain. But it is doubtful if Mr. Churchill fortified by the vote of confidence in the House of Commons will pay heed to this timely warning. In that case the friendship between America and Britain upon the continuance of which the successful issue of the war depends is likely to be put to the severest strain and will doubtless provide occasion for Hitler to chuckle over it. Though, as we sincerely hope, the tension will be eased and the crisis tided over, it undoubtedly shows the absence of true statesmanship, for this occasion might have been avoided in the interests of allied solidarity and for the successful and speedy termination of this disastrous war.

Ideological sympathies ought not to have been allowed to intrude on these delicate questions.

Next when we come to Stalin, Russia's man of destiny, we seem to detect the same lack of statesmanship. He, undoubtedly, like Mr. Churchill, is a man of wonderful power and energy, of drive and personality but he too perhaps has been betrayed into taking false steps through a consciousness of unlimited power and a consequent disregard for his colleagues and the world opinion. The stand which he has taken on the Polish question is likely to precipitate a crisis and thus hamper joint action. The question has not been solved but only shelved for the present but likely to push itself in the forefront as soon as Poland will be completely liberated.

The Persian oil concession question also betrayed the cloven foot of brute force which he wants to apply to all weak neighbouring states to fall in with his imperialistic designs and no disclaimer on his part that he will not interfere with their domestic arrangements is likely to remove the suspicions and fears of these states.

Generalissimo Chiang-kai-shek is another outstanding personality wielding vast influence over his countrymen and in great favour with the allies. But even he did not hesitate to be guided entirely by personal prejudice in insisting on the recall of General Stillwell, who though dreadfully efficient, is an unsparing critic of all and sundry. Chiang by his insistence on this question surely wounded the susceptibilities of his great American ally upon whose

continuous and timely help depends the very salvation of his country

His refusal to arrive at a compromise with the communists, with Japan literally beaug at the very gates of his capital and threatening to overrun the rest of the country over which he now exercises jurisdiction, has almost taken our breath away. Nothing can perhaps beat this in sheer dogged pertinacity and utter disregard of larger national interests.

Lastly we can not pass without notice in this connection the behaviour of another great statesman, one of the pillars of the British Empire, Field marshal Smuts who

enjoys the greatest reputation for sanity and level headedness. His attitude towards the Indian question now so much exercising the minds of both Indians and South Africans is perfectly unsympathetic and non committal. This has made the *Statesman* (Calcutta) which is always very guarded in the expression of its opinion remark in its issue of 9th December the following significant words—

Neither Britain nor the U S A can look on comfortably while one of the United Nations pursues policies sharply conflicting with the principles of tolerance for which the war is being fought. As Hitlerite Germany nears defeat another Terrenvork maintains out rooted prejudices in South Africa.

Comment upon the above is superfluous.

## CO-OPERATION IN ECONOMIC PLANNING

BY MR. VAIKUNT L. MEHTA

A RECENT writer on planning\* describes the post war aim of improving the economic and social condition of the mass of the people in the following simple terms—

The concrete objectives are everywhere alike—an increase in the material goods of life, better nutrition, housing, health and education as a means for a larger spiritual and cultural life of all people. Most plans also imply that bettering the condition of the people will bring about a greater economic and social equality among all groups and classes.

It has often been urged that this desire for a better social order is a war time craze. The war of 1914-18 witnessed the beginning of the end of *laissez faire* if not its actual end, and numerous were the schemes of reconstruction conceived and put forth during that war and soon thereafter. With the mishandling of the world's affairs—both political and economic that

came in the wake of Versailles—an economic depression was, however, inevitable. This blizzard when it came swept away all plans of reconstruction in Great Britain and countries associated with it. But the need for economic planning was never lost sight of by economic thinkers all over the world. Subsequently, the Russian experiment in large scale organized planning revived keen interest and enthusiasm among those who wished to organize economic life with the conscious deliberate purpose set forth above. With the outbreak of the present War, the ranks of these thinkers have become strengthened and to day there is scarcely a country which does not subscribe to the ideal of planning.

Not that the conception has not its critics and its detractors. One of the most prominent of these, Prof Hayek goes so

\* Post War Plans of the United States —By Lewis L. Loria

far as to dub purposeful organized efforts at reconstruction as marching on the road to serfdom. He and others of his way of thought, both in England and the United States of America, urge that controlled economy may be accepted as inevitable during the stress of War, but that once that stress is relieved there should be a restoration of conditions in which private enterprise and competition may have full scope. Then alone will it be possible, according to this school, to ensure stability and to usher in prosperity. That uncontrolled private enterprise and unregulated competition cannot but bring about disaster is conceded by Prof. Hayek who has thus to accept the position that some control of economic life is essential in the interest of the community. That being the common ground, the dispute may well be restricted to the kind of control required, the extent of the control to be imposed and the agency through which such control is to be exercised.

More cogent, however, is the plea that planning kills the spirit of initiative and enterprise. Under planning, it is averred, the individual is lost in the community. He may neither produce nor consume what he pleases; nor may he, it is alleged, think or act as he chooses. Those who argue thus scarcely pause to consider what is the kind or the extent of the freedom that an individual enjoys at present in modern economic life controlled by syndicates, trusts, cartels, corporations or even a centralized bureaucratic system. In fact, it is because of the suppression of the economic freedom of the millions and the dehumanizing of their personalities that we

witness the outbreaks of the international gangsterism which the industrially organized and economically advanced nations indulge in at frequent intervals in their history. There can certainly be no well-ordered society when there is no respect for human personality; but the freedom of the individual in such a society has to be interpreted with society in the background. If in planning for economic development freedom in this social sense is postulated, there is no reason why the critics should identify conscious organized planning with conditions of economic slavery.

It is because the co-operative movement seeks to harmonize the interests of the individual with those of the community and to protect the freedom of the individual while promoting the well-being of the community that it must be accorded a prominent place in any scheme of national planning. That is not the only ground on which co-operation claims attention. It is a movement which is essentially democratic—of the people, for the people, by the people, to use a description commonly applied to it. As is observed in a recent survey published by the International Labour Office\* it is characteristic of the co-operative structure that it is built upon the most numerous and smallest economic units. Resting as it does thus, on the broadest basis and on the deepest foundation that can be found in the whole economic and social complex, the co-operative structure consequently remains in close touch with the practical conditions of man's everyday life and labour. While the constitution is democratic the advantage

\* Co-operative Organizations and Post-war Relief.

of large scale operation is secured by a system of federation and coalescence, which knits together the units for common economic endeavour but allows scope for initiative and freedom of action. The natural tendency towards concentration of authority is ordinarily offset in the movement by constitutional devices whereby, the exercise of centralized control does not take economic power further away from the people but tends to bring it closer to them.

In as much as the strength of the organizations of persons of small means consists in the success with which they establish bonds of moral solidarity between all the members it follows that without the intelligent participation of its co-owners in its affairs a co-operative society loses much of its democratic nature and its efficiency. Hence the dependence of co-operative organizations on the education of those who constitute them—education not only in the aims and objects of their own undertaking but also in the common purpose which guides the movement and in the principles which inspire it. The objective being the creation of a common social life the lesson of self-help receives as great a degree of attention as that of mutual aid. If the development of human personality in a manner in which is reconciled the welfare of the individual with that of the society to which he belongs represents an ideal for which it is desirable to strive then surely, the co-operative movement has a valuable contribution to make in planning for the new social order.

Through the democratic control and educational programmes which are the features of the co-operative movement as

is observed in the recommendations on the subject of co-operatives made the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, it can play a vital part in the training of good democratic citizens. It will, besides, assist in inducing a sound conception in economic matters. The last point is of especial importance in the drawing up and execution of economic plans. In his preliminary note to the National Planning Committee Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru explained that the ordered development contemplated connoted that a due proportion should be observed between the various forms of producing new wealth its equitable distribution among the members of the community and adjustment of the interests of the producers and consumers. The proper functioning of co-operative societies may facilitate the adjustment of agricultural production and distribution such as is essential in the interest of the community as a whole. Being peoples organisations, run on democratic lines through their own representatives they inspire confidence among their members who show an inclination to follow the guidance and recommendations of their own co-operative societies which they know operate in the interest of their members and of society in general. They can check if not control the vagaries of administration and be the medium for exercising the vigilance required to protect the individual from harassment.

The fact that co-operative organizations are based on small economic units has a peculiar significance in a country such as ours. Notwithstanding the economic developments of recent years, ours is still

a country of small producers agriculturists and artisans and of small tradesmen and shopkeepers. Compared to other countries it is also composed of numerically a larger proportion of "low-income" families in urban and industrial areas. In countries situated as ours, the type of economic planning conceived of as most suited, as is seen from the Survey\* referred to earlier, is collectivization and co-operation. The combination of nationalization of the heavy key industries, public utilities and basic resources and a mixed economy based on co-operation for agricultural and decentralized industries seems to be the line of action most favoured, particularly if, as is the case with us, large-scale capitalistic development is still in its earlier stages.

It is time that in India, too, we cried halt to the advance of capitalist domination over the field both of industries and agriculture as also of finance. We can do so either by extending the sphere of State enterprise with its centralized system of administration or by promoting co-operative organisations with control decentralized and democratized. The aim animating both is service and both seek to eliminate the profit motive. While in the former the gains of the economic enterprise accrue to the State as a whole, in the latter they accrue to the individuals or groups of individuals who go to constitute the primary co-operative units and their federations. To extent that these stand to benefit by the surplus earnings, the co-operative undertaking may be deemed helpful in stimulating individual effort, a stimulus such as is provided in

the efficiency schemes of capitalist organizations and by the system known as "Stakhanovism" in the State enterprises or collective farms of Russia. The co-operative method is if anything superior in its manner of rewarding individual effort. Moreover, in so far as it circumscribes strictly the reward for an individual through a system of decentralized small scale production, it does not conflict with the aim of eliminating the profit motive from economic activity.

It is for these and similar other reasons, presumably, that the claim was put forward at the recent session of the All-India Conference of Registrars that "the co-operative movement should be an integral part of of the development plan for the country". An indication was given in several of the resolutions adopted at the Conference of the place which the co-operative movement could occupy in the plan of economic development, particularly, in the spheres of rural credit, land improvement, agricultural marketing, retail trade and cottage industries. The recommendation was also made that where the execution of a plan required action by members of an economic category or group, it should be made compulsory for all either to join a co-operative society for the purpose or otherwise to carry out the plan.

Often enough, the trouble about planning is not the lack of ability to draw up plans or of the will to enforce orders but the absence of a suitable local machinery to execute them. In the opinion of at least one section of the administration of the Government of India, such a machinery is

\* Post-War Plans of the United Nations.



provided by the co operative society In functioning as a local unit for this purpose, a co operative society has a dual role to play it acts as an absorber of shocks and it serves as an agency for education Planning without tears it has been aptly remarked is almost an impossibility But what is ordinarily deemed as outside the range of possibility may be achieved by interposing an organization which so to say tempers the wind to the shorn lamb that it eases the burden of the sanctions which are to be enforced in the execution of the plan At the same time the co operative society will study the implications of the plan that is being executed and convey that understanding to the individuals who compose it It creates the proper local atmosphere and instructs its members in the why and the wherefore of the plan That is where the advantage of its being built on the most numerous and smallest economic units consists

The planning that we envisage is planning compatible with democracy True democracy, said Arthur Salter in a recent

address to the Conference on International Co operative Reconstruction is made by active participation of citizens not only in the polling booth and governmental office but in education in economic enterprise and in social effort It is because the co operative movement affords to all individuals who resort to it for their common economic end this opportunity for active participation in the economic endeavour on a footing of equality and on a non profit basis that it claims the attention of those charged with the task of preparing for a new social order To sum up in the words of an American co operator Private monopoly has had its opportunity and has failed political bureaucracy has had its opportunity and has failed there is no other way but voluntary co-operation Success along that way will however come only when there is a wider knowledge and understanding than at present of the co operative system of economy its significance and its aims on the part of those in power as well as on the part of the people outside the movement

## THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM

By DR SIR P S SIVASWAMI AIYAR MCSI

THE title of this book\* suggests a number of interesting questions about Hinduism such as what is Hinduism who are the Hindus when did Hinduism come into existence and did it ever go out of existence We think we all know the answers to these questions but our know-

ledge is far from clear or satisfactory In such cases the old expedient was to suggest that institutions which we cannot explain were *anadi* or without any beginning We are tempted to adopt this answer to the problems suggested above The materials collected by research scholars have not definitely improved our position It is no fault of Prof Sarma that no more clear cut

\* THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM By Rao Bahadur D S Sarma (Bhamburda Hindu University)

answers can be furnished to the questions I have referred to. He holds that Hinduism is a fusion of Aryan and Dravidian faiths. But we are not told what the articles of faiths of the Aryans and Dravidians were.

In his valuable historical introduction Prof. Sarma points out that there have been several renaissances of Hinduism in the past, and especially in the nineteenth century and since. The subsequent parts of the book deal with the revival of interest in the study of the Hindu religion and the lives and teachings of the great men who have influenced the thoughts and ideals of the Hindus in recent times. Prof. Sarma begins with Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahma Samaj, and gives also a sketch of Ranade and the Prarthana Samaj, Swami Dayananda and the Arya Samaj, Mrs. Besant and the Theosophical Society, the movements associated with the names of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. The leader who has most attracted the attention of Prof. Sarma is Mahatma Gandhi. The purity of his life, his moral courage and his devotion to the cause of India and the welfare and progress of its peoples cannot be too highly extolled, and they account for the unparalleled influence which he exercises over the minds of the people in India and over the intellects of people like Prof. Radhakrishnan. The Hinduism on which Prof. Sarma has focussed his attention is not the ancient Hinduism of the orthodox, but the Hinduism of the educated Hindus of recent years who have been affected by modern influences. The oldest representative of what may be called reformed

Hinduism is Ram Mohun Roy who was the founder of the Brahma Samaj. The creed of the Brahma Samaj has undergone several modifications and developments. Besides the original or Adi Brahma Samaj, there has been the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, as the seceders from the Adi Brahma Samaj call themselves. Keshub Chunder Sen was the leader of Sadharan Brahma Samaj. The tenets of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj and the off-shoots of the Adi Brahma Samaj are featured in section VIII of the chapter on Ram Mohan Roy.

The next leader of importance was Justice Ranade who founded the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar took a prominent part in the activities of the Prarthana Samaj. Ranade was one of the ablest and sanest thinkers and reformers of the nineteenth century. He was prominently associated with the political life of Bombay and the Sarva-janika Sabha established in Poona. He was deeply interested in politics and social reform and was rightly recognised as the uncrowned king of Poona. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was his most eminent disciple. Ranade was an authority on economic questions and was a member of the parliamentary committee on Indian finance which was appointed in 1871. If there is anyone in the history of modern India by whom the Liberal Party of the present day has been most influenced in its policy and outlook, it is Ranade. Though Prof. Sarma is not in tune with the views and outlook of the Liberal Party, he is not unwilling to acknowledge the part played by Ranade in the intellectual, political and religious life of India in recent times.

In his chapter on Mrs Besant Prof Sarma does not hesitate to point out certain inconsistencies in some of the lectures and publications of the Theosophical Society

Of the many personalities of whose life a sketch is given in Prof Sarma's book those which have appealed to me most are Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Rabindranath Tagore

The most eminent expositor of Hinduism in the twentieth century is Prof Radhakrishnan and one can add nothing to the glowing tributes paid to him by philosophers all over the world

Prof Sarma's book will be read with appreciation and gratitude by a growing circle of readers

# CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

By MR P OOMMAN PHILIP

AS in the case of China India was first introduced to Christianity by the sporadic missionary efforts of the Eastern Church centuries before the representatives of Western nations came to India as adventurers and traders. While in China the early Church thus established disappeared the Church in India continues to exist to this day. The orbit of the influence of the Church in India was very limited and for centuries it had a chequered history in the narrow strip of land on the west coast between the Western Ghats and the Indian Ocean. The modern representatives of this ancient Church now live in the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin but with their ancient solidarity sadly broken first by the Portuguese who came in the sixteenth century and who by all the methods of persecution and inquisition considered Christian in those days brought a large number of them into the obedience of Rome and later by the coming of the Anglicans in the nineteenth century followed by Protestant sects from the West whose presence and work in their

midst have besides drawing away from them varying numbers introduced theological and ecclesiastical issues on which divisions have taken place. The history of almost all the branches of the old Eastern Church in lands like Egypt Iraq Palestine and Syria presents perhaps the same kind of experience and so there may be nothing unusual in what has happened to the Syrian Christians (as the representatives of this ancient Church are called) of South India. The present conditions and status of the remnant of this ancient Church may not have any important bearing on the general subject of the place of Christianity in the life and thought of modern India. But the existence of this remnant in India with Christian traditions going back to the early centuries and the vicissitudes through which it has been passing through the centuries are facts to be noted in any study of the history of Christian contacts with India.

Two observations may be made here very briefly, in regard to the survival of early Christianity in India. First is the

remarkable spirit of religious toleration shown by the people of India to Christianity that came to its shores. Those who accepted the new religion were not subjected to persecution. On the other hand there is reason to think that they had freedom for practising their religion in their own way and even for propagating it. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the growth of the Christian Church on the west coast of South India and the prosperous condition in which it was found by the Greek traveller Cosmos who visited the this region about the year 522 A.D. and by the Portuguese who arrived in the early years of the sixteenth century. It is strange but true that those ancient Christians living peacefully as farmers and traders under independent Hindu rulers were first subjected to religious persecution not by Hindus but by Christians who came from the West in the 16th century armed with the military power of Portugal and fired by missionary zeal for establishing over this ancient church of Malabar the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

Secondly, the Christianity that found its way to India in the early centuries true to its genius as an Eastern religion, developed according to a pattern suited to Indian conditions and not in rigid organisational forms prescribed for it in later times by the West. While maintaining the basic features of Christian faith and practice through the centuries, we find that it also assimilated what was considered good and noble in the religious culture and social behaviour of the Hindus from whom they were originally drawn and amidst whom

they lived as citizens of the same country. But these observations are only by the way.

With the coming of the Portuguese to India in the beginning of the sixteenth century and with the establishment of their political domination along its west coast, Christianity entered upon a second stage of its history in this land. It is the first time that Christianity is introduced to the people as the religion of the ruling race, a race strangely different from the Hindu race in customs, culture and civilisation. In the earlier periods Christianity was introduced by missionaries or traders belonging to the Eastern Church who could not lay claim to any political power. For that reason whatever progress Christianity made in India in the early centuries was by its inherent power of appeal to the religious sense of the people. But the Christianity that came to parts of India where the Portuguese had established political domination came with the sword of the Portuguese and backed by the power and prestige of the empire. The use of compulsion or force for attaining what they conceived to be the highest good of those who were outside the Church was but a part of the code of conduct of the Western Church of those days. The methods of coercion and persecution which the Portuguese resorted to for the purpose of winning adherents to the Christian Church form one of the darkest chapters in the history of Christianity in India. Goa which is even to-day retained by the Portuguese became in those days the seat of the Inquisition which imposed disabilities and penalties on those who would not accept the Christian faith. Even the descendants of the earliest

Indian converts to Christianity whom the Portuguese were surprised to find in Malabar were condemned by them as heretics and the task which they attempted of bringing them into the "true Church" was accompanied by methods which were questionable and frightful. Even after a lapse of four centuries the bitter memories of the religious persecutions by the Portuguese have not entirely left either the Hindus or the Syrian Christians of the west coast. It should be remembered at the same time that this was a period when the Roman Church was launching its great missionary enterprise. The coming of the famous missionary, Francis Xavier, to India was at a time when the Portuguese were at the zenith of political power. Great and devout Christian that he was he did not hesitate to make use of the Portuguese power for furthering the missionary cause only showing thereby the lamentably sub-Christian standard of conduct which prevailed in that age in regard to the followers of other religions.

With the decline of the Portuguese power and with the establishment of British government in India, the religious freedom for which India has always been famous once more came to be established. The British profited from the experience of the Portuguese and became committed to a policy of neutrality in regard to all religions. They were more concerned with the establishment of their empire in India than with the spread of the religion which they professed. To offend in any way the religious susceptibilities of Indians and to arouse their religious animosity was considered by British statesmen as a sure

means of undermining the foundations of their government in India. Therefore the British adopted a policy of strict non-interference in the matter of the religious practices and beliefs of the people, so long as they did not outrage the accepted canons of civilised humanity. Even in regard to the revolting religious practice of the Hindus—the *sati*—the British were at first hesitant in taking any action. It was the lead given by some enlightened Hindus that encouraged the British government to suppress this practice.

This explains the unfriendly attitude adopted by the British government in early days towards missionary effort of any kind. European missionaries were prohibited from settling down in any part of British India for propagating Christianity. The first English missionary to India, William Carey, not being allowed to live in English territory had to take refuge in Serampore then a Danish possession, and carry on his missionary operations from there. There were no doubt chaplains in the employ of the British government in important places where British soldiers and civilians lived, but their work was confined to the spiritual ministrations of the British community and they were not encouraged, even if they had the inclination, to devote their attention to the native population with a view to attracting them to Christianity.

Soon a stage arrived when there was nothing to prevent Christian missionaries from engaging themselves in educational and other activities so long as they did not create trouble for the government. The missionaries themselves coming as

intangible realm of thought and spirit of the Indian people derive encouragement from the remarkable advance that the Christian religion has made in recent decades among the depressed classes. The bulk of the membership of the Christian Church in India is drawn from these classes, and they have undergone great transformation in the course of two or three generations. Through what Christianity has demonstrated as possible in the way of transforming the depressed classes whom India had for generations treated as sub-human, the scale of values of Indian society has been profoundly affected. That every human personality, however humble and degraded, is valuable in the sight of God and therefore worthy of reverence is being re-learned by India.

Side by side with the above process, millions who remain within the old social fabric of Hinduism are coming under the spell of the dynamic ideas which reform movements within Hinduism stand for, and as a result of that their religious outlook and social behaviour are changing markedly. The Hindu community, as a whole, is responding nobly to the call of modern prophets like Mahatma Gandhi and other reformers, old and new, for the removal of conditions which have kept several millions of their fellow countrymen as depressed classes. If the part played by Christian missions in stimulating these reform movements within Hinduism is not always recognised, it is because the renascent Hinduism of to-day is developing a technique of defence against the inroads which Christianity is making on the Hindu community. It is clear that Hinduism, though battered from outside by aggressive missionary religions like

Christianity and Islam and vitiated from within by its caste system, is still a living religion, capable of shifting to its centre the vital truths of universal religious appeal which hitherto found a place only in its marginal life, and capable also of profiting from the teachings and methods used by other systems of religion in winning men to their allegiance.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the influence of outstanding foreign missionaries engaged in the pioneer work of imparting Western education to Indian youth let many Hindus of the higher castes to accept Christianity. At that time it was hoped by missionary optimists and feared by Hindu leaders that Christianity would infiltrate from top to bottom and make the whole of India Christian. But through the operation of forces generated from within Hinduism itself such hopes and fears have been falsified. During the last fifty years depressed classes have been accepting Christianity in large numbers. Along with this, a new strategy has developed among the missionary statesmen of the West which stresses the way in which Christianity first spread among the humble and oppressed in the Roman empire and then gradually conquered the whole empire. The hope is entertained that India will become ultimately Christian through the depressed classes now entering the church in large numbers. But this hope is being frustrated already. The social and economic disabilities under which the depressed classes labour have been the main incentive for driving them to the Christian Church, where they are offered opportunities for moral and material progress. Now, under the impulse

of reform movements within Hinduism and as a result of the expanding government programmes for the social, moral and economic betterment of the depressed classes, these disabilities are being rapidly removed. Well organised efforts are also being put forth by Hindus to reach the depressed classes with the higher message of Hinduism and to retain them within the Hindu fold. The result is that the so called "Mass movements" to Christianity on which missionary leaders rely so much for converting India are being effectively check mated in different parts of the country. There is reason to think that in the coming years conversions of the depressed classes to Christianity will not only stop, but that the opposite process already started, of re-converting to Hinduism recent converts to Christianity, will also gain momentum.

What may then be the future of Christianity in India? On a survey of the

total religious situation in India, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that outside the battle for numbers and the issues raised by mass conversions and re conversions, the influence of Christianity on Hinduism and *vice versa* are already in progress. Just as surely as a new type of Hinduism influenced by Christian thought is emerging in India to day, Christianity, in the measure in which it is left free to develop according to its genius is assimilating to itself elements from the spiritual heritage of India. Both these processes are necessarily slow. It is vain to expect that Christianity, even in an Hinduised form will be adopted as their religion by the hundreds of millions of Hindus living in India. It is equally unreasonable to think that Hinduism will continue to give, as in the past, sanction for belief or practices that tend to retard the full development of human personality and weaken its spiritual message of universal significance.

## The States in India's Future Constitution

BY MR C V H RAO

IT is, I suppose, a truism that in any future constitutional arrangements for India the Indian States must find an honourable place. We may and can frame a constitution for British India without providing for the States therein, but it will not be long before it will be discovered that the constitution so framed has tottering foundations. You may exclude the Indian States from any constitution, but as the late Mr C R. Das said in respect of Bengal on another occasion, you cannot

obliterate them from the map of India. Our ideal, inspite of the schemes for partition and division that are now being so vigorously canvassed and advocated should be a united and homogenous India, into which the States can come in on some mutually-satisfactory terms, either from the very commencement or after some time. It is impossible to conceive that the integrity of a free India can rest on secure and strong foundations if the Indian States remain like so many

of isolation studded all over the Indian mainland claiming direct relationship with the British Crown. It will be a wholly incongruous position detrimental alike to the interests of British India as to the interests of the States themselves. Concerted, joint and co-operative action among the States themselves, supposing they remain isolated from the rest of India, in any matter will become impossible, particularly as such joint action is calculated essentially to be called for in respect of National Defence, economic progress and so on. For example, very few States are big enough to claim possession of economic self-sufficiency, when British India has a separate constitution for itself and the States continue to remain where they are. A position of splendid isolation for them is impracticable even if some of them may regard it as desirable.

The need for securing the active co-operation of the States in the evolution of national policies is as imperative for British India as the securing of British India's co-operation and goodwill is imperative for the States. We cannot have one part of India marching ahead leaving the other behind nor can we conceive of one part of India enjoying dominion status in the British Commonwealth while the other is confined to the position of subordinate relationship with the British Crown. For, however much one may try to gloss over it, the internal sovereignty of even the biggest Indian States is limited by the influence if not pressure or even amounting to it in some cases, indeterminate and not easily apparent though it may be exerted over its administration

by the Political Department. It is galling and humiliating to the States themselves, but it is nevertheless a fact. I believe that most of Their Highnesses feel the humiliation and would be glad to enter into treaty relation with an Indian controlled Central Government, with its centre of gravity in New Delhi and not in Whitehall. The dictum that Paramountcy is Paramount" grates on the ears of the more sensitive among them, for it involves acceptance of a position which is intended to relegate the States to a position of perpetual dependence on the Paramount Power.

If India is going to have a Dominion status constitution after the war, it necessitates both British India and the Indian States getting together in purposeful co-operation to ensure the establishment and the successful working of such a constitution from now onwards. It is, however, at this stage, that difficulties are likely to arise and differences might make themselves manifest. The States demand that their rights and privileges as embodied in treaties with the Crown should be safeguarded and preserved intact; that they should not be forced to sacrifice their present constitutional position of direct relationship with the Crown, with all its defects, and substitute it by another relationship which might serve to swamp their individuality and integrity but might not bring with it any corresponding advantage from their point of view. Obviously they would have objection too to being stampeded in the matter of internal constitutional reform and extension of self-government in their territories.



Individual States have special problems of their own which need to be settled satisfactorily when Paramountcy is transferred from the British to an Indian Central Government

There is no doubt that so stated, the States' case is understandable and reasonable, even if it may not be acceptable *in toto*. But the danger has so far been that British Indian political organisations like the Congress have infused an apprehension in the Princes' mind that they would not hesitate to force the pace of constitutional reform in the States, that they would not hesitate to abolish the States system wholesale, if needed, or deal with them in some rough and ready manner when the time comes. The patriotism of the Princes' has been called in question, they have been described as "lackeys" of British imperialism, as tools in British hands to hold up India's progress. Such aggressive and revolutionary ideals *vis à vis* the States professed by an advanced political party inevitably put the Princes as a class, on their guard and induced them in the past gradually to become more and more cautious and demand safeguards before they would accede to an all India Federation to which their spokesmen solemnly pledged themselves at the first Round Table Conference. If the progress of negotiations for the implementation of the Federal provisions embodied in the 1935 Constitution Act dragged on their weary course and eventually the scheme itself was suspended, the blame for that unfortunate consummation must be laid more at the door of the incautious activities and pronouncements of extremist

politicians than at that of the Princes themselves

The period of the war has been a period of singular political stagnation in India. But the Cripps' scheme, formulated by the British Government and by which they swear now, involves the promise of post-war *Dominion Status* for India with a provision that the States might stay out of the Indian Union to be if they so desired. It is, therefore, an extremely opportune time for the Princes to examine what their part in post war Indian constitutional evolution will be, to what extent and in what manner they can play that part, as it is essential for British Indian politicians of all parties also to examine the constitutional problems of India in the post war period though in the case of the latter there are impediments of a different category to be overcome like Pakistan and the minority problems before they can address themselves to it.

No longer is it profitable, however, to proceed on the assumption that the Princes are a reactionary and unprogressive lot and that the Indian States as a whole are nests of reactionarism. Criticism based on such assumptions will only irritate and cannot be conducive to India's progress. It is good to see that some of the more prominent Indian Rulers have not hesitated to repudiate these aspersions, the Maharaja of Nawanagar, the Maharajas of Bikaner and Kashmir, being among those who have done so recently, while a number of others have been repudiating them in actions more than in words. The Maharajah of Bikaner has been frankly outspoken when he said in a recent interview that 'the Princes at their recent

meetings held in Bombay unanimously arrived at the conclusion that they do not consider themselves separate from the rest of India and far from desiring in any way to oppose, obstruct or be an impediment, they wish to see India occupy in her own right an honoured place in the comity of Nations." This is a forthright assurance and discloses a welcome aliveness and awareness on the part of at least the Rulers of the bigger states of an appreciation of realities. It is not there is not much left to be done still, but there has been a lot done already in a number of States to bring them up to the level of modern administrations. It is not that the highest standards have been attained universally in all States, but that sincere efforts are being made in a most of them to attain them and that it is now practically impossible for any Ruler to go back on the path of progress.

And more than from the political standpoint, the integration of British India with India's policies is indispensable from the economic standpoint. Most of the Indian States are so situated that they cannot follow independent economic policies which cut across one another and cut across those of British India as that is bound to cause serious dislocation and even chaos. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, one of the most indefatigable champions of States' rights as well as of their purposeful association with British India, and whose utterances on States' problems carry a weight of their own, has emphasised this view recently side by side with the view that the Princes can agree to the transfer of Paramountcy only to a Central Government for all-India and not to a divided and disrupted one

in which there will be more than one Central Government.

Nothing, however, has been so evident in recent times than the fact that the economic life of the whole of India is indissolubly interlinked up and does not permit of disintegration. Pakistan and division of India may sound sonorous to the ears of some as political panaceas, but they are not propositions which can stand the acid test of the economic stability of the States proposed to be constituted in North-West or North-East of India. Similarly nothing has been so clearly evident also as the proposition that for defence purposes India is essentially one and indivisible. Pakistan and division may be sentimental cries but cannot pass the test of providing effective military security for all-India. The Indian States are as vitally interested in both a common Defence system and a common economic system for the whole of India as the British Indian population is and these can be achieved only when politically, different parts of India, and the Indian states are bound together. The Princes have, therefore, a right to demand that in the negotiations for division of India, their viewpoint cannot be ignored. The future of India calls for co-ordinated efforts on the part of all Indian parties and nothing is so imperatively called for both absolutely and as an effective answer to British objections regarding lack of agreement as the setting up of an authoritative and representative committee of Hindus, Muslims and the States right now to formulate the principles and basis of Dominion Status constitution for India.

# ROAD PLAN FOR INDIA

By MR V R K TILAK, M A

ROAD transport is the most economical type of conveyance in India owing to the vastness of the country on the one hand, and the higher degree of ruralisation on the other. It is not only important but also urgent to push on a comprehensive Road plan for, the most striking features of India's road system are danger and delay. Now, let us consider how more and better roads are essential for national progress.

## ECONOMIC

(a) 'If agriculture and industry are the body and the bones of a national organism, communications are its nerves. Improved roads facilitate the marketing of agricultural produce. Fast road transport is specially suited for the conveyance of staple products like cotton and perishable products like fruit and vegetables which must be brought to the market before their 'boom' is lost. Agriculture will no more be a mode of living but a profession and the vast area of 155 million acres of cultivable waste can be brought under cultivation. The cultivator can command better prices for his produce while paying less for his own purchases. The improved staying power of the agriculturist, the elimination of middlemen and the decline or abatement of landlordism are some other advantages in the long run. Good roads lessen the transport cost of the cultivator and the industrialist due to the increased efficiency of draught animals and the decreased wear and tear on the vehicle. While better roads decide the nature of the crop in agriculture, in manufactures they influence the site and scope of industries.

## CULTURAL

(b) The road vehicle broadens the outlook of the villagers and brightens their lives by giving them easy access to amusements, recreational and educational facilities like cinemas, schools and moving libraries. It also promotes the aesthetic sense in the urban resident by facilitating his visits to country beauty spots. Internal migration will result in decline of superstition, the break up of isolation and an healthy toning up of social life.

## POLITICAL

(c) Political progress can be advanced only by intercourse, and better communications link up different areas and develop mutual understanding which is essential to the smooth working of political institutions. The effectiveness of motor transport in political propaganda has been clearly demonstrated in elections and in war effort. Many villages have not got even post offices and police stations, and roads will tend to create political awakening in the masses by providing such amenities of civic life. Besides, the road system has a definite part to play in war. In fact roads were built from the time of the Romans, down to the present day, for strategic and military purposes as well as for civilian use. The flexibility of the motor and the impossibility of dislocation make it an ideal type of transport in the theatres of war.

## HYGIENIC

(d) Good roads provide the villager with access to well equipped hospitals, baby-clinics, and child welfare centres, which

minimise maternity dangers and high infantile mortality. Veterinary aid to the villages can also be improved. The development of new routes can improve national health by relieving congestion in industrial towns, and providing the urban people with a well-balanced diet, by facilitating the transport of protective foods. The dust menace which is one of the worst features of India's roads, and, sometimes the cause of tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, could be combated by better surfacing of roads.

## II

While the bullock-cart will remain to be the chief vehicle of India, there will be increased motor traffic on roads in the future; and any road plan must aim to absorb the thousands of trained drivers, mechanics and transport vehicles which will have to be released gradually after the war for the civilian transport.

So, our road system must provide the dual service for fast-moving traffic of motor vehicles and slow-moving traffic of bullock-carts. The relative requirements of each is fundamentally different, and a method suitable to one set of conditions may be either superfluous or insufficient for the other. Hence the necessity of segregation has been felt; and it provides safety, allows better traffic control and an improved upkeep of the road by keeping within bounds the corrugation which are inevitable under conditions of mixed traffic.

While mixed traffic cannot be avoided on the zig-zag and narrow roads, it must be avoided over trunk roads, and some wide country roads to which segregation can be extended by providing parallel trackways

under the trees on either side of the road for bullock-carts, cattle etc.

Any road plan for India must suit co-ordination between all forms of transport. Hitherto, attention has been paid to the development of trunkways, radial roads and parallel roads. There is now an urgent necessity for the development of feeder roads and new access roads to the railway or marketing centre, which create more commerce and traffic for rural areas. As far as possible, all arterial roads and roads in important marketing centres should be made possible to provide for two cement tracks in each road to avoid the formation of ruts by cart-wheels and to facilitate smooth running of motor wheels.

## III

A Road plan cannot break because it has not enough money; finance is merely a mechanism and there is no such thing as financial impossibility. The expenditure on roads falls mainly under two heads; (a) Construction and (b) Maintenance. While recurring expenditure can be met from the revenues, new roads must be financed out of loans, as the Railways or the Irrigation works are. It is but fair that borrowing should be mainly undertaken by the central authorities which benefit by an increase in revenues through increased railway receipts, and customs and excise on petrol etc, but not by provincial or local authorities, whose funds are less directly affected.

The central government should borrow at least Rs. 100 crores and give grants to the provinces (as in Newzealand or America), not on the basis of revenues raised, but according to their need. The provincial government, in its turn, should allot a

portion of the grant to each village, and decide a fixed quota to be borne by the village. It is left to the village community to raise this quota, either by loans or by taxes, which may be either in kind or coin. A revival of the tradition of corporate action for mutual benefit, through the village Panchayat boards or the Co operative societies, alone can radically improve the villages, because the local bodies are not well off to pay for the hired labour and the cultivators can as well utilise the 3 to 4 months' spare time in the year for their own uplift. The projects benefiting India as a whole may be financed entirely out of the central revenues and the present expenditure of 50 per cent out of central revenues is too meagre for the purpose.

Next, the maintenance charges must be collected from those who will actually benefit by improved roads, through the various uses for which roads are required. Firstly, roads are for traffic, which is of two kinds (a) Commercial traffic and (b) Local traffic (Community use), the latter as paid for by the general rate payer should bear only a minor portion of the total amount. Commercial traffic can be taxed by enhancing the license duty in proportion to the transport cost reduction (say 30 per cent) besides extending the imposition of the license duty for bullock carts in the villages, and by a petrol or fuel tax, which is proportionate to the usage of the road. The second use to which roads are put is access to property. Since the value of the land adjoining the road will be enhanced, a 'betterment tax' (known as Special Assessments in America) can be imposed in proportion to the benefit

derived. The third use is an extravagant form of traffic. Using the sub soil of the road e.g., traffic by means of pipes and cables, and property adjacent to the road should bear the cost of their provision. The increase in general prosperity due to the extension of transport will lead to an expansion of public revenues, out of which a large proportion can be allocated for meeting the maintenance charges and for servicing the road loans. If new road construction is timed to coincide with the next slump, the costs of construction will be lower, and the general effects on investment and employment will be highly desirable—the 'Right to work' of the gallant men who are straining every nerve in defending our motherland will be safeguarded when demobilisation occurs in the post war period.

## THE FROZEN BROOK\*

BY

MR M GOPALANKUTTY MONON

Frozen by chill is this little brook  
and hushed are its soul stirring songs  
Now touch it with thy rays of warmth and light  
and revive it O Lord Sun '  
thou who hidest thyself behind that misty veil  
Let it march again  
singing its joyful tunes as before  
Or if it be thy wish  
send down thy terrible heat  
and wipe it off wholly from the face of the earth  
But unbearable is this state  
this state of supreme stagnation  
this state of being a captive  
bound and made motionless by the cruel season of chill

\* A prose rendering of a symbolic Malayalam lyric published by the author. The Frozen state of the brook represents a period of prolonged ill health (during which the original was composed) when the writer could derive no inspiration for active literary pursuits.



#### LEARNING TO HANDLE EXPLOSIVES

Three years ago the Ministry of Supply took over the laboratories of one of Britain's best known public schools for the purpose of training girls, aged about 17, to become chemical analysts. Something of the success of this scheme was announced recently in an official statement which reported that there were 600 girls now handling samples of various high explosives. The intensive course which they have to pass through before going to one of the Ministry of Supply's laboratories lasts three months. During the training they are paid up to 50sh. a week. They learn how to handle explosives of all types, and carry out chemical analyses on all kinds of materials. This picture shows a 17 years-old girl from South Wales, who is now going through the Ministry of Supply's course.

# RECENT CONFERENCES

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[The Christmas and New Year holidays witnessed a number of gatherings of politicians, scientists, economists and educationists at various centres in India, to take stock of their work in the past year and to plan for the current year. An attempt is here made to give a précis of the proceedings of such annual conferences as the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, the Indian Science Congress, the Philosophical Congress, the Indian Economic Conference and numerous other gatherings of the season.—ED. I.R.]

## THE HINDU MAHA SABHA

THE 26th Session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha met at Bilaspur (C P) on December 24 amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Dr Syamprasad Mukherjee, who presided over the session, made a searching analysis of the present situation, drew attention to the many internal and external evils that beset the country and called upon the Hindus to prepare themselves for the sacrifices essential to achieve their cherished national ideals.

He criticised the divide and rule policy of Britain in the past as the cause of all disruption in the country, and described at some length the economic exploitation by which England enriched herself at the expense of India. But that is all past history.

India's economic slavery is due to her political subjugation and Swaraj is the first and essential remedy for Indian poverty. A survey of India's political struggle goes to show that Britain's lust for power and possession has not been satisfied by all that she has done to India during the last 200 years. Lord Curzon announced nearly 45 years ago that "India is the pivot of our empire. If this empire lost any other part of its dominion, we can survive; but if we lose India the sun of our empire would be set." Barring promises unfulfilled, do we witness any visible change of heart though nearly half a century has passed since this arrogant imperialist pronounced his unconcealed opinion about India's future?

Appealing to all political parties in India to close up their ranks and present a united front in order to compel the British Government to part with power, Dr Mukherjee characterised Gandhiji's latest attempt at arriving at a communal settlement 'a fresh Himalayan blunder.' He pleaded for an immediate resolution of the Indian deadlock so that India's voice can be heard at the Peace Conference not through the hired Indian agents of British Imperialism, but through her chosen

spokesmen. Commenting on Lord Wavell's recent address at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, he observed:

The soldier poet Viceroy wants to assume the role of a medical adviser to cure the political ailments of India. But he forgets that any suffering patient, however humble, has the inherent right to choose his own medical adviser, or to decide whether he needs any advice at all. The British quack, instead of curing the Indian patient, has already loaded him with dangerous maladies, and has charged fees which are bleeding the patient to death. What India suffers from is a slow but dreadful poisoning, and the doctor thrives on the patient's misfortune.

I agree with Lord Wavell that the patient needs fresh air, but that air must be pure and free. To prove his *bona fides*, let him first tackle the prison houses which often lead to slow death. Why should not a consultative board of disinterested medical advisers from America, Russia and China, two of whom at least have saved the collapsing British patient himself, be called in immediately, and if they sit along with the Indian patient and the bungling British doctor, and proceed with their task on the basis of the four freedom prescriptions, the Indian patient will immediately recover and be a good and strong ally. Lord Wavell is right when he says that India needs a faith cure, but this must be faith in her own capacity to rise and recover her lost liberty and not a faith to lean eternally on the charity of others, especially those who have already been guilty of numerous breaches of faith with him.

Criticising the Congress policy of "barren Non Co-operation" at every stage Dr Mukherjee said:

In the Indian provinces, where Hindus are in a majority, the Congress, by its deliberate action in 1939 (when the Ministries resigned) has been responsible for arbitrary bureaucratic rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935.

In the Provinces where Hindus are in a minority, predominantly Muslim Ministries are functioning, mainly with the support of European votes, and other reactionary elements.

Stating, however, that he did not suggest that acceptance of office under the present constitution could ever be the be all and end all of any political organisation he pointed out.

Nevertheless a boycott of the constitutional machinery is sometimes more harmful to the interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon to fight reactionary forces, and to prepare the field to wrest larger powers. We must carry on our struggle both inside and outside the legislature. Every seat of power has to be captured, and the whole machinery worked in a team spirit, backed by popular support, so as to prevent avoidable mischief and to advance the good of the people whenever possible.

As might be expected Dr. Mukherjee was downright in his opposition to Pakistan:

Pakistan can never be won by the Muslim League by its own effort, nor does its leader expect that it will be thus won. He counts on British support to divide India. . . . If the British sword is to be perpetuated for defending Pakistan, it becomes a colossal hoax and a badge of unbroken slavery. If British rule is withdrawn after a forcible division of India who will prevent the free state of Hindustan from re-establishing its authority over the entire Indian territory.

Re-affirming that a proposal agreeing to a division of India was not only against the interest of the Hindus but of all India as such, he said:

Internationally India will cease to exist once she is broken into small independent groups and fragments. Our past history has shown that whenever disruptive tendencies developed in different parts of India, her liberty disappeared, and her gates were thrown open to foreign invaders. We must live and die for India, and her liberty. This is an article of faith with us and it admits of no compromise.

#### RESOLUTIONS

Fifteen resolutions came up before the Subjects Committee of the Maha Sabha and there was also a 65 page book containing a "constitution of Hindustan Free State" drafted by the Bhopatkar Sakar Nidhi, a Committee appointed by the Bhopatkar Mandal. This was indeed the principal resolution adopted at the session. The resolution enunciates the following principles:

Hindustan shall be a free state and her constitution shall be styled "The Constitution of Hindustan Free State." Historically, politically, ethnologically and culturally Hindustan is one whole and indivisible and so shall she remain.

The form of government shall be democratic and federal. The federal legislature shall be bicameral in structure. Elections to legislatures, whether federal or provincial, shall be on the basis of adult franchise and of one man one vote. The federal government shall be distributed between the central and provincial legislatures in a manner to give a measure of autonomy to provinces adequate with residuary powers at the centre.

The powers of the government, whether federal or provincial, shall be divided into legislative,

executive, and judicial with the executive responsible to the people. The judiciary will be independent of the executive.

Distinction between martial and non-martial races shall no longer exist and the military strength of Hindustan shall as far as possible be equilibrated amongst its various provinces, consistently with its standard of discipline and efficiency.

The States should be brought into the federation of Hindustan and responsible government should be introduced in them on the principles stated above.

The resolution further lays down the fundamental rights of citizens in a free state *viz.*, that all citizens domiciled in Hindustan shall in general enjoy the rights and privileges and be subject to the obligations of citizenship and shall in particular enjoy certain fundamental rights detailed therein.

Mr. Bhopatkar moved a resolution enunciating an economic plan for India. Among other principles the plan advocates state ownership or control of key industries and protection of nascent industry and market by tariff walls or preferential treatment. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. B. G. Kharapde's resolution that Berar shall not be ceded to the Nizam but remain part of British India, and that nothing shall be done against the wishes of the people of Berar

was also passed.

Another resolution urged steps for the removal of the ban on "Satyarth Prakash". Mr. Shyamprasad Sastri's resolution asked the Working Committee to appoint a Committee for the propagation of the Devanagari script.

The remaining resolutions were moved by the President and accepted. One resolution requested the Viceroy to exercise his prerogative of clemency in respect of political prisoners sentenced to death and particularly in the cases of the accused sentenced to death in the Chitpur and Ashti cases in the Central Provinces. A second resolution urged the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act.

Another resolution decided to appoint a committee of renowned historians for writing the history of Hindustan from the point of view of Hindus.



## INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Five hundred delegates attended the 32nd Annual Conference of the Indian Science Congress Association held at Nagpur on the 2nd January

Inaugurating the session, H. E. Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of the Province pointed out that since the war pragmatical approach to the problems with which we are confronted has completely driven "Laissez faire" and the Conferences which have taken place at Dumbarton Oaks Hot Springs and elsewhere indicate the extent to which the scientific method is winning all along the line

In welcoming the delegates Mr Justice W. R. Paranjpe, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said the material problem for our country in the immediate future is not so much to reach the maximum that man is capable of, it is rather to reach the minimum below which no man in the 20th Century should be expected to live

The Governor read a cable from Sir S. S. Bhatnagar from Washington, regretting his inability to be present, but hoping that the experiences gained in the UK and USA by his delegation would result in recommendations likely to lead to great scientific developments in India

Prof. S. N. Bose then read the Presidential address of Sir S. S. Bhatnagar

His visit to England, writes Sir Shanti, had been the greatest eye opener to him, as he had seen for himself

the high level of scientific invention and ingenuity that had been attained during the war but it was a tragedy that a ruthless war and almost universal bloodshed should have been necessary for this awakening

Describing his observations in England he says

Industrial and scientific research will be one of the major features in post war industry

If Indian industry is to rise and rise it must to its proper stature in time it must begin to devote more attention to expenditure on research

It is obvious that the best and quickest way to bring about national development is for India to have a national Government representative of the people. However the present absence of such a Government does not justify that thinking men and women in India should not devise ways and means to better the lot of their fellow beings to the best of their ability, under the present circumstances and in view of the future

I am convinced that the rich and the wise in the land have not done all they can for the agricultural and industrial development of India.

Contrasting the conditions with those obtained in Europe and America Sir Shanti expressed his yearning in these terms

I dream of Tennessee Valley it is a fairy story of wild waters controlled by human ingenuity creating electrical energy. The same can be brought to any river valley in India the Damodar Ganges Sutlej or Narbudda if the people and the Government give science a chance

The Congress divided itself into various sections and twelve such sections met subsequently with the following Sectional presidents

Mathematics and Statistics—Dr B. N. Prasad

Physics—Dr R. C. Majumdar

Chemistry—Dr K. Venkataraman

Geology & Geography—Mr N. N. Chatterjee

Botany—Prof G. P. Majumdar

Zoology and Entomology—Dr H. N. Ray

Anthropology and Archaeology—Dr A. Ayyappa

Medical and Veterinary Sciences—Prof S. W. Hardikar

Agricultural Sciences—Prof N. V. Joshi

Physiology—Dr B. Mukherjee

Physiology & Educational Science—Mr B. Kuppaswamy

Engineering and Metallurgy—Raj Bahadur A. N. Khosla

## INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Dr. (now Sir) A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, who welcomed the delegates and visitors to the 7th Session of the Indian History Congress at the Museum Theatre, Madras, on December 7, spoke of the need for a true historical perspective in the interpretation of events. He said that if the role of the physician was to find out the disease in individuals and to make preventive measures, the role of the historian should be to study from the historical perspective the fundamental factors concerning the motive force of different actions, to subject nations to psycho-analysis, even as individuals were subjected, and then deduce what should be the corrective that ought to be administered to prevent a repetition of the holocaust of precious human life and to ensure the safety of the world at large.

The Hon. Mr. T. Austin, Adviser to H. E. the Governor, who opened the Conference, said that there was still scope for historical research in this province.

There must be much to interest the historians in their public archives to the selection, publication and preservation of which the Govt. of Madras had attached great importance.

Prof. K. A. Neelakanta Sastri read messages from H. E. the Governor of Madras, C. P. and Berar and other prominent educationists and Ministers.

Dr. Sen, in his presidential address made an appeal to all classes in India to unite in the effort to reconstruct the past.

Referring to the work of the Indian History Congress, he said:

The preparation of a scientific history of India has been the special care and sole concern of the Congress for the past three years. You will be glad to learn that it is making good progress. Scholars all over India have readily responded to our appeal for co operation.

Dr. Sen criticised the method of teaching in our Universities. He pointed out:

Our Universities have proved themselves the strongholds of stagnation. So far we have not in any of our Universities a well articulated scheme of teaching history and historical methods. All subjects are usually taught in isolation and a student is permitted to take up history like other subjects at any stage of his college course. It is possible in some Universities to secure the highest degree in history without reading the whole of

the history of India, while the history of the neighbouring countries like Iran and Afghanistan, Burma and Ceylon, Siam and Tibet seldom, if ever, find a place in the curriculum.

Five Sectional meetings were held on the following day at the Presidency College, when lectures on important topics were delivered, followed by reading of papers and discussions. A historical Exhibition in connection with the Congress was opened at the University Buildings by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar who pointed out that in Tamil literary works there was a wealth of historical material which remained still unexplored; and he paid a tribute to the research work done by pioneers like Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar in this line.

## INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Presiding over the 27th Session of the Indian Economic Conference at New Delhi on December 30, Dr. L. K. Hyder recommended a policy of exchange of ideas in pooling of information and agreement as to the time of advance in the process of industrialisation between the peoples of India and England. He said:

These considerations point the way to a trade treaty with Great Britain and also with other countries. If for the initial stages a demarcation of the market on the basis of grades or ranges as between the home and the foreign producers is established, the need for imposing tariff duties disappears and the Tariff Board may concentrate attention on the question of efficient production only. As regards ownership and operation of industries the State will have to advance more and more in the direction of State Capitalism.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, in his address of welcome observed that he for one found no ground for criticising the science of economics

if it has now developed an ethical standpoint and feels its duty to denounce the exploitation of their fellow citizens, and usually of the most defenceless of them, by those to whom the war has seemed no more than a heaven sent opportunity for filling their own pockets.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning, Government of India, in his inaugural address, announced Government's proposals to set up a National Institute of Economic Research and a small sub-committee of economists to

meet about once a month to give advice to the Government. For a great deal of research work has to be done, said Sir Ardeshir, into the various aspects of the country's economic life.

Replying to criticisms levelled against the Government of India's two reports issued by the Reconstruction Committee of the Executive Council that they did not provide for the ordered development of the country, as they did not indicate the overall target in respect of increase in national income, Sir Ardeshir observed:

In a country with totalitarian economy like Russia, it would be possible for the Government to lay down a prior target for a certain period and then set to work. All the agencies of Government at its control to achieve it with a reliable prospect of success. We know that in the case of Russia such success was achieved, but it was done by the most rigid regimentation of every aspect of the country's life and at the cost of acute tribulation to a large number of people accompanied with serious loss of life. Neither this Government nor even a National Government, I feel, would attempt to do so in a country like India. To my mind, it is neither feasible nor desirable.

What the Government can do, he said, was to make a survey of all its resources in men, material and money, estimate to what extent

it is possible to employ them for an improvement in the economic life as is feasible within the limitation set by the political, social and other conditions of India, and thus arrive at a reasonable target to be achieved within a given period of time. That is what the Government is now doing.

A meeting of the Consultative Committee of Economists met on January 3 with Sir Ardeshir in the chair. It considered the Bretton Woods Conference and the second report on Reconstruction Planning issued by the Reconstruction Committee of the Council. A sub-committee of the Consultative Committee to be known as the 'General Purposes Committee' was formed with Sir Theodore Gregory, Mr. C. N. Vakil, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Dr. Gyan Chand, Mr. M. K. Ghosh, Mr. D. R. Gadgil and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as members to advise the Planning and Development Department on such matters as might be referred to it from time to time. This committee is likely to meet once a month.

## ALL INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

More than 300 delegates from different provinces attended the All India Educational Conference at Cawnpore on December 29. Seth Kailashpat Singhania, in his welcome address, referred to the appalling illiteracy in the country and said that a thorough reorientation of the educational system was necessary to make greater efforts to remove illiteracy. He expressed the view that no educational scheme could serve our needs unless it was formulated by a National Government or a Government sympathetic to the aspirations of the people and conscious of their requirements. He advocated the expansion of vocational and technological education in the country.

He also stressed the need of military education to train our youths in shipping, aviation and other branches of military science where they can equip themselves with its modern methods.

Defining the objectives of National Education, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister, Bikaner State, in his Presidential address, stressed the importance of a system which educated the population as a whole and did not separate the educated from the general masses which regarded education as a continuous process all through life, and provided facilities for aesthetical education.

The crucial question which Indian educational authorities had to face, he said, was the position of the teacher, and he pleaded for improvement of the teacher's social and the economic condition. Mr. Panikkar defended the system of written examination as a test of the student's capacity.

Those responsible for national education, Mr. Panikkar said, had two problems to face

to create a new framework which would take into its fold the entire community that has to receive education, and secondly to furnish the framework with positive ideals. The planners could provide the framework; only educationalists could provide the ideals.

# THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Inaugurating the 19th Session of the Philosophical Congress at Lucknow, Dr. Panna Lal, observed:

The victories of science and of war will not bring solace to mankind in spite of the promises of nations and leaders. They may bring political and economic upheavals, which in their turn will bring other problems, and I doubt if we shall be any nearer happiness or truth.

How can we obtain happiness or truth of harmony? That is the problem of problems which has exercised mankind and for countless ages our forefathers have tried to solve it by hard thinking in the mountain caves of Himalayas, or on the banks of the Ganges.

Their conclusion was that happiness is within us, and therefore they placed that branch of philosophy which concerns itself with the study of Self on the highest rung of the ladder of human studies.

Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates paid a tribute to the late Prof. Sen Gupta, famous for his researches in experimental psychology.

Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Dacca University, in his presidential address, observed:

The human syllogism will never yield a correct conclusion so long as we ignore any part of the globe or any period of time and the claim of every country to the blessings of orderly progress in civilisation, comfort and freedom irrespective of the composition of its population. Freedom, peace and progress are the essential features of perfection and in a perfect world these are shared by all.

Continuing, Prof. Bhattacharya said:

But to understand properly the direction of evolution we must have the capacity to interpret the nature of reality. No one can hope to interfere successfully in any matter without first knowing the nature of the thing involved. A world that conserves the values created by man and conforms to the requirements of human reason has a character that is revealed to the insight of a purified personality. Philosophy is the progress responding with the refined sensibility of the entire personality.

It is time for us, he added, to remember that it is better to beget thoughts that will wander through eternity than to procreate

the race that might after all pass away, and that

whoever sends adrift a good thought or a noble ideal casts a seed of perfection that will grow and give shelter to weary mortals in their toil through life.

It is for this philosopher to show the way and to preach through precept and example that the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness embody eternal values and that after life's fever-fit is over what would be remembered is not how we lived and died but how we searched within and without the basic principles of existence and strove to realise them in thought, feeling and conduct in our social life.

## POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Opening the 7th Session of the Indian Political Science Association Conference at Jaipur on January 2, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Jaipur, stressed the importance of such a gathering especially at a time when people are looking to, and deliberately planning for, a new era. Continuing, Sir Mirza said

an Association is or should be of infinitely greater moment than a Conference. It should exercise a continuous and increasing influence upon actual political planning. Its function is not merely to supply sifted and co-ordinated data but to assert the rule of reason. And at the same time, it should be able to give to universities such advice regarding curricula as must inevitably command assent.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. J. C. Rollo, Chairman of the Reception Committee said:

Neither political science nor indeed any other subject can rightly be regarded and studied as an entity in itself. I think we might say that without history study of politics lacks substance, without economics it lacks structure, without metaphysics it lacks foundation and without ethics it lacks justification. So broad a scheme presents a problem, indeed, but surely this must be solved if university studies in politics are to have genuine significance.

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar of the Benares Hindu University in his presidential address spoke on the nature and functions of the World State. "No political theory in terms of a world state can be evolved", he said, if old empires like Britain and France are going to remain as they are, and the victorious powers in the war retain their conquests and vested interests, military or financial, in the name of a new Security Council of the world.

## ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

The need for mobilizing public opinion in India to press upon the Government to adopt immediate steps for organizing an adequate and efficient public health and medical service as soon as possible so as to protect the people against all avoidable diseases and keep them fit was stressed by Dr Jivraj Mehta, presiding over the 21st All India Medical Conference at Cawnpore on December 26

Dr Jivraj, who had been elected President of the Conference for the third time, in his address dealt with problems such as paucity of medical relief in the country, preventive measures, public health service, medical research, epidemic relief, Prof Adarkar's health insurance scheme and other problems connected with the medical profession

Deploring the paucity of medical relief in the country, Dr Jivraj said

that even if we took the entire number of qualified medical men and women as in position to serve the country through their art of healing, there was hardly one medico to every 15 villages or one to every 9 000 of population. The average however did not indicate the actual availability of skilled medical advice or assistance to the millions of Indians, since out of 45 000 qualified medical practitioners perhaps over 35 000 would be found residing and practising in the larger towns which had no more than 12 per cent to 15 per cent of the total population of India bringing the ratio of one doctor to over 20 000 persons in the mofussal areas

After referring to the distress in Bengal and elsewhere in the country Dr Jivraj suggested

that the Central Government should start an *ad hoc* organization an epidemic medical corps consisting of public health officers sanitary inspectors and nurses. The Indian Medical Association should also actively organize medical and other assistance for necessary medical relief to combat the epidemics

The President strongly criticised the import of foreign medical experts not only because, he said,

it means an utterly unmerited alight upon the Indian medical profession of today but also because I cannot believe those unacquainted personally with the conditions of living in India can throw, during the course of a very short perpetuated stay therein useful light on the solution of our problems

## THE I F L CONFERENCE

The Second Annual Conference of the Indian Federation of Labour met at Jamshedpur on December 24 under the presidency of Maniben Kara, President of the Bombay Committee of the Federation. About 500 delegates from different parts of India attended

Mr M N Roy addressing the annual conference dwelt on the relationships of the labour movement with politics, with particular reference to the Indian Federation of Labour. He said that there was an impression in certain sections that trade unionism, to be genuine must be divorced from politics. Conceding that trade unionism was reformist activity within the framework of the capitalist society, he said conditions in India determined that labour activity in India would be political

Therefore, the Indian working class has to fit its activity in the scheme of people's politics. People's politics would secure social freedom for all sections of Indian people and guarantee equality of opportunity to all

Miss Maniben Kara in her presidential address said that the course of Indian developments would be set either in the direction of socialism or fascism

It would be atrocious to expect Indian workers to go back to pre-war condition which was not far removed from one of brute existence

She expounded the people's plan of economic rehabilitation and pointed out how it would meet all the requirements of the labouring classes

A number of resolutions on subjects affecting Indian labour were adopted at the session. The resolutions included Government policy regarding post-war planning, trade unionism and politics, affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, World Trade Union Congress, labour legislations, wages and dearness allowances, etc

The Conference passed a resolution accepting and endorsing a single plan for economic development of India, called 'the people's plan,' prepared by the sub-committee appointed at the last Conference

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By 'AN INDIAN JOURNALIST'

Remain Rolland and India

**M**ORE than a year ago, the German radio announced the death of Romain Rolland, and even the London *Times*, so meticulous in its record of such events, had passed a short notice in its columns— which, however, was rectified in its evening edition. Nothing had since been heard of the great savant and Nobel prizeman until the Paris radio announced his death last month at the age of 79.

In the death of this great apostle of non violence has disappeared one of the noblest figures of modern times. M. Rolland had won his spurs in the world of letters as the author of *Jean Christophe* and other works of note which won him the Nobel prize and placed him among the immortals of the French Academy. But his distinction is not confined to France and French literature. His *Jean Christophe* itself is a resounding "call of the European spirit against the separatist tendencies of national ideals." Rolland worked Tolstoy's message through literature as Gandhiji has done through life. Thus in his passing his countrymen

have lost a literary giant and the oppressed peoples of the world one of their greatest and sincerest friends.

Rolland, like Anatole France, was versatile in his interests and achievements. He was an essayist and critic and was the author of many biographies including those of Beethoven, Handel and Michael Angelo. To us in India he endeared himself by his deep study and penetrating interpretation of Indian thought and culture. His life of Ramakrishna as of Vivekananda is at once scholarly and inspiring. Rolland was intimately acquainted with both Rabin dranath and Gandhiji and the late Mahadev Desai has left a very luminous record of the meeting of Mahatmaji with the great

French savant in his mountain home in Switzerland. Doubtless his Indian studies truly reveal where his spiritual affinities lay. "For me, as for many millions," says Gandhiji,

Romain Rolland is not dead. He truly lives through his famous writings and perhaps more so through his many nameless deeds. He lived in truth and non violence as he saw and believed them from time to time. He responded to all suffering. He revolted against the wanton human butchery called war.

Mr Nichols' "Verdict on India"

Like the enterprising journalist that he is, Mr. Beverley Nichols has managed to give the widest publicity to his book—"Verdict on India." Reuter and an obliging foreign press have already given us choice selections from the book to give us a taste of its contents and the general tenour of the author's views.

The echo being louder than the thunder clap there is no need to review the book at length. The perversity of his views has given the author a great deal of publicity. An Indian edition must therefore meet the very large demand that has been created for it. The publishers—Thacker & Co., Bombay—have supplied that want.

Wise men like Burke shrank from drawing up an indictment against a whole nation but the cock sure Nichols does not hesitate to give his verdict on India.

That verdict true to type, does not err on the side of fairness or moderation. It has naturally raised a storm of dust which must help to facilitate its sale. For what is one to think of a man who dams the Taj for its "ugliness" and denounces Gandhiji as "ignorant and intolerant"? This is being original in a strange way and rightly merits S. K. C.'s humorous lines addressed to the author.

I must confess your book leaves me quite cold  
Though some there are whom such queer

But how can one from you expect true gold?  
Who must fulfil you—'till by being a chela

### Mr Hofmeyer on Racial Intolerance in S. Africa

Mr Hofmeyer, most eloquent of South African statesmen, has sounded a note of warning against mass intolerance in South Africa. Realising the depth of feeling in India on the question of Indian disabilities in South Africa, Mr Hofmeyer calls on the Union Government to play fair and act up to the principles and promises of the 1927 Agreement.

In that agreement the Government of the Union declared its firm belief and adherence to 'the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take every possible step for uplifting every section of their permanent population and its acceptance of the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities, a considerable number of Indians who remain a part of the permanent population, shall not be allowed to lag behind the other sections of the people.'

Those pronouncements of 18 years ago were in full accord with the Christian principles in their bearing on race relations. We have done a certain amount to give effect to them. But we have still a great deal to do before we can say to India 'we have done what in the 1927 agreement we said we would do: your interest in our domestic affairs arising out of that document has now fallen away.'

There is no future for this as a Christian nation he says truly,

save on the basis of generous respect for the dignity of all men, unwearied activity towards the removal of inequalities of opportunity and open hearted readiness to concede to others what we regard the fatherhood of God as meaning for ourselves.

Hence his plea for the application of Christian principles to race problems in the Union. So far the unchristian attitude adopted by the Whites against Indians has had its ugly reaction in perpetuating and intensifying racial hatred. Self interest, thorough, unmitigated self interest has been the bane of South African policy, and that has vitiated all efforts at a solution of the South African Indian problem which he described as "one of the least creditable episodes in our history."

It is hardly a matter for argument that in this field our record when judged in the light of Christian principles scarcely bears examination. The self interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa, self interest has sought to get rid of him from the country self interest in so far as this cannot be achieved is determined to keep him in what is regarded as his place.

### Indian Shipping Policy

To a certain extent the principles enunciated in Bombay at the first meeting of the Policy Committee on shipping are sound, but the problem of their practical application to the needs of this country has never been satisfactorily solved. The Government of India's Memorandum on the subject urges the acquisition of the adequate share of the world's carrying trade as the principal aim of post war shipping policy. To this end

steps would be taken to secure an increased share of coastal trade including that with Ceylon and Burma a substantial share of trade with neighbouring countries and fair shares in Eastern trade from which Japanese shipping will be displaced and in trade between India and more distant countries.

Now the demand for the reservation of Coastal navigation and trade to Indian shipping is a pretty old story, and Mr Walchand Hirachand has repeatedly voiced the complaint of the Scindias who have fought many a battle for securing this right. But the Government's shipping policy has never been encouraging. In fact it has been so thoroughly disappointing in the past that the fear is widespread in Indian Shipping circles that it will be no more encouraging in the postwar period. At the recent conference Sir C P Ramaswami Iyer declared that

not only the reservation of coastal navigation to Indian Shipping but the provision of tonnage to India and building of vessels in this country are matters which will have to be tackled by England and India in full mutual co operation.

India has a right to have her own shipping policy and no mere increase of the present share—which is 20 to 30 per cent of the total—would satisfy the imperative needs of this country. There is no doubt that the entire coastal trade should be reserved to Indian shipping—that is, if Government keeps the wishes of the people in mind. That however, as a contemporary reminds us, is

but another way of saying that only a National Government can, in this as in other respects, safeguard and enforce our rights.

# HOW TO SECURE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE By 'Sutlej'. Oxford University Press As 8

Everyone will admit that there is a growing need for the immediate ending of the political deadlock in India which alone can give meaning to Britain's declarations that the war is for democracy and self-determination of small nations. The author of this pamphlet outlines a plan for the Governance of India when Britain implements her independence pledge to India. In the scheme two independent sovereign states, Hindustan and Pakistan—are to be set up in British India and their areas demarcated. Among the states, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Baroda are to be single sovereign states, while the small states should be formed into five confederacies thus making in all eleven sovereign succession states within the area now known as India. This novel scheme will find few adherents among thinking men in India.

# TWENTY FOUR RUSSIAN STORIES International Book House, Ltd, Bombay Rs 38

Interest in Russia had been awakened in many minds even before Russian arms had won laurels in the many battle fields of the present war. Many travelled through the country to understand the soul of her people. But there is perhaps nothing that reveals a people's soul as fiction and hence this volume may well claim that it reveals the Russian soul, since it consists of twenty four stories written by the most outstanding fiction writers of the country.

The Russian mind is extremely introspective one has only to think of Tolstoy's War and Peace, Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment, for any story of Pushkin. All the stories in this volume also share this characteristic, whether they be such single-paragraph ones as Sologub's, or longer ones like those of Tchekoff, Bunin or Kuprin. In each story we seem to see the working of the minds of the characters as clearly as a clock work in a glass case.

# CRITIQUE OF "CHINA'S DESTINY" By Chen Pai ta People's publishing House, Bombay.

In this short book the Chinese communist Chen Pai ta examines critically the views of Marshal Chiang Kai Shek about the communists expressed in his book "China's Destiny" published last year. It seems as if the deep differences between the communists and Chiang which had plagued Chinese politics in recent years are still alive and kicking. From these pages we get an idea of the distrust that still prevails among the communists about Marshal Chiang Kai Shek.

# BURMA—YESTERDAY AND TO MORROW By F Haskings Thacker & Co, Ltd Rampart Row, Bombay Re 180

Mr Haskings has written a lively and readable little book on Burma. Having lived and worked in Burma he writes with understanding and sympathy about many aspects of Burmese life. Though he is critical at times, his account of the Burmese campaign is rather inadequate and leaves out of account many vital factors relating to British reverses. He offers some constructive proposals for Burma's reconstruction and rehabilitation.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA With special reference to history and implications of the Peggung Act and the Peggung Ordinance (With Foreword by Madan Gopal Reddy) By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee M A The American Association, Calcutta

THE FUTURE OF AUSTRALIA By L. M. R. Lewis Indian Council of World Affairs New Delhi

KNOW YOUR COUNTRY Institute of Current Affairs, Lahore Re 14

HINDUSTAN MANUAL By S. R. Sastri B.O.L. Dalshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Thyagaraja Nagar, Madras Re 2

THE HOLY SEE AND ITS PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE By S. E. The Grand Chevalier N. D. A. Silva Vijaya Singh The Padikara Mudalar of Ceylon Kandy

GANDHI THE MASTER By K. M. Munshi Popular Book Depot, Bombay



1. Mr. Lloyd George made an Earl.  
Death is reported of M. Romain Rolland.
2. Bishop of Dornakal, Dr. Azaria,  
passes away.
3. Polish Provisional Government  
declines responsibility for financial  
obligations of the London Government.
4. Sir Maurice Gwyer re-appointed  
Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University.  
—Turkey breaks with Japan.
5. King Peter stands down to Slav-  
Regency in Yugoslavia.  
—Allies capture Akyab.
6. Sind Premier demands resignation  
of Mr. Gazdar, League Member of the  
Ministry.
7. R. A. F. raid Munich.  
—49 Jap planes destroyed.
8. U. S. Admiral gives warning of  
impending Robot threat to New York.
9. Sir Chhotu Ram, Punjab Revenue  
Minister, is dead.
10. Americans land on Luzon.  
—E. A. M. delegates meet Gen. Scrobie.
11. Japs form "suicide squadrons"  
and crash to death on allied ships.
12. Truce signed in Athens.  
—Allied armies link up the Western front.
13. Gandhiji warns against mass  
gatherings on Independence day.  
—Allies land on Myebon.
14. Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Mr. Biswanath  
Das and others released.  
—Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim  
League, speaking in Madras, explains  
Pakistan as Free Islam in Free Hindustan.
15. Sir Edward Benthall, opening the  
Post-war Transport Policy Committee  
meeting, explains Government's plans.
16. Mr. Churchill heckled in the  
Commons on the Grecian issue.  
—Russians advancing south of Warsaw.
17. Warsaw falls: Capture of  
Cracow reported.  
—Transport Council decides to set up an  
Indian Road Board.
18. Mr. Churchill defends Britain's  
foreign policy in the Commons.  
—Hungary signs an armistice.
19. Russians take Tilsit.  
—American advance in Luzon.
20. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai meets  
Viceroy.  
—Dr. Sapru and Conciliation Committee  
meet Punjab Hindu and Sikh leaders.
21. Mrs. Naidu, addressing Madras  
students, urges freedom through unity.
22. Release of hostages in Greece.  
—Trade Union Congress in Madras demands  
release of prisoners.
23. Burma road re-opened.  
—King Peter dismisses Dr. Subasic's  
Government in Yugoslavia.
24. Sir Ardeshir Dalal addresses  
meeting of Post-War Reconstruction  
Committee in Madras.
25. Russians cross the Oder.  
—Tito-Subasic pact to stand. Yugo  
cabinet not to resign.
26. Independence day celebrations.  
—A. I. N. E. C. Standing Committee  
meets in Calcutta.
27. Editors' Conference demands  
release of detained journalists.
28. Mrs. V. L. Pandit lunches with  
Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House.
29. Reds cross into Brandenburg  
Thousand bomber raids on Germany.
30. Governor of C. P. commute  
sentences of death passed on eight of  
the fifteen accused in the Ashti and  
Chimur cases to transportation for life.
31. Report of German and Jap  
attempts at peace.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## LITERATURE AS A MORAL FORCE

*The Aryan Path* for January has an article on the above subject by Prof M D Altekar who says that

literature, to be true literature, must be vital and though it may be light, literature should not be trivial, common and cheap. To use a simile from medicine, literature should be full of vitamins. Vitamins are found in a number of common articles that we eat. So treatment of a common subject by a poet (the term poet is used here in its widest sense) becomes literature if he puts vitality into it and if thereby the vitality of the reader is improved, and such literature is said to exert great moral influence and becomes a great moral force. Do those writers who persistently indulge in themes of free love and what they call new thought (which often hides only old vulgarities and old vagaries) make their readers better and stronger, less prone to temptation and more capable of resisting temptation? After all self control and proper control of egotism are the test of all vitality, and do those new writers teach men and women to pass that test?

Sincerity is the greatest possession of an author, and it is sincerity that makes an artist of him.

And sincerity flows from the objectivity which is nothing other than what may be called disinterestedness. Objectivity is often opposed to subjectivity, but one may speak or write sincerely about oneself. One may, but more often than not one will not and that is why true art is always, strictly speaking objective. And when subjectivity is free from the vice of interestedness it is really an objective outlook applied to one's self. That can be achieved but it is exceedingly rare and difficult of achievement.

The writer points out that the principal thing is that the author should be objective in his presentation.

If, for instance, Shakespeare had not been disinterested, if he had not been objective, his wonderful pen could not have described such different types of women as Desdemona, Lady Macbeth, Rosalind, Juliet, or such demented types of men as Othello, King Lear, Hamlet, the Jew, Macbeth. What some of the writers of later days have overlooked is this supreme significance of disinterestedness or what is popularly known as objectivity, which is in truth sincerity.

It is thus seen that literature is a moral force. That it is twisted by some and misused by others is no reason why we should treat all literature as propaganda or as a force that weakens the moral fibre

## A LESSON FOR INDIA

*India*, the monthly Review edited by Professor Humayun Kabir is a welcome addition to the ranks of Indian periodicals. In his Editorial notes for the current issue, Professor Kabir draws pointed attention to the happenings in the various countries in Europe liberated by the allied armies from the Nazi invaders—Poland and Belgium and Greece. It is a strange irony of fate, he says that all over the continent of Europe, the forces of liberation sent by the United Nations are coming into conflict with the resistance forces native to the soil. These events have one important lesson for India.

Those who come as liberators often tend to stay on as conquerors. External help is more often a liability than an asset. It is of course otherwise with strong and powerful nations. They are confident that they will use the help which is offered to them, and not be used by those who offer help. Russia has largely profited by the help and assistance she received from the U.S.A. and Britain. She has not however allowed her policy to be influenced by her allies. The help which China has received is insignificant compared to what Russia received. The interference with the internal affairs of China is however far greater. Interference in all such cases seems to vary inversely to the assistance given. The root of the paradox is, of course, to be found in the strength of the parties concerned. Development of her internal strength is therefore the only guarantee of a nation's security. India must therefore develop what strength she may if she is to win her rightful position among the nations of the world. Anxious dependence on American help or fond hopes of Russian intervention are bound to fail. Even though America has the power, she has not intervened in India, France or Italy. External help or intervention is therefore extremely unlikely. Even if it should come it may create more problems than it will solve.

The other lesson for India, says the writer, is that British gibes about her divisions and differences are only a pretext for withholding recognition of her independence.

Mr Churchill who wants complete unanimity of opinion in India not only recognises but welcomes differences in countries like Greece and Belgium. He even makes such variety of opinion a condition of democracy for does he not say that it takes all sorts to make a democracy? He would not however apply the lesson of that discovery to India. Again the lesson for India is clear. What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose till the goose becomes as strong as the gander.

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR

*Bharat Magazine* is a monthly journal devoted to economic and industrial progress of India, published by the Dalmia-Jain group of concerns. In a recent issue of this magazine we have some wholesome counsel as to the proper relation that should subsist between these two vital factors of business—capital and labour. At a time when we are awaiting the dawn of that new horizon when industrialisation goes hand in hand with reformation, righteousness and uplift, we cannot be too careful in avoiding the pit-falls of misdirected effort and profiting by the experience of successful enterprises. For a businessman, says the writer,

the unfailing remedy is to invite full-throated criticism or suggestions from the workers. Let him lay bare his plans before his workers to ask them to share what he gains and loses. Let his dealings be open and his behaviour above suspicion. Let him say to the workers: "I want to build a motor-car industry—self-sufficient, independent and able to withstand foreign competition. These are my schemes. . . . I invite petition. Your co-operation towards the good of the community and the country." If a worker is desirous of associating himself in the money-part of the enterprises, he must be welcomed wholeheartedly; if a capitalist—an unhappy term, which has partly lost its true and honourable meaning—comes forward to place his services and his personal labour for the benefit of the concern, he too, I say, should be cordially encouraged. Such a move would result in elimination of all distinctions between the industrialists and the labourers.

In a nutshell, it would mean a reasonable socialisation of industries. Nobody need have any fears from the socialisation of industries, where labour and capital are complementary and concordant with each other.

A man of business, thus, is not an outcast, an ostracised being, but an integral part of the society, who will, in course of time, be ready to organise his plans for industrialisation not "in camera," but before the public gaze. He will associate himself with his workers, and gradually the classes and the masses will be merged together.

But to bring about the existence of this happy state of affairs, labour too should be prepared to shed its unfounded fears and suspicions. It has to realise its importance.

As long as the labourers consider themselves as insignificant "hewers of wood and drawers of water," working for so many brass-pieces a day, they cannot gain strength and respect. Labour is as much the creator of goods and wealth as the moneyed-class. Both are indispensable part and parcel of an industrialised society. While insisting on a square deal labour should be willing to place at the country's disposal square work done honestly and conscientiously.

## BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Tom Wintringham, well-known political and military writer, in an article in the *Commonwealth Review*, asserts that the British foreign policy is delaying the winning of the war. He says:

Nazi parachutists were dropped in Belgium and Luxembourg to help Von Rundstedt's drive. Resistance movements disarmed by British policy were refused arms to use against these paratroops. In Italy, the Nazi line holds in spite of the switching of whole German divisions to Hungary. British, Polish and Greek troops who could have helped to break the Nazi line are flown to Athens where they are employed against the Allies and not against the enemy. In Greek islands and in Crete, German garrisons are holding out. Supply ships to help the Red Armies cannot get through. The attempt to conquer Greece robs us of the chance to clear out these German garrisons. Germans needed ten divisions to hold part of Greece against the ELAS. The British Army which is unlikely to be able to spare ten divisions will fail with less.

No commander would dare use French or American troops in Athens or troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other democratic countries that would at once demand their recall. So Mr. Churchill uses Indian, Polish and British troops—troops from countries unable at present to protest effectively. Thus on three fronts, the real physical and military war effort is weakened by a policy of trying to restore power to representatives of the old order of society, but the moral weakening is greater and more important. This policy divides us from our American, Russian, French and other European Allies and causes strikes in our factories.

## SELF GOVERNMENT FOR ASIATICS

The *Far Eastern Survey*, the bulletin of the Institute of Pacific Relations, calls on the United States Government to attempt to obtain from European colonial powers an agreement on "unequivocal definite programmes" by which the peoples of Burma, Malaya, Indo China and Netherlands East Indies will be assured 'of self government in the near future

The author of the article, Mr Laurence Salisbury, says that an effort must be made now because America's 'bargaining power' among Allies would greatly diminish with the defeat of Germany 'We may easily miss a great opportunity of ridding the world of the ever latent threat of global inter racial war' He adds:

White imperialism in Asia is doomed and what ever be the attitude of these colonial powers, the peoples of Asia will eventually achieve self government. It is in the best interests of America that our European allies realize it wiser to yield from strength to growing aspirations of the Colonial Asiatics than to delay until forced to yield from weakness

He further says that America's "prolonged silence" on the issue of colonial independence means "tacit commitment to support the imperial system which will inevitably come to an end"

The author warns that the Japanese propaganda for pan Asia would continue after the war also Japan will seize every opportunity to create among other Asiatics hatred of whites

Hence America and European powers must co operate in an enlightened policy of treating Asiatics as potential equals in world affairs Japan's purpose is to fight next time with Asia solidly behind her In such a war China might be on Japan's side for if our policy in South East Asia proves to be a failure our policy everywhere in Asia will have failed To millions of Asiatics America appears to be fighting for not only the defeat of Japan but to restore colonialism in Asia as it existed before war Unless America clarifies her position she might find herself in future alignment ranged with dying imperialism against a united and vigorous Asia.

## ECONOMIC PLANNING BY INDIA GOVT

In an article on the Central Government's plans for the economic development of India after the war, the *Manchester Guardian* says "We cannot evade the issue of Indian Self Government. . . The sort of schemes for the development of natural and Industrial resources which are now being discussed in India demand a great deal of initiative and direction by the State The Government that is to carry them into effect must have large powers of economic management and it must be able to obtain the consent of the public for heavy taxation and control of trade and investment It is difficult to imagine that anything but an Indian National Government could command such support once the pressure of war needs has been removed But the pressure of poverty goes on and it would be wrong to put off plans for the deliberate raising of living standards until perfect political agreement has been reached'

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## LEADERS OF POST-WAR JAPAN

Who will lead the Post-war Government of defeated Japan? is answered by Mr. Allan Goulding, writing in the *Magazine Digest* for November. Their names, Yukio Ozaki, and Susumu Okanu, will probably be prominent in the news after the Allies close in on Japan.

Ozaki, known as the "god" of constitutional politics, is the elder of the two. He is Japan's greatest liberal statesman. In his long career as legislator and publisher, he has won unchallenged recognition as a staunch antimilitarist and democrat. . . .

Despite the attempt by the Tojo Government to remove him from the political scene as a traitor, his followers re-elected him by a 14,000-vote majority.

Returned to his seat in the Diet by a substantial majority in that election, Ozaki continued his criticism of the military dictatorship after the outbreak of the war with China, and was one of the few political leaders with courage to maintain this attitude after December, 7, 1941.

He especially condemned the war with China. As early as 1932, while traveling abroad, Ozaki declared that it was a "high act of nonsense to suggest that Manchukuo had been formed by the free will of the people." Since then, he has maintained that attitude consistently both in the national legislature and in his publications.

Susumu Okanu, Japan's other outstanding democratic leader, is 52 years of age.

He heads the Japanese People's Liberation Alliance, formed in Yenan, China, in February, 1944. He is Japan's most aggressive labour leader. Militantly active against the militarists, he was forced to go underground in 1935, but continued his opposition so effectively that in 1943 the government began a nationwide hunt for him. He finally escaped from Tokyo, travelled in disguise by way of Tientsin and Peiping, and arrived in Yenan early in 1944.

There with other Japanese democratic groups, he founded the Alliance with the specific purpose of providing the Japanese people with a postwar anti-militarist leadership.

Okanu is a practical politician as well as an uncompromising democrat.

He realizes the hazards involved in raising the issue of the monarchy in a country where the people are taught to believe that the Emperor is divine. His only objective at the moment is to unite all the latent forces of democratic opposition, and to eliminate any differences between his followers and those of Ozaki and other democrats.

The popularity of these two men, already great, will undoubtedly rise with the defeat of Japan's present leaders.

## INDIAN LITERATURE

The *Literary Annual* published by the *All-India Weekly* has many attractive features, not the least of which is a record of the literary output in the year. It is a copious list touching every aspect of literary endeavour in the country during 1944. It opens appropriately with a survey of the literary activities in India by Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

The war has proved both an immitigable curse and a blessing in disguise to Indian publishers, says the Professor. "It has proved a curse because war-time controls of all sorts are trying to strangle the production and distribution of books and periodicals. On the other hand, the war has proved a blessing in disguise there is now a very real and still growing demand for new books. Thanks principally to the selfless endeavours of those of our men of letters who care for culture and literature more than for ready returns, Indo-Anglian journalism and Indo-Anglian literature are yet instruments of knowledge or engines of culture in these hectic, myopic, uncertain days."

## INDIAN UNITY

The unity number of *Federal India and Indian States*, is packed with informing articles and statistics bearing on the ticklish problem of inter-communal relations. The lengthy Editorial concludes with a powerful plea for unity.

"Let the four hundred million people of India have faith in themselves and in their national destiny; let them unite to purify themselves by destroying the many social ills that have been for generations eating into their vitals, and thereby become strong and great, not only in their own estimation, but in that of the civilised world; let them feel one and indivisible under the Fatherhood of one God whatever faiths they might profess, and the problems not only of Indian unity, but of world unity will have been completely solved."

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### LABOUR CONDITIONS IN HYDERABAD

The Labour Investigation Committee was appointed by the Nizam's Government in April last to investigate Labour conditions, particularly industrial in the State and to suggest measures for their improvement

Nawab Khusru Jung Bahadur, Army and Labour Member, Nizam's Executive Council, addressing a meeting of the Statutory Labour Advisory Committee, said that the Nizam's Government was considering the creation of a separate Labour Department. He also revealed that the Government was considering the passing of an Industrial Disputes Act, a Trade Unions Act and Employment of Children Act. The Government, he added had already appointed a Post War Planning Committee to deal with Labour problems

### EXCESS PROFITS FOR POOR RELIEF

Rupees fifty lakhs out of the Excess profits revenue will be spent by the Nizam's Government on providing cheap grain and standard cloth to needy and disabled persons in the State. Part of the above amount will also be utilised for setting up industrial institutions in Hyderabad city and districts, where trained women teachers will instruct widows and poor women in small scale home industries and arrange for the sale of goods made by them

### NIZAM ON INDUSTRIES

The Nizam, opening the seventh annual Hyderabad Industrial Exhibition, stressed the importance of industrial development

'I place the prosperity of my State above everything else,' he said 'and in order to secure this it is necessary that local industries and manufactures should be developed so as to bring wealth into the country and reduce poverty and unemployment'

## Baroda

### STATES AND POST WAR PLANS

"There are post war reconstruction schemes which affect British India as intimately as the Indian States, and the Central Government should be prepared to afford assistance to the States in these schemes declared Rajratna S V Mukherjee, member for Post War Reconstruction, speaking at the meeting of the Board of Industrial Advice constituted by the Maharaja of Baroda to help the planning of post war industry and agriculture of the State. Sir Homi Mehta presided

In a message to the Board, His Highness said 'the social and economic development of my people actuated me to constitute this Board and I have every confidence that with your help schemes of far reaching economic importance will soon be introduced

Sir Homi Mehta in his inaugural address, referred to the objects of the Board and said 'I cannot here emphasise too much that the policy of British India towards the Indian States in respect of industrial development in the States should be one of entire sympathy and co operation, without any sense of fear and envy whatsoever. The President referred to the various fields of development in the State one of them being a broadcasting station. Sir Homi Mehta advised the Baroda Post War Reconstruction Board to plan for cheap electric power

### BARODA SAVINGS DRIVE

Under the Small Savings Scheme, the Baroda Government have appointed a special officer to organise savings societies of labourers on co-operative basis. By the end of September 1944, 20 such societies had been organised with a membership of 22,999. The compulsory and DA savings deposited in these societies amounted to Rs 2,60,497 and Rs 11,41,210 respectively.

## Mysore

### TEXTILE CONTROL IN MYSORE

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Textile Advisory Committee to the effect that such of the cloth dealers as have come into business subsequent to December 1941, especially after Japan's entry into war, on grounds of speculation may be shut out, the Additional Textile Commissioner for Mysore has notified that only such of the cotton cloth dealers (both wholesale and retail) of Bangalore and Mysore cities as have taken out licences under the Mysore Cotton Cloth Dealers' Licensing Order and as have come into business prior to January 1942, may apply to him for the renewal of the licences. Licences would not be renewed as a rule in the case of those dealers who came into business subsequent to December 1941, except in special cases where due consideration would be given only to such of the dealers who would apply for renewal of the licences mentioning specific reasons, if any, for such consideration.

### MYSORE JOURNALISTS' ASSN.

Addressing the Mysore State Journalists' Association, Bangalore, at its 13th Annual General Meeting held on January 5 in the Association's premises, Mr. O. Pulla Reddi, Minister for Revenue and Law with the Government of Mysore, dwelt on the privileges and responsibilities of the Press and observed that with the extension of suffrage and with all the illiteracy and ignorance that was noticed around them the Press must provide that political education which had been denied to many by omission to attend schools and colleges in their youth.

### MYSORE LAWYERS' SANADS

The High Court of Mysore has returned the applications filed by Messrs. K. T. Bhashyam, K. Pattabiraman and S. Nijalingappa, Congress leaders of the State praying for restoration of their sanads which had been cancelled by the High Court in the year 1941, under the Legal Practitioners Act for disobeying a prohibitory order issued by the police.

## Travancore

### THE C-IN-C. IN TRAVANCORE

At a luncheon given by the Dewan of Travancore Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck paid a tribute to the young men of Travancore State. He said that although this was the first occasion on which he had visited the State, he had seen officers and men from Travancore in other parts of India and on overseas fronts. He had formed a very good opinion of them and this had been amply supported by what he had been able to see during the present visit. General Auchinleck said that although he had been associated for the past forty years with Punjab troops he would be the first to praise the qualities of the South Indian soldiers. He reminded his listeners that his own battalion of the first Punjab Regiment was originally the Old Madras Regiment.

### SIR CHIMANLAL'S TRIBUTE

"Your ruler and Her Highness the Maharani have set an example in India of what a ruler must be, namely servant to the people," said Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, former member of the Bombay Executive Council, addressing the Travancore University Union.

Sir Chimanlal added that they, in Bombay, used to hear of the rapid strides Travancore had been making under the enlightened administration of her ruler, assisted by his Dewan. He had been round some of their institutions, including the University, the Engineering College, the Women's College and the Museum. "I can well say that all these reflect in every direction the hand of the great ruler that you have, as well as the great Dewan who helps him."

If we had, in India, Princes and Dewans of the type you are fortunate to have here the face of India would be entirely different from what is in some parts of the country.

**Miraj****REFORMS FOR MIRAJ STATE**

Reforms in the constitution of Miraj (Senior) State were announced by the Raja Sahab on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of his accession to the Gadi of Miraj. While making the proclamation, the Ruler said that he was promulgating the Government of Miraj (Senior) Act of 1945 in accordance with declared policy of the State progressively to associate the subjects with the administration with a view to reaching, in the fulness of time the accepted goal of full Responsible Government under the aegis of the Raja Sahab.

He added that the new Constitution would reveal many progressive features which similar Acts elsewhere had yet to adopt. The financial and legislative powers of the State Assembly were in advance of the powers obtained in other places and were on a par with those enjoyed by Provincial Councils under the Government of India Act of 1919.

**Bhavnagar****BHAVNAGAR BUDGET**

'Indian India nowadays can no more afford to remain aloof from British India in the fields of political, industrial and economic progress of their subjects declared Mr Anantai Pattani, the Dewan President, opening the budget session of the Bhavnagar State Dharashaba.

He assured the House that the State would not lag behind India in planning various post war reconstruction schemes for agriculture, cattle-breeding, industry and commerce in order to raise the standard of living in the State.

The budget introduced by the Controller of State Accounts revealed a deficit of Rs 303 lakhs.

**Ratlam****MUNICIPAL BOARD FOR RATLAM**

'In India we have the hoary tradition of personal patriarchal rule. Now the time has come when we should be able to blend the principle of democratic government with the old institution of monarchy', declared H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singhji of Ratlam inaugurating the newly constituted Municipal Board under the Ratlam Municipal Act of 1944, on the occasion of the celebration of the 65th birthday of His Highness on January 13.

**Sangli****POPULAR MINISTERS FOR SANGLI**

The Raja Sahab of Sangli has appointed Mr B. S. Core and Mr K. G. Kulkarni as the Popular Ministers of the Sangli State according to the Sangli State Amended Act of 1945. Both of them belong to the Sangli Praja Parishad Party in the Sangli Assembly.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

**South Africa**  
SIR S. A. KHAN'S FAREWELL ADVICE  
Lecturer in Johannesburg

Ahmad Khan said: Until shortly after the war, there was no racial hostility against Indians in the Transvaal. The Afrikaner leaders nourished on the Old Testament spirit and fortified in their beliefs through their leaders' struggle to secure political existence, according to the Indians treatment which was tolerable although not an ideal one. The first waves of anti-Indian sentiment appeared in the twenties and only partially subsided with the Cape Town Agreement. This has not provided a comprehensive solution to the political Indian community but has promised limited ameliorative measures. The Capetown Agreement unfortunately remained a dead letter and the promises made by the South African Government were unredeemed.

The pattern of post-war policy for the Indians in the Transvaal countryside is not yet disclosed but the Indian community is greatly agitated over rumors of segregation. I hope the Congress will safeguard the Indian rights in the towns and the countryside and I always oppose with determination any scheme threatening to curtail the existing rights of the Indian community in the Transvaal, limited as they are.

The future of the Indian race overseas is assured. India knows that the future of her children overseas is bound up with the vital questions of her own freedom. Discriminatory laws have been passed by some countries in the last ten years. They have been duly noted. The Indian statesman with his vision and imagination can afford to wait. They know they will soon be masters of their own homeland. When they do, their kith and kin overseas will be the first to claim their attention.

## Mauritius

"One of the most outstanding needs of the island of Mauritius is good administration," observes the Moody Commission appointed by the Colonial Office to enquire into the firing incident that took place on September 19 on the island.

The Moody Commission was appointed after the firing incident in Belle Vue Herel Estate about which questions were put in the Central Assembly.

## INDIANS' FUTURE IN BURMA

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### A ROYAL PROCLAMATION FOR INDIA

A Royal Proclamation setting out the substance of the 1942 proposals was suggested by Wing Commander H Grant Ferris M.P., speaking in London.

Wing Commander Grant Ferris urged that Indians, particularly in villages, attached great importance to a Royal Proclamation and as it was posted up under a picture of the King they would attach more importance to it than to a statement from the Secretary of State for India.

We made certain promises, and we have got to stick to them. Otherwise our name and status in the world will deteriorate as never before. We should come out of this problem with clean hands and our attention to fulfil our promises should be made known in terms of the utmost clearness. After this war, we shall have to say to Indians that no more political wrangling in India will be tolerated for a given period of perhaps 15 years. Then we could turn our minds to other problems in India.

### MR KUNZRU ON INDIA'S DEMAND

The International Conference on Pacific Relations concluded its talks on what proved to be a highly controversial subject of European dependencies in the Far East. Both Indian and British viewpoints were however, presented.

Representing India, Dr H N Kunzru demanded the following concessions from the British as the first concrete step towards the promised independence of India.

Complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council—including two key positions of Home membership and Finance membership. For the latter the Viceroy has even imported Sir Archibald Rowland from Britain.

Complete Indianisation of the Indian Army. In order that the country may be prepared to defend itself when it is given its independence. Indian officers now in the Army have already proved their abilities of leadership and diversity of races in the army is unimportant.

All Congress leaders to be released immediately.

### THE SAPRU COMMITTEE

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru winding up the first session of the Conciliation Committee, gave a cheerful picture of the business done and of future prospects. The four sub-committees will meet in New Delhi during the Holi holidays to consider replies to the brief but significant questionnaire drawn up by the Committee. The full Committee will meet in Easter to draw up its report which will be published soon thereafter.

The Committee decided to make no request to Government to be allowed to see Congress leaders in jail but to approach individual Congress leaders who are free men.

The questionnaire issued by the Committee sets forth in a brief, but comprehensive manner, the main constitutional problems involved in a settlement among the various communities in India. The issue of Pakistan itself and the implications of Akhand Hindustan are examined in detail. The Committee seeks to suggest all possible alternatives to Pakistan such as giving the right of non accession or secession, a limited Centre with residuary powers vesting in each federating unit, composite executives in which the communities may be statutorily represented, and a realignment of the existing boundaries of provinces to secure maximum self expression and cultural autonomy to the different communities. It has also set down three possible alternatives in case no settlement is reached among the major communities, namely, an indefinite prolongation of the *status quo*, international arbitration and imposition of a new constitution by the British Government. The special problems of non Muslim minorities like the Scheduled Castes also receive its attention in the very first part of the questionnaire.

# Utterances of the Day

## MRS. NAIDU ON NATIONAL GOVT.

"Shall not every one of us respect the rights of every community? Shall we not stand for the rights of every single minority? Every single minority has a voice," remarked Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing the students of Calcutta on January 11.

She asked them not to use any party principles for themselves, and not to aspire after power politics. Their duty, she said,

was only to have a broad-based ideal of human fellowship and human liberty, and, proud of that great ideal, they should march forward, oblivious of geographical barriers, so that when this war of destruction was over they might be able to sing a song of progress altogether.

Explaining her idea of a National Government, Mrs. Naidu said:

We think the Congress thinks, Dr. Shyamprasad Mukerjee thinks and Mr. Jinnah thinks—of a National Government. Lord Wavell has also talked of a National Government but that is not the Government that we want, or Mr. Nehru wants.

We want a National Government that shall be ours. The Ministers must administer policies for everything that is beneficial to our country, but how can we get it? What is the foundation on which we can create a National Government? What is the picture that you see before you? How out of this disunity and distrust and refusal to meet one another even in the social sphere are you going to create a National Government for India? Or is it not your duty to face reality? You are to produce a substance of unity and harmony on the basis of which you can build a National Government.

## INDIA AND PEACE CONFERENCE

In a recent speech in Madras the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri emphasised his oft-expressed wish that

India should be represented at the peace Conference not by the nominees of the Viceroy but by those in whom the people have the fullest confidence. I think of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If they are not sent to the Peace Conference, we need not be represented at all.

## MRS. PANDIT ON BRITAIN AND INDIA

Addressing a Press Conference at Hot-Springs, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit observed:

India welcomes participation in any international security organisation and would be happy to share responsibility on equal terms but we realise that if there is to be a new world order, all countries must be on the same footing.

Mrs. Pandit, who is a delegate to the International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, indicated that such Conferences "do little good because some countries are improperly represented." She pointed to the case of the Burmese, East Indies and Indo-Chinese representatives to this Conference who arrived as members of the British, Dutch and French delegations respectively.

"Colonies are out of place in the present world order", Mrs. Pandit declared:

Because according to the Atlantic Charter there should be equality of people of all races and all colours.

In India we feel the inequality 'strongly.' Recently even stronger, because Japanese propaganda has been clever enough to exploit the feeling of humiliation of Oriental Nations by claiming that Japan fights for the liberation of Asia from the Western nations. It is therefore necessary that the Western nations must come out with their peace aims that assure equality for all races after the war.

Mrs. Pandit, however, strongly emphasised India's vehement anti-Japanese and anti-Fascist feelings:

We were the first nation to boycott Japanese goods in 1937 when the United States was sending to the Japanese goods that made this war possible. By making this mistake the United States made it possible for Indian boys to be killed by the Japanese instead of helping them to rebuild their country.

Discussing internal affairs, Mrs. Pandit declared, "if the British Government had been genuine in its promises to the Indian people they would have given an opportunity to the Congress and the Muslims to get together."

## MR JINNAH ON BRITISH RULE

Pleading for a dispassionate consideration of the Pakistan issue, Mr. M A Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a meeting of students at Ahmedabad on January 15, asserted that Pakistan was the only way "and the only way of cornering John Bull" He denied that the policy and programme of the Muslim League was inimical to Hindu interests The view that the League's policy was directed towards pan-Islamism was nothing but a bogey The struggle for Pakistan was not against the Hindus but against the British rule

The plea for a United India, Mr Jinnah said

was the result of British machinations

Whatever you might say the present United India is not held by us but by machine guns

Mr Jinnah said that Muslims were convinced by actual experience and knowledge of conditions in the country that it was not possible to have a unitary Government for a united India as a single nation

It is our enemies who have put us on this wrong road It is the machinations of British statesmen who have put us on this wrong road of a United India and one Central Government

## LEAGUE OF MINORITIES

A political alliance among the Europeans Anglo Indians, Indian Christians and Scheduled Castes and possibly the Sikhs is suggested by Mr Frank Antony President of the Indo Burma Anglo Indian and Domiciled European Association Mr Antony calls it a Minority League comprising communities apart from Muslims

In an interview to the Associated Press in Lahore, Mr Antony said this Minority League was not going to represent any reactionary element in the country nor would it be an obstructionist over India's constitutional progress The proposed League would co operate with all progressive elements in the country

## THE PUNJAB CABINET

"Punjab Cabinet politics will soon be in the melting pot and the emergence of a new reconstituted Cabinet, under the dominating influence of the League Fuehrer is almost a virtual certainty, should the Governor decide not to lay his trump card and intervene, says Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, prominent Hindu leader of the Punjab in a Press statement "Sir Chhotu Ram' he declared

was the right hand of Sir Fazl Hussain in founding the Unionist Party and later indeed, was the backbone of the Unionist Party itself It was his indomitable power that smashed the Qaid e Azam's well planned assault on the Unionist Party and thereby rescued the Punjab from the jaws of the Muslim League Mr Jinnah knew very well what decisive power Sir Chhotu Ram wielded in the political field of the Punjab as also inside the Punjab Cabinet itself to the disadvantage of the League and knew to his annoyance and cost, that in diplomatic deals Sir Chhotu Ram the veteran Unionist of the Punjab was an accomplished master mind, and more than a match for him

The death of Sir Chhotu Ram, therefore removes a great obstacle in the way of the Muslim League High Command in securing ascendancy in the Punjab

The Qaid e Azam will now again descend on the Punjab with all his might in a spirit of vengeance to break the Unionist Cabinet and instal in its place a Muslim League Cabinet and avenge his former dishonourable defeat Premier Malik Khizr Hyat Khan whom Sir Chhotu Ram had strengthened in his Premiership to the detriment of the League will surely be his first victim should he refuse to make a complete surrender to the Qaid e Azam

In conclusion, Mr Sharma observes

If Qaid e Azam Jinnah succeeds as he will, in breaking the Unionist Cabinet in consequence of the weakened position of the Unionist Party, the result will be that a large number of Muslim members, who at present are staying in other groups to the disadvantage of the League will join the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and enable the latter to seize power If this happens then the present Cabinet will be completely overhauled and Mr Shaukat Hyat Khan will re enter it with confidence and the Premiership will go to Sir Muhammad Jamel of Multan

## BASIC EDUCATION

Mahatma Gandhi's address to the Basic Education Conference, Sewagram, on January 11, was read by Dr. Zakir Hussain. The address explained the scope of the work before the Conference:

Our sphere of work now is not confined to Nayee Talim of children from seven to 14 years; it is to cover the whole life from the moment of conception to the moment of death. This means that our work will have increased tremendously. Yet workers remain the same but that should not worry us. Our guide and companion is Truth which is God. He will be our help only if we stand by it regardless of everything. There can be in it no room for hypocrisy, camouflage, pride, attachment or anger.

We have to become their servants in the true sense. Our compensation, if any, has to come from within and not from without. It should make no difference to us whether in our quest for Truth we have any human company or not. Nor does Nayee Talim depend on outside financial help. It must pave its way, whatever critics might say. I know that true education must be self-supporting. There is nothing to feel ashamed of in this. It may be a novel idea if we can make good our claim and demonstrate that ours is the only method for the true development of the mind. Those who scoff at Nayee Talim to-day will become its ardent admirers in the end and Nayee Talim will find universal acceptance.

Seven lakhs of our villages which are to-day the symbol of our poverty in every sense, ought to become prosperous in the real sense. This prosperity will not come from the villages as a result of the labour of every villager. Whether this is a mere dream or a practical reality, this is the goal of Nayee Talim and nothing short of it. May the God of Truth help us to realise it.

Representatives of various provinces, officials as well as non-officials gave an account of the experiment in their respective provinces.

## DR. JHA AS VICE-CHANCELLOR

Dr. Amarnath Jha was re-elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for the third term in succession by the Court at its annual meeting held at Allahabad on November 3. Dr. Jha was first elected Vice-Chancellor in 1938.

## TIRUPATI FIRST GRADE COLLEGE

It is now definitely settled that the First Grade College will be inaugurated at Tirupati by the Tirupati Devasthanam Committee from July this year. It has been decided to affiliate the College to the University of Madras.

Dewan Bahadur V. Raghunatha Reddy, the President of the Tirupati Devasthanam Committee, in an interview, said that the College will commence with junior Intermediate class and the junior B. A. class (Third year class). The remaining classes will be added on in the subsequent years. A Commission set up by the Madras University, will be arriving at Tirupati in February to inspect the building for the College and to examine the details of various other administrative arrangements.

## AMERICAN PROFESSOR FOR INDIA

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu, Hawaii and Los Angeles announces the the appointment of Prof. Merle Curtis, of the University of Wisconsin, as its first visiting professor to leading universities in India. Arrangements are being made with the State Department for Prof. Curtis to go to India some time in the middle of 1945. His special field of interest on which he will lecture in India will be American history, culture and civilization.

## TATA GRANT TO UNIVERSITY

The syndicate of the Patna University have accepted an offer by the Tata Iron & Steel Company of an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 for the establishment of a Professorship in Geology in that university to be known as the Jamshedji Tata chair of Geology. The benefaction is meant to commemorate the silver jubilee of the university as also 'Tatas' long connection with the province. Considering Bihar's unique mineral wealth it is felt that this step will meet a long-felt need.

## HIGH COURTS & THE EXECUTIVE

The functions of an executive officer holding judicial power in relation to the prosecution of the National Savings drive were the subject of criticism by Mr Justice Meredith of the Patna High Court who passed strictures against the Sub Divisional Officer of Rajmahal, Rai Sahab R. Prasad, for having prosecuted two businessmen, Messrs Sitaram Bhatia and Benarsi Lall Bhatia on their inability and refusal to purchase National Savings Certificates of the value prescribed by the S D O.

The petitioners alleged that they had been harassed and "persecuted" on account of their failure to invest Rs 10,000 in National Savings Certificates which they were asked to do by the S D O while they were willing to purchase N S Certificates worth Rs 1,000 and had arranged for the purchase of interest free prize bonds worth Rs 2,000. Subsequently, the petitioners further alleged a criminal case was started against them for refusing to show records in connection with military contracts and disclose prices of articles supplied to military authorities although they were secret documents.

His Lordship quashing the proceedings against the petitioners in the course of his judgment, observed:

The learned S D O holds that the Rai Sahab an honour which he has no doubt earned as a faithful and efficient servant of the Crown. He is however like all judicial officers also a servant of an ideal—that ideal is the rule of law—a principle that stands above principalities and powers. Let him not forget it.

### Proceeding His Lordship said

If it is the function of the Court to punish wrong, does it is no less its function to guard and protect the private citizens from an arbitrary or illegal action on the part of the Executive authorities. In this country the magisterial courts are under the direct control of the district executive authorities. frequently the judicial and executive functions are combined in the same individual. When he is in this responsible position, some might say, it is of the utmost importance that he should scrupulously avoid even the appearance of using the courts or legal process, not in protection of the subject from executive agencies but to support them.

## SIR C. V. K. SASTRI'S PORTRAIT

The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach, Chief Justice of Madras, unveiled a portrait of the late Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastriar, an eminent Indian jurist, who was a Judge of the Madras High Court at the High Court buildings, Madras, on January 16.

Asking the Chief Justice to unveil the portrait, Mr V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar on behalf of the members of the Portrait Committee spoke of the attainment of the late Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastriar, a great and distinguished lawyer, and a popular judge. He was pleasant, always kind, and considerate, strict without being severe and he never forgot the place of the bar in the administration of justice.

Before unveiling the portrait, the Chief Justice said it was now 145 years since the Supreme Court was instituted and 83 years since the High Court replaced the Supreme Court. The first Indian Judge was Sir T. Muthuswami Ayyar. Since then there had been many Indian Judges of the court, from the ranks of the Madras Bar, and the judicial service, who had proved themselves to be worthy successors and prominent among them was Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastriar.

His tenure of office as Chief Justice of that court was drawing to a close but when the time came for him to hand over his office to his successor he would do so with pride in the fact that he had been allowed to preside over a court which had counted among its members such distinguished Judges as Sir Kumaraswami Sastriar.

## ESTATE DUTIES BILL

Lord Listowel, the Under Secretary of State for India, introduced on January 17 a Bill in the House of Lords to authorise the imposition of estate duties in India and to make provision as to the distribution of net proceeds. The bill was read the first time.

## INSURANCE ACT AMENDING BILL

The recommendations of the Select Committee on the Insurance Act Amending Bill are generally welcomed in insurance circles, says a press correspondent.

It is believed that the Select Committee has proposed deletion of clause 20 of the Amending Bill concerning chief agents and the substitution of a clause limiting overall expenditure.

It is believed that the Select Committee has suggested the fixing of the overall costs of general insurance companies (as in the case of life companies) on a percentage basis. The present Act does not fix any limit for expenditure. This has led to rebating and other unsound and unhealthy practices by competing companies to secure business. The introduction of a ceiling level of overall expenditure removes scope for extending rebates etc.

It is learnt that the Select Committee has done away with all distinctions between provident fund societies, co-operative insurance societies, mutual insurance and joint stock life companies by suggesting the elimination of section 4 of the Act. While this gives scope for life companies to write policies even for Rs. 100, it enables also provident fund societies to issue policies for any amount. The Select Committee has thus taken away the protection enjoyed by provident fund and co-operative insurance societies by the prohibition of joint stock life firms from issuing policies upto Rs. 500 apparently acting on the argument that competition might have a wholesome effect.

## WAR RISKS PREMIUM

The Central Government have decided that the rate of premium payable under any policy issued under the War Risks (Goods) Insurance Scheme in respect of goods liable to compulsory insurance shall be reduced from 1a, 3ps. per month or part of a month for each complete sum of Rs. 100 in the present quarter to one anna for the quarter ending March, 1945.

## INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

The need for re-calculating the premium<sup>s</sup> at a rate of interest of three per cent. of even less and for a conservative dividend policy has been emphasised by the Superintendent of Insurance, Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan, in the course of his report on the insurance business carried on by insurers and provident societies during 1943. The report forms part of the Indian Insurance Year Book, 1944, and indicates the lines on which Indian insurance can be developed during the post-war period.

The total new life business effected in India during 1943 amounted to 296000 policies insuring a sum of Rs. 72 12 lakhs and having an annual premium income of Rs. 3.97 lakhs, of which the new business done by Indian insurers amounted to 283 000 policies, insuring a sum of Rs. 62.94 lakhs and having a premium of Rs. 3.48 lakhs. The share of the British insurers in respect of new sums insured is Rs. 5.29 lakhs, of the Dominion and Colonial insurers Rs. 3.78 lakhs, and of single Swiss insurer Rs. 11 lakhs. The average sum insured per policy under the new policies issued in India by Indian insurers is Rs. 2,227 and under those insured by non-Indian insurers Rs. 6,749.

The total life business effected in India and remaining in force at the end of 1943 amounted to 1,821,000 policies, insuring a total sum of 3 68.73 lakhs having a premium income of Rs. 14.84 lakhs. The total new annuity business effected in 1943 was for Rs. 5,55 000 per annum. The total annuity business remaining in force at the end of that year was for Rs. 37,84,000. The total new sums insured by Indian life offices outside India in 1943 amounted to Rs. 230 lakhs having an annual premium income of Rs. 14 lakhs and the total sums insured remaining in force at the end of 1943 amounted to Rs. 1687 lakhs having a premium income of Rs. 64 lakhs.

## THE NATIONAL SAVINGS DRIVE

The National Savings Fortnight, which ran from 8th January to 22nd January was launched throughout India with a number of pronouncements and exhortations from high quarters

The Government have devised a large variety of investments to suit the needs of every class. Thus, in addition to the main 3 per cent Victory Loan which is on sale at par at all treasuries and branches of the Reserve and Imperial Banks, there are a number of other loans both short and long dated, on sale through the Reserve Bank. There are the Prize Bonds which do not carry interest but offer a chance of winning a useful prize every six months. Besides these regular loans, there are the various Post office issues, the Savings Bank which now allows 2 per cent interest on deposits, the Defence Savings Bank which gives  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest and in which deposits can be withdrawn one year after the end of the war, the ordinary Cash Certificates and the Twelve Year National Savings Certificates

## COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH U S

Sir Chunilal B Mehta, leader of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference at Rye, New York told Pressmen in Bombay that he took up the subject of a treaty of commerce and navigation between India and the United States at the Conference as well as outside it. The main purpose of the Conference, he said, was to explore ways and means for the expansion of world trade and his submission to the conference was that for the achievement of its object Indians should have equal rights to come and stay and establish business in the United States even as American nationals had that privilege in India. To have such a privilege for Indians in the United States, it was very necessary that there should be a treaty of commerce and navigation between the two countries

## INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

"If Indians are basing their plans for the industrialisation of their country on their ability to get within an early period the repayment of their balances in London and the rest of the Empire they will be disappointed," declared a United Kingdom official at the discussion of the economic problems of the Far East by the Pacific Relations Conference

The discussion was started by Dr Lokanathan who explained in detail the projected financing of the Bombay Plan. This would include, according to Dr Lokanathan 3 000 million U S dollars from blocked balances and 4 000 million to be borrowed in foreign countries particularly the United States

Warning Dr Lokanathan that it would be difficult to count on the blocked balances for the immediate financing of the Bombay Plan the British official added that there was expectation that the blocked balances in London might soon be increased 'when the Indian army moves overseas'. Then the British Government would have to pay for the Indian army and the Indian balances in London would be substantially increased

## DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT

On the improvement of communications will depend India's social and economic advance declared the Viceroy Lord Wavell, in his opening address to the Transport Advisory Council at Delhi on January 12. His Excellency said

You will also have to consider how to control the traffic and upkeep on the roads after they have been constructed. This will obviously involve inter provincial arrangements and probably a common policy to be laid down by the centre. Road transport arrangements in India with a very few notable exceptions are still almost primitive. The lorries that ply on the main roads are very seldom clean, safe, comfortable or punctual. But there is no reason why they should not be so and it is up to the provinces to establish a strong Provincial Authority get the lorry traffic into the hands of reliable and resourceful organisations and provide a proper service for the public



# Women's Page

## UPLIFT OF INDIAN WOMEN

Dr. Alice M. Pennell, one of the founders of the Association of Medical Women in India, spoke on "India's women of to-day and yesterday" before the Royal Anthropological Institution, London, on January 16.

"India" she said, "is all mixed up in centuries, so that one set of people are ignorant of the customs and traditions of another set, living even in the same town or province. Before a solution can be found to India's most-urgent problems, we Indians ourselves must learn to understand one another, to tolerate our own differences and not just condemn them."

Proceeding, Dr. Alice M. Pennell said: "British co-operation in this direction is badly needed. Unfortunately the type of Briton in India least shy of mixing with Indians is one to whom life is just a succession of cocktail parties and visits to night clubs. We have however also received much help from the educated and professional classes. Enlightened co-operation of that sort means to me one great way of welding India and the British Empire into an entity that will be a real service to the world. Our struggle is so difficult, because while we are trying to keep pace between ourselves, so many of us are marching in different centuries."

## HOME INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION

An All India Women's Home Industries Exhibition will be held at Indore from March 1 to March 7 next under the patronage of Her Highness the Maharani Holkar.

## GANDHIJI'S WORK FOR WOMEN

"Gandhiji has been one of the greatest liberators of women. Even if he had done nothing else, he had given women their place not only in the household but also in the battlefield, or freedom to march to victory along with men," observed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over the third anniversary of the Andhra Maha Sabha in Madras, on January 18.

Continuing she observed, "We have a lot in this connection to be thankful to Mahatma Gandhi and the national movement. Whatever may be one's differences in the political principles and programme of the Indian National Congress no one can possibly be oblivious of the fact that the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji has served to instil a new sense of courage and self-confidence in the women of India and made them realise their place in the national economy and the obligation to a fast changing society."

## MANIPURI GIRLS AS VOLUNTEERS

Manipuri girls who lived through the stern days of siege last spring have now volunteered for the Women's Auxiliary Corps, India.

The girls come from the families of leading merchants and State officials in Imphal. Of the 20 who have volunteered, five have accepted general service terms, which mean that they are prepared to serve in any part of India.

## FIRST LADY MEMBER OF SYNDICATE

## THE AMERICAN PRESS

Mr G L Mehta, deputy leader of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference recently held at Rye (New York) in a broadcast talk from Calcutta said that despite the war the Press in America suffered from few restrictions. It was probably the freest Press in the world in many respects and contained today fuller and more detailed information in regard to war developments in all the theatres than any other Press in the world.

"Comments in the Press are equally free and vigorous" he added. "There is no internal censorship in the country. In fact the Press resents any restrictions imposed for reasons other than military necessity and the Administration has to justify even reasons of military security."

Mr Mehta said that the American daily papers however, constituted a problem so far as the reader was concerned. They were almost like a book and the Sunday editions which consisted of over 5 supplements in some cases had special magazines along with them. There did not seem to be any scarcity of newsprint in the United States.

## AUROBINDO THE WRITER

'Of all modern Indian writers, Aurobindo—successively poet, critic, scholar, thinker, nationalist, humanist—is the most significant and perhaps the most interesting. Yet few have heard of him in England or America. This is a pity, for he should make a special appeal to the intelligent Anglo-Saxon. He is not an armchair philosopher, but a man who, having led a life of intense activity, has retired to brood over it if one may say so of a Hindu in the dim light of a Gothic cathedral (in Pondicherry).

"In fact, he is a new type of thinker, one who combines in his vision the elacricity of the West with the illumination of the East. To study his writings is to enlarge the boundaries of one's knowledge."

This tribute to Sri Aurobindo is paid by the *Times* London in its Literary Supplement in the course of a critical analysis of his books and writings.

## SRI CHHOTU RAM

We regret to record the death of Sir Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister of the Punjab on January 9 at the age of 63. The late Sir Chhotu Ram played a leading part in the public life of the province for nearly 25 years. Founder of the Punjab Unionist Party, with the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, he virtually directed the affairs of the party since the death of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan two years ago. He was a staunch supporter of landholders and sponsored legislation to improve their condition.

He joined the Congress in 1916 and became President of the Rohtak District Congress Committee but left the Congress in August 1920 when it passed the non-cooperation resolution as he did not believe in non-cooperation, defiance of law or non-payment of taxes.

He was a member of the Punjab Legislature since the introduction of the Montford Reforms. He was Minister of Education for some years and became Development Minister in 1937 at the inauguration of provincial autonomy. In 1941 he was appointed Revenue Minister. He was prominently associated with the Jat Mahasabha and the Zamindari League.

The Punjab Premier, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, paying a tribute to the memory of Sir Chhotu Ram said: "A great man has passed away. The death of Sir Chhotu Ram must fill every true Punjabi with sorrow. He was a man of strong views which he never feared to express and it was but natural that he should make enemies and rouse opposition. But no one who knew him could doubt his sincerity, or fail to respect his integrity of purpose, his love of the Punjab and the selflessness with which he served the cause to which he had devoted himself."

## EARLDOM FOR MR LLOYD GEORGE

On retirement from Parliament the veteran Prime Minister, Mr Lloyd George, heads the New Year's Honours with the grant of an Earldom.

### ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

The plenary session of the A. I. A. C. which concluded at Bezwada under the presidentship of Mr. M. K. Mukherjee on December 24 resolved to appoint an Ayurvedic Planning Committee to tackle various problems confronting Ayurveda and Vaidyas.

In the course of a resolution the Congress viewed with alarm and deep sympathy the suffering in Bengal where people were suffering from malaria and other diseases.

and appreciated the activities of the Bengal Ayurvedic Relief Co-ordination Committees in their services to humanity in general and Ayurveda in particular.

Resolutions were also passed calling upon all Ayurvedic physicians and students in the country to carry out Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme particularly in the matter of health, sanitation and use of cheap indigenous drugs for treatments.

Urging on the Kasturba National Memorial Trust Committee the need for including a representative of Ayurved in the Committee to guide and instruct in matters of hygiene, sanitation etc., and requesting the Committee to give priority to the Ayurvedic system in respect of the proposed opening of medical centres.

### TREATMENT OF CANCER

Cancer of the prostate gland can be treated by the administration of a few pills daily of synthetic Oestrogen, known as Diethylstilboestrol, was declared at a British Empire Cancer Campaign meeting in London. The success of the drug is now "completely confirmed," it was stated.

A few cases of breast cancer had responded to Chemotherapy although according to Prof. F. L. Hopwood, of St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, no extravagant hopes should be raised of immediate success on that side.

Speaking of radiation therapy in the treatment of cancer, Prof. Hopwood said that its practice was subject to many limitations, physical and biological and investigation was still required to exploit its valuable features.

### PLAIN DIET PREVENTS TOOTH DECAY

Tooth decay can be controlled by diet, and cleanliness. The discovery of this important fact means that the years of patient investigation on the part of hundreds of scientists have pointed a way towards the elimination of mankind's most prevalent disease—tooth decay. Much work still remains to be done. The results of countless groups of investigators must be harmonized. A number of the scientists say vitamin C is a controlling factor. Others say vitamin D; and others, correct balance between the calcium and the phosphorous intake, writes Richard Huskins in the *Oriental Watchman*.

A group of investigators working in one of the American universities have shown: first, that tooth decay is caused by a germ called bacillus acidophilus, acting on the sugar and starch food particles which cling to the tooth, thus creating an acid which disintegrates the enamel, thus producing a cavity; second, that the cleaner the teeth are kept the less chance there is for this acid-forming germ to begin its destructive work; third, that in some way, unknown as yet, a properly balanced diet, rich in the necessary mineral salts and vitamins, decreases the number of these germs and the frequency of their attack.

### SHORT NAP AFTER MEALS

Don't be ashamed if you are caught napping in the midst of your work! It is good for your work and health too, says a London doctor.

A short nap, he says, helps to disperse many physical and mental ailments. It will give you energy to work more and play more, and so enjoy life. The famous psychologist, Carl E. Seashore, who cured himself of daytime laziness by taking a nap at noon, feels that 15 minutes of sleep after the heaviest work and the main meal are more effective than five times as much late sleeping in the morning.

## NEW BANK NOTES FOR OLD AND CHARRED

An American school teacher accidentally burned 1500 dollars in paper money in her furnace. A business man sent a roll of notes in his pocket to the laundry, they came back a sodden, unrecognisable mass. A farmer's goat ate his year's savings in paper currency. How do frantic people who see their dollars vanish like this get their money back?

The U S Treasury handles dozens of tragic comic losses like these a month. Three fifths of a damaged note must usually be salvaged before the Treasury will replace it. Half the original value will be paid back if less than this fraction is presented. Four small pieces of paper money no larger than a finger nail will be redeemed in some cases if the owner signs an affidavit that the rest has been destroyed.

A mid Western contractor arrived at the Treasury redemption department recently with a mournful story. He had hidden 3500 dollars his employees' payroll, in his house. The house had been burned down. He had the charred money in a tin box. By piecing together the remains officials identified 2000 dollars and issued new bills for that sum.

## THE INDIAN BANK, LTD

Subject to audit of accounts the Net Profit of the Bank for the year ended 1944 (after providing for Contingent and Sinking Funds and after paying a sum of Rs 182304 as bonus to staff) is Rs 14 64 352 95

An 'ad interim' dividend at 10 per cent per annum amounting to Rs 144 794 8-5 was paid for the half year ended June 1944 and a sum of Rs 1,50 000 was also placed to Reserve Fund.

The balance of profit available for further appropriation (inclusive of the sum of Rs 48 226-15 5 carried forward from the previous year's account) is Rs 12 17,785 0-5

## RAILWAY AUDITORS CONFERENCE

Sir Cameron Badenoch, Auditor General of India, presiding over the tenth conference of the Institute of Railway Accountants and Auditors at Calcutta on January 12, said that, while it would be rash to prophesy what constitutional changes were impending, his own feeling was that they had in the Indian Audit Department a system which was acceptable generally throughout India and he would be surprised if there was any strong demand that it should be altered.

Declaring that it was time that railway accountants and auditors chalked out a programme of preparedness in the context of post war reconstruction economy, Sir Cameron said that if railway accounting and audit officers were to tackle larger questions of financial policy principle and procedure, they must not be swamped by routine. Maintenance of records, current check and scrutiny were, of course important but unless periodically reviewed they tended to become mechanical.

## S I R S POST WAR PLANS

Provision of separate waiting accommodation with bathing facilities for ladies at Junction stations and easy booking facilities for third class passengers, parcels and goods are some of the improvements in the post war period that are being considered by the South Indian Railway.

Giving out some of the important improvements (for 3rd class passengers) under the Administration's contemplation at a press conference held at Egmore, Mr J F Reynolds observed that under the post war scheme attempts would be directed towards the provision of improved designs for coaching stock, aiming at more accommodation for passengers with better lighting, lavatory and washing facilities. For the convenience of pilgrims, steps would be taken to provide separate accommodation for festival passengers with adequate bathing and sanitary arrangements.

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## ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

The plenary session of the A. I. A. C. which concluded at Bezwada under the presidentship of Mr. M. K. Mukherjee on December 24 resolved to appoint an Ayurvedic Planning Committee to tackle various problems confronting Ayurveda and Vaidyas.

In the course of a resolution the Congress viewed with alarm and deep sympathy the suffering in Bengal where people were suffering from malaria and other diseases.

and appreciated the activities of the Bengal Ayurvedic Relief Co-ordination Committees

in their services to humanity in general and Ayurveda in particular.

Resolutions were also passed calling upon all Ayurvedic physicians and students in the country

to carry out Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme particularly in the matter of health, sanitation and use of cheap indigenous drugs for treatments.

Urging on the Kasturba National Memorial Trust Committee the need for including a representative of Ayurved in the Committee to guide and instruct in matters of hygiene, sanitation etc., and requesting the Committee

to give priority to the Ayurvedic system in respect of the proposed opening of medical centres.

## TREATMENT OF CANCER

Cancer of the prostate gland can be treated by the administration of a few pills daily of synthetic Oestrogen, known as Diethylstilboestrol, was declared at a British Empire Cancer Campaign meeting in London. The success of the drug is now "completely confirmed," it was stated.

A few cases of breast cancer had responded to Chemotherapy although according to Prof. F. L. Hopwood, of St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, no extravagant hopes should be raised of immediate success on that side.

Speaking of radiation therapy in the treatment of cancer, Prof. Hopwood said that its practice was subject to many limitations, physical and biological and investigation was still required to exploit its valuable features.

## PLAIN DIET PREVENTS TOOTH DECAY

Tooth decay can be controlled by diet, and cleanliness. The discovery of this important fact means that the years of patient investigation on the part of hundreds of scientists have pointed a way towards the elimination of mankind's most prevalent disease—tooth decay. Much work still remains to be done. The results of countless groups of investigators must be harmonized. A number of the scientists say vitamin C is a controlling factor. Others say vitamin D; and others, correct balance between the calcium and the phosphorous intake, writes Richard Huskins in the *Oriental Watchman*.

A group of investigators working in one of the American universities have shown: first, that tooth decay is caused by a germ called bacillus acidophilus, acting on the sugar and starch food particles which cling to the tooth, thus creating an acid which disintegrates the enamel, thus producing a cavity; second, that the cleaner the teeth are kept the less chance there is for this acid-forming germ to begin its destructive work; third, that in some way, unknown as yet, a properly balanced diet, rich in the necessary mineral salts and vitamins, decreases the number of these germs and the frequency of their attack.

## SHORT NAP AFTER MEALS

Don't be ashamed if you are caught napping in the midst of your work! It is good for your work and health too, say a London doctor.

A short nap, he says, helps to disperse many physical and mental ailments. It will give you energy to work more and play more, and so enjoy life. The famous psychologist, Carl E. Seashore, who cured himself of daytime laziness by taking a nap at noon, feels that 15 minutes of sleep after the heaviest work and the main meal are more effective than five times as much late sleeping in the morning.

## NEW BANK NOTES FOR OLD AND CHARRED

An American school teacher accidentally burned 1500 dollars in paper money in her furnace. A business man sent a roll of notes in his pocket to the laundry, they came back a sodden, unrecognisable mass. A farmer's goat ate his years' savings in paper currency. How do frantic people who see their dollars vanish like this get their money back?

The U S Treasury handles dozens of tragic comic losses like these a month. Three fifths of a damaged note must usually be salvaged before the Treasury will replace it. Half the original value will be paid back if less than this fraction is presented. Four small pieces of paper money no larger than a finger nail will be redeemed in some cases if the owner signs an affidavit that the rest has been destroyed.

A mid Western contractor arrived at the Treasury redemption department recently with a mournful story. He had hidden 3500 dollars his employees' payroll, in his house. The house had been burned down. He had the charred money in a tin box. By piecing together the remains, officials identified 2000 dollars and issued new bills for that sum.

## THE INDIAN BANK, LTD

Subject to audit of accounts the Net Profit of the Bank for the year ended 1944 (after providing for Contingent and Sinking Funds and after paying a sum of Rs 182304 as bonus to staff) is Rs 14,64,352 9 5

An 'ad interim' dividend at 10 per cent per annum amounting to Rs 144,794 8-5 was paid for the half year ended June 1944 and a sum of Rs 1,50,000 was also placed to Reserve Fund.

The balance of profit available for further appropriation (inclusive of the sum of Rs 48,226-15 5 carried forward from the previous year's account) is Rs 12,17,785 0-5

## RAILWAY AUDITORS' CONFERENCE

Sir Cameron Badenoch, Auditor General of India, presiding over the tenth conference of the Institute of Railway Accountants and Auditors at Calcutta on January 12, said that, while it would be rash to prophesy what constitutional changes were impending, his own feeling was that they had in the Indian Audit Department a system which was acceptable generally throughout India and he would be surprised if there was any strong demand that it should be altered.

Declaring that it was time that railway accountants and auditors chalked out a programme of preparedness in the context of post war reconstruction economy, Sir Cameron said that if railway accounting and audit officers were to tackle larger questions of financial policy, principle and procedure, they must not be swamped by routine. Maintenance of records, current check and scrutiny were of course important but unless periodically reviewed they tended to become mechanical.

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## SIR C. P.'S. TRIBUTES TO SRI THYAGARAJA

In the course of his address, inaugurating the 98th Aradhana celebrations at Trivadi, in connection with the Thyaga Brahma Mahotsavam on New Year's Day, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, observed:

Although Tyagarajaswami was born at Tiruvallur and named after the presiding deity of that sacred shrine, his whole life was centred in the locality in which we are gathered and where the Lord of the five rivers, Panchanadiswara, has his seat. It is a matter for profound satisfaction that not only scholarly experts but the musical laity have in their several ways, offered their co-operation in making a resounding success of these periodical gatherings.

In the South of India it is not too much to assert that the musical trio, Tyagarajaswami, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syama Sastri, along with the artistic group that surrounded and was dominated by the Royal Musician, Sri Swati Tirunal, established the classical tradition of the South and that the system of *Krithi* now regarded as the foundation of musical performances owes its perfection to this great assemblage of composers and musicians amongst whom perhaps Tyagarajaswami's influence was most widely pervasive.

Speaking of Sri Thyagaraja's musical contributions, he drew attention to the early contact between Tanjore and Travancore since the hallowed days of Maharaja Swati Tirunal.

From the first he (Sri Thyagaraja) collected a band of devoted and accomplished *sishtas* around him one of whom, Kanniah Bhagavathar, who visited Travancore, impressed himself so much upon Maharajah Swati Tirunal that the most musical of monarchs sent his own court musician, Vadivelu, the violinist, to invite Tyagaraja to his capital. Tradition has it that there were many contacts between the Royal Musician and Sri Tyagaraja who seem to have profoundly appreciated each other's gifts but they unhappily never met. When Vadivelu approached Tyagaraja and stated that Swati Tirunal could bestow on him a great *Padavi* or status he is said to have sung the *krithi*, *Padavi Sadbhakti*, asserting that the estate of mind which places implicit faith in Rama is the only *Padavi* for which he craved.

## MUSIC ACADEMY "SADAS"

Sir K. Ramunni Menon, presiding over a "Sadas" held under the auspices of the Music Academy, Madras, on December 31, at Sri Sundareswarar Hall, Mylapore, conferred the title of "Sangita Kalanidhi" on Mr. T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar President Music Academy Conference, and distributed certificates to successful students of the 'Teaches' College of Music.

## CLUB SWINGING WHILE CYCLING!

A Muslim youth of Hyderabad is determined to break his own record of 48 hours of non-stop cycling. To perform this feat, he has placed himself under the supervision of a specially constituted committee, says a *Bombay Chronicle* report.

One afternoon, he started cycling on the 'maidan' of the Young Men's Muslim Association at Byculla, Bombay. Holding the handle of the cycle in his left hand, he swung a club weighing 6-lbs. with the right-hand. The club swinging will be stopped after 24 hours while the cycling will continue for full 50 hours without any stop. The cyclist will not even dismount to have his meals or answer calls of nature. As he is cycling, a glass of lime juice will be given to him at repeated intervals and he will sip it as he pedals along.

In ordinary cycling, this young man has already established a record of 80 hours previously, on the same 'maidan' in 1938.

The youth is a constable of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Police Force.

## INDIAN CRICKET TOUR IN CEYLON

The tour of the Indian cricket team in Ceylon will be one of the main subjects to be discussed by the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, to be held at Madras this month. Seventeen Associations in India having favoured the idea, the Board is expected to rescind its former resolution to drop the tour.

According to the provisional itinerary, the team is expected to reach Colombo on March 14, and will play a two-day match against the Ceylon Cricket Association XI, at Galle, beginning on March 17. The second match will be played at Colombo on March 24, and the third at Kandy on March 27. The Indian team is expected to play a three-day match against an All-Ceylon XI, at Colombo, commencing on Saturday, March 31, prior to their departure from Ceylon on April 3.



## Science

### SCIENTIFIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

The Government of India have constituted a Scientific Consultative Committee with the following personnel, under the Chairmanship of the Hon Member for Planning and Development —

Non officials Sir C V Raman, Sir Jnan Ghosh Prof Meghnad Saha Dr Nazir Ahmad and Col Sir Ramanath Chopra

Officials : The Master General of Ordnance the Vice Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research or the Agricultural Commissioner to the Government of India the Director General IMS the Director Geological Survey and the Director, Scientific and Industrial Research

The functions of the Committee will be to advise the Government of India on all general questions of policy relating to research throughout India and on any special matters relating to research which may be specifically referred to it

### MAGNESIUM EXTRACTION FROM SEA WATER

The extraction of magnesium from the sea and the growing use of this metal was voted the most notable step in scientific progress in 1944 at the annual London Luncheon of the men who deal in great ideas, reports the *Daily Mail*. They are the Patent Agents the paper adds

Each year this little gathering tries to settle the question which great idea of the past year can be called the greatest? Magnesium from the sea was judged to be the greatest scientific advance of the year

Up till just before the war magnesium (Mg to the chemist) was used mostly in the form of ribbon or powder for flash light photography. It cost Rs 65 per pound. It now costs about a Rupee because the sea is yielding up thousands of tons of it. Yet get a lot of it for a lb because it is just a little over half the weight of aluminium. Experts say that it will soon cost three pence per lb when its use for aero engine, incendiary bombs and pyrotechnics or warfare can be turned into peace time purposes

### THE EPICS IN INDIAN FILMS

The degradation of ancient epics, masterpieces heroes and saints at the hands of our producers and directors comes in for pungent criticism at the hands of M L Obrol in the *Screen World Annual* for 1944 Says he

Indian producers have not treated our past with reverence or understanding, they have gone to it merely for box office hits. They have rather treated our past like bandits who discover a chest full of ready made and polished jewels, and only soil them with dirty hands while picking them up without effort. It is enough to give a picture the title "Sita" or 'Draupadi' or 'Damayanti', the traditional appeal of the theme is strong enough to counterbalance all the possible defects, mistakes and shortcomings of the producer, director, actors architects and everybody in the studio. Bhagwan Krishna himself is not left alone he may be portrayed with impunity in any film, all the producer requires is to blacken a man with a chubby face

The Indian film industry has not produced its Tagore yet—not even its Uday Shankar. The late Mr Himansuraj was the most imaginative and conscientious artist in this line, unluckily his work was interrupted by untimely death. The present day producers are content to manufacture box office hits they are not capable of anything better

### FILM PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION

The Committee of the Independent Film Producers' Association Bombay, has adopted a resolution welcoming the Government of India's proposal to depute a large number of Indian students overseas for technical training. The Committee requests the Government to give the film industry its due share in the allotment of the scholarships for training in foreign countries, as the film industry is eighth in the economy of the country and there do not exist in India enough facilities for training

## POSTWAR MOTOR CARS

Britain's first post-war motor cars will be 1940 models designed in 1939 but never put into production, reports *Sunday Chronicle*.

That will take time, but it is estimated in the industry that 1940 cars and trucks should be coming off the assembly lines within three months of the conclusion of the war in Europe.

The jigs, tools and dies made in 1939 have only to be removed from stores to plants for production to begin.

The new model will be a better car than it would have been in 1940 because it will be able to take advantage of improvements in basic materials and alloys which the war has made possible.

There will be sufficient supplies of steel to start production quickly—and it will be a stronger, tougher and more readily machinable steel due to improved electric smelting processes, metallurgical research and better understanding of molecular structure.

And after that will come the real post-war car that every motorist has been dreaming about and speculating on its design and possible equipment for years. What will it be like?

The *Sunday Chronicle*, commissioned Mr. H. Connolly, the well-known car body designer, to illustrate a possible type of family car, basing his drawing on the improvements anticipated by manufacturers.

Here are some of the gadgets pictured in Mr. Connolly's drawing—

Improving enormously the safety of night driving, eliminating completely the blinding glare of approaching cars.

This is achieved by using the 'overall width of the car overlapping the running-board.

This includes no-draught ventilation and winter heating.

Double wipers will sweep the whole screen and not two small arcs. Automatic chassis lubrication.

## INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION

The results of the recent International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago with reference to the objects which the Government of India desired to see achieved are examined in a *communiqué*.

The *communiqué*, after reiterating the Government of India's broad aims in the sphere of civil aviation, says that in convening the Conference, the United States Government suggested that the Conference should have the following objectives:

(1) The establishment of provisional world route arrangements by general agreements to be reached at the Conference, the countries participating in the Conference to agree to grant the landing and transit rights necessary for the establishment of provisional route arrangements and air services.

(2) The establishment of an Interim Council to act as the clearing house and advisory agency during the transitional period.

(3) Agreement upon the principles to be followed in setting up a permanent international aeronautical body and a multilateral aviation convention dealing with the fields of air transport air navigation and aviation subjects.

The Conference at Chicago proceeded to consider the framing of an international multilateral aviation convention on the basis of certain drafts which had been prepared by the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States. The object of such a convention was to secure:

(1) Uniformity of principles and rules governing international flying throughout the world, thereby removing obstacles to the development of communication by air, and

(2) The greatest measure of freedom for the operation of scheduled international air transport services, to provide the world with the transport and communications which it needs, while at the same time protecting the interests of all countries in their own carrying trades.

## INDIAN AIR TRAINING CORPS

The Indian Air Training Corps is being extended to all the eighteen Universities of India which include three in Indian States.

The Corps is designed to provide pre-entry training for students of good education and character who wish to join the flying branch of the Indian Air Force. It enables them to learn about aviation while still studying and lays the foundation of a career in the I.A.F.

## INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The main lines of the Government of India's industrial development policy were explained and reaffirmed by the Planning and Development Member, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in the course of discussions which he held with officials and non officials in the five provinces visited by him so far—Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bombay

His discussions with officials have been mainly to help the provincial Governments to lay the foundations of planning for the future and to formulate a definite five year development plan as the first stage

After meeting its own requirements, the Central Government has indicated that it would be prepared to help the different provinces out of its surplus revenues for the first effective post war five year period, roughly on the basis of population. But before that is done it expects the provinces to mobilise their own resources to the fullest extent possible

So far as the States are concerned there are outstanding constitutional and financial issues to be settled, but the States themselves are very keen to come into line with the Government of India

## INDIAN PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

An interesting account of the petroleum industry in India appears in the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*. The highly complicated technical operations involved in processing the crude oil into the familiar motor spirit and kerosene, are described in simple language. The crude product began its existence millions of years ago in the slime of some primeval lagoon, it lay undisturbed far beneath the sun scorched soil of India for ages, while mankind evolved from the primitive form of life, until it was rudely awakened and subjected to a terrific battering of scorching flames and freezing cold and corrosive chemicals being converted under this treatment into an invaluable item of our modern life

## MARKET FOR AGRICULTURE PRODUCTS

It is understood, that a Committee is being set up, to suggest measures, to guarantee to agricultural producers an assured market for their goods, at remunerative prices. It will be in the nature of a Sub Committee, composed of members selected from the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. It is learnt that Sir V T Krishnamachariar, the former Dewan of Baroda, has been selected as President of the new Committee

## SURVEY FOR ARTIFICIAL MANURE FACTORY

On the recommendation of the Technical Mission on Fertilizers, the Government of Bihar have decided to make a detailed survey of the proposed site for a power station and an ammonium sulphate factory at village Sindri, on the Damodar River, in the district of Manbhum at an estimated cost of Rs 15 000. The cost will be shared equally by the Bihar Government and the Government of India

## INCREASED PRODUCTION

The total increased production expected as a result of the "Grow More Food" campaign in the two years 1943-44 and 1944-45 is one million tons. An increase of 300,000 tons is expected in 1943-44 and a further 700,000 tons during the current year from development schemes financed by the Centre in provinces and States. The agricultural part of the Education, Health and Lands Department at the Centre has been organized as a separate branch within the Department

## SCHEME TO RECLAIM LAND FOR IRRIGATION

It is understood that the Government of India have a scheme to reclaim about one million acres of unirrigated land. Government have sanctioned a grant of Rs 60 00 000 and a loan of Rs 8 lakhs in addition to Rs 18½ lakhs from the Cotton Fund to the Provinces for constructing new tanks, repairing of existing tanks, sinking of surface wells and for making arrangements for pumping water from wells and tanks

## THE LABOUR POLICY

The Federation of labour, at its last Session at Jamshedpur adopted a resolution urging the Government to pursue a definite Labour policy.

The Labour Policy to be accepted by Government should declare their determination to secure to workers all over the country, in the Native States as well as in British India, the following:—

A minimum living wage with eight working hours a day;

Full employment and compensation for involuntary unemployment;

Ever rising standard of living through provisions for holidays with pay, old-age pensions, sickness insurance, maternity benefits, provident funds, decent housing, sanitation, medical aid, free and compulsory primary education, technical education, etc;

Facilities for collective bargaining and negotiation through recognition of Trade Unions shops, Stewards Committees, etc;

Growing share in profits and conduct of trade and industry;

Adequate representation in local Legislatures, Local Bodies and other Government and semi-Government Committees and Organisations.

## STANDARD WAGE RATES IN BRITAIN

Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister for Labour, moved the second reading of the Wages Council Bill in Parliament on January 16. "It is a declaration by Parliament that the day, or at least the conception, of what was known as sweated industries is past", he said.

The Bill proposes orderly wage regulation throughout industry and by means of voluntary or statutory machinery to establish industry on a wide system of standard wage rates. Under the present arrangements just over fifteen and a half million men will come within the scope of the voluntary machinery.

"I am absolutely opposed to any attempt at fixity of wage," Mr. Bevin declared.

## TEN-YEAR SCHEME FOR VILLAGE

A ten-year plan for the reconstruction of the 700,000 Indian villages is suggested by Mr. K. S. Venkataramani of Madras.

Describing the plan of work for the ten years, he says: Our 700,000 villages should be grouped into 100,000 rural units, each rural-unit not exceeding 50,000 in population.

Each rural unit should have: (1) Basic schools reflecting fully national ideals and temperament. (2) As an adjunct to the school, an industrial section utilises all the local craftsmen and promotes handicrafts suited to local needs. (3) A dairy which collectivises and improves the local livestock both for milk and draught purposes. (4) A demonstration farm for agricultural improvements and gardening. (5) A dispensary, more preventive than curative. (6) A multi-purpose co-operative society which will control and guide the export and import quota of each rural unit. (7) A panchayat with a paid rural officer at its head, which plans for stimulating production both of agriculture and handicrafts.

## WHAT BRITAIN HAS SPENT ON THE WAR

The cost of the war to the United Kingdom alone so far has been about £19,000,000,000. In revealing this Mr. Herbert Morrison, the British Home Secretary said at a meeting in Norwich:—

"The cost of the last war was less than £8,000,000,000. In other words, the Government has spent on the war to date, more than twice of what was spent last time. The amount it has had to borrow is greater by a third than the whole of the National debt at the beginning of the war."

## INDIAN CASUALTIES IN THE WAR

Indian casualties from the outbreak of the war to November 30, 1944, total 152,597. They consist of: Killed including died of wounds or injuries 17,415, Missing 13,935. Wounded: 45,334. Prisoners including service internees: 76,023.

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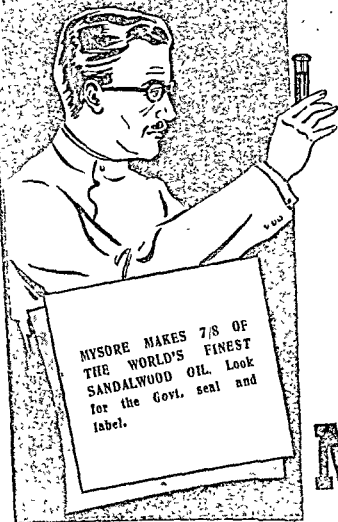
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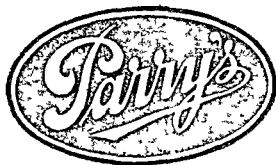
Other "sandalwood oil," says Mr. H. Trotter, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, "is really a mixture of oils, and though passing the minimum standard of santalol content required by the British Pharmacopoeia (1938), does not possess all the qualities of true sandalwood oil."

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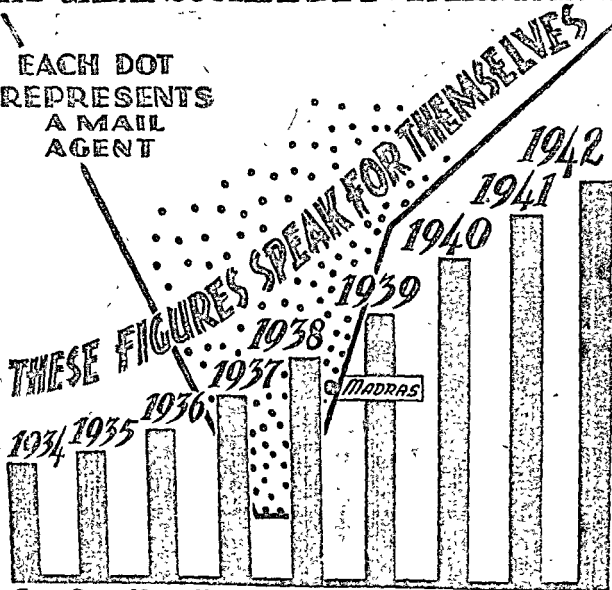


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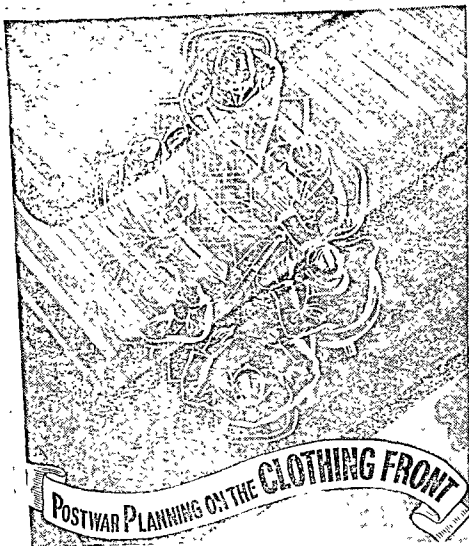
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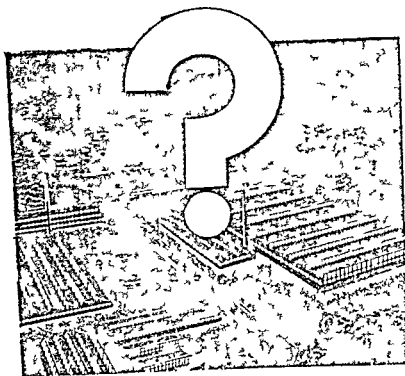
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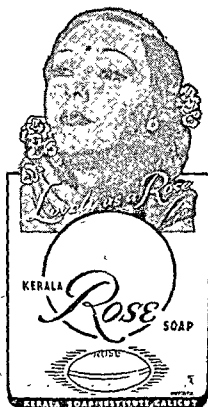
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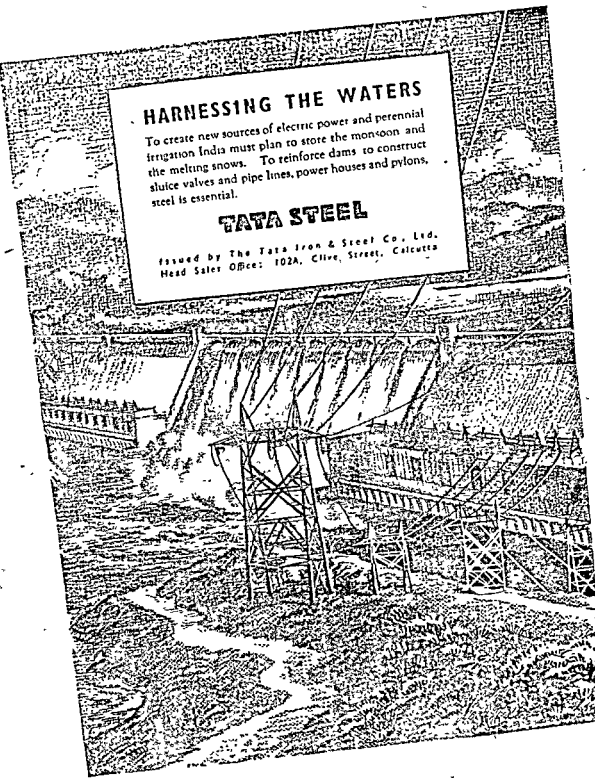
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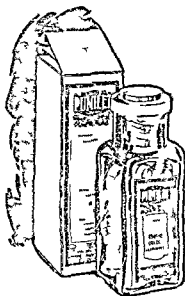
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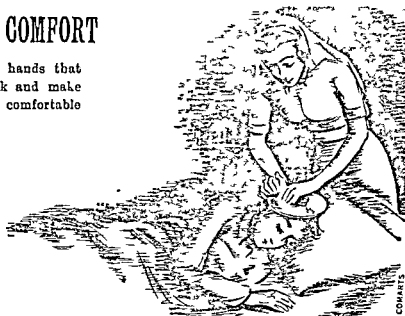
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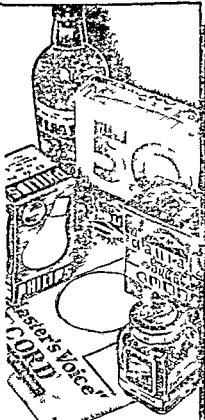
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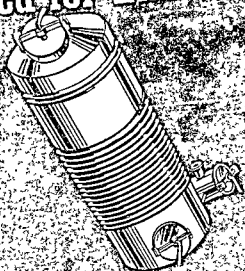
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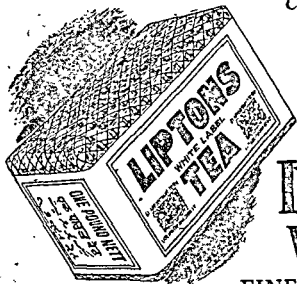
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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.]

MARCH 1945

[No. 3.]

## THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY DR. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMY Aiyer, KCSI

—) O (—

IN discussing the development of common ideals in the British Commonwealth it is essential to examine the facts of the present situation in relation to World events.

The British Commonwealth is based on monarchy as the centre of unity. It is generally granted that in such a far flung organisation a centre of legal as well as emotional unity has to be provided. A leader has been such a centre in various countries and stages of development. In Russia, the outstanding idea of the revolution, along with the personalities of its leader and his successor have together contributed to build up a potent tradition. Americans appear to be able to build up unity on the basis of their Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. The British Commonwealth, so far, has relied on monarchy as the legal and psychological link between the various Dominions. Long ago, George Washington asserted that "Influence" is not Government. But so far as one can see, it is solely Influence and not Government that holds the British Dominions together to day. It has been argued that the monarchical system is snobbish or undemocratic, but it has worked. We in India can realise the significance

of such a link perhaps theoretically weak but really effective. But in ultimate analysis it is true that the Dominions, for all practical purposes, have become independent and even under the impact of the present war have continued to remain independent. They were at liberty to make peace or war or to be neutral in the remarkable sense in which Ireland is neutral. They have established economic freedom. They can exclude Chinese or Indians or even the English. In these matters they are ahead even of American practice. Under American law, business men were bound to send their cargoes let us say, from Hawaii by American ships and American ports and they could not use Dutch or British shipping facilities. The Dominions very early asserted their right to such a status. After the failure of the American experiment and before the middle of the nineteenth century, those colonies which had predominantly European populations were progressively freed from the so called imperial control. The right of disposal of public lands, the imposition of tariffs and increasing freedom in all economic matters preceded the of 1914. The Dominions

equal opportunity can be continuously maintained throughout the areas concerned. It must not be forgotten that unless the motive of self-interest also operates, such links are apt to be weak and therefore India must feel that, in her own interests it would be well to remain within the ambit of Dominion Status. As a necessary concomitant, a self-governing constitution has to be brought into existence which will alone give her an absolutely equal status compared with the other self-governing Dominions.

In coming to a conclusion as to whether India should remain within or without the circle of the Dominions or whether she should become an independent country let us not ignore the following considerations—Already there is talk of a World Council controlled by the great Powers. At the present moment the Powers that are named as Great Powers are Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States. It is still a matter of controversy, despite General Smuts, whether France will come within or remain without this charmed circle. It has also been seriously suggested that China may drop out of this circle and disturbing tendencies and candid discussions are already noticeable. Talks are now taking place as to the feasibility of organising these Great Powers as an executive body to act as the Policemen of Peace. Persons have not been slow to point out the danger of the alliance of the great powers transforming itself into what Barbara Ward termed 'an international share out' and into spheres of influence or zones of security. In fact, Mr. Walter Lippman, the famous American

journalist and author has suggested an Atlantic Community, a Russian Orbit and a Chinese strategic System. There is not only the risk that these great powers may exercise drastic powers within their own spheres but may very soon quarrel and clash *inter se*. Whether any purely military alliance will last is a matter of speculation. For myself, I agree with those who see no solution excepting in a World Union of all Nations practically in perpetual session. To assert such a possibility is perhaps to provoke a smile. But every other alternative seems to be doomed to failure sooner or later. What is now taking place in Belgium, in Greece and in Poland, what may happen in Poland or Spain are pointers that cannot be ignored. So long as nations differ as much as they do, great divergences of power and the influence that goes with power, cannot be abolished. The aim of the future should be not to indulge in impractical dreams of equalising power but to restrict and canalise that power. Looking as far ahead as practicable, India will not be one of the great military powers of the world nor do her cultural and spiritual traditions predispose her to tread the path of predatory states. If and in so far as England can advance the ideals of peace and progress as well as the promotion of complete equality of opportunity amongst the dominions and can make up her mind without hesitation or faltering to shed all traces of a superiority complex born of racial or economic considerations, not only the path of self-interest but the path of harmonious world evolution would lead us to Dominion.



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Status as our goal; but no Dominion Status can be contemplated without the development of common ideals throughout Great Britain and the Dominions commonly shared and commonly put into practice.

H. G. Wells, writing on "Subject Peoples" in his deliberately provocative book "The Fate of Homo Sapiens" asserted that Indian nationalism is no sort of synthesis as it is based on a common and understandable resentment at the British Imperial Government and on very little else. "He was good enough to add that 'there is much to be said for an Indian nationalism if it be based upon the idea of human brotherhood and the common future of mankind'". What Wells has remarked about such a basis and outlook may be applied to every aspect of the problem and every country. Will Dominion Status create a community ready to welcome the conception of a common social objective and an one-pointed will co-operating with that objective? Will the world at large and the British Commonwealth, Russia and U. S. A., to start with, awake to the need of a complete and unified Police control throughout the World designed, in the frank language of H. G. Wells, to repress the financial scramble and gangster violence which constitute the closing phase of the Sovereign State and the private ownership system? On the answer to such a question depends the future of India as a Dominion and I go further and say that on this answer depends the continuance of the British Commonwealth

and the possibility of peace upon earth and general good will.

It is impossible to contemplate the reconstruction of the world on the basis of aggressive and conflicting nationalisms. At the end of the last war men and women developed no joint purpose and many of the old ideals of colonial imperialism persisted. Above all, the economic problems of the world were lost sight of. The main cause of the failure of the League of Nations was that its outlook was primarily political and, the world forgot, as Wendell Wilkie has reminded us, that no nation can reach its fullest development alone. In Wilkie's "One World", it has been shown how America's isolation and detachment from world affairs contributed not a little to the present chaos. The improvement of communications by air, sea and land, the development of the wireless and the general short-circuiting of space and time that has been effected make it impossible for any country to segregate itself. To quote again from Wilkie. "A true world outlook is incompatible with foreign imperialism no matter how high-minded the governing country. It is equally incompatible with the kind of imperialism which can develop inside any nation." "We are learning in this war that it is not racial classifications nor ethnological consideration which bind men together, it is shared concepts and kindred objectives." So far as India is concerned, side by side with the maintenance of her ancient culture she has been more or less continuously assimilating Western ideas of nationalism and constitutionalism, and her

present political status and her programme for the future are in essence *sui generis*. It is too often taken for granted that the attainment of national independence would solve the entire problem of India. It will not. At the same time, although attempts made in the world to set up international creeds have failed for other reasons, there is no escaping the conclusion that until the national question is settled, the wider international questions that confront a nation cannot be successfully tackled, as was very picturesquely emphasised by Bernard Shaw in his preface to 'John Bull's other Island'. The solution, therefore, of the problem of Indian self government is fundamental and, without such a solution, Dominion Status as an external factor cannot be envisaged nor world policy as based on such status. In other words, India must be a full fledged Dominion before Dominion Status is considered or discussed.

There is one phrase which is too often used lightly and has played a dominant part in recent debates and is also likely to create great troubles in the solution of future political questions. It is often forgotten that when President Wilson spoke of "self determination" he was evolving a doctrine which was not in consonance with, but a distinct departure from, the policy of Abraham Lincoln. I am at one with those who contend that one of the great confusing items in present day discussions is the bracketting together of the phrases 'self determination' and 'self government'. The American writer, Walter Lippman, to whom a reference has

already been made has forcibly reminded us in his latest book entitled "United States' War Aims" that 'Hitler invoked the principle of self determination when he annexed Austria, dismembered Czechoslovakia, attacked Poland, infiltrated Alsace Lorraine, and conspired against Russia in the Ukraine'. The following passage in that penetrating study of Post war Peace planning is most instructive: 'Self determination rejects the ideal of a State within which diverse peoples find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self determination has nothing to do with self-Government but has become confused with it. By sanctioning secession it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable. There is no need to emphasise its atomization of human society. Within minorities who have seceded there will tend to appear other minorities who will tend to secede. Every word of this is applicable not only to India but to most other countries.'

The moral of the human drama that is now being enacted before our eyes is obvious. The result of the Chicago Conference on aerial navigation is an agreement to differ and many such hurdles remain to be surmounted. Where the economic motive operates powerfully, abstract doctrines tend to recede to the background. These prophets would not only be rash but foolish who would, in the face of happenings in Poland, Greece and Belgium assert that the collapse of Hitler would be a prelude to an epoch of peace and harmony. In political discussions preceding and during the coming

Peace Conference, it is necessary that, whatever our ultimate ideals might be, we should proceed on the recognition of the stark realities that face us. The problems of nationalities, the problems of minorities, the problems of racial and colour prejudice, the problems of economic rivalry may, without much warning, produce a conflagration. At the same time, it would be pure shortsightedness even when confronted by these problems, to lose sight of the inevitable interdependence of each part of the world on every other, in the days to come. The progressive annihilation of distances and the conquest of time, apart from every other factor, render it impossible for any country or race to follow a policy of isolation, aloofness or superiority complex. The political or national independence that economists and constitutional historians discoursed upon till recently is rapidly becoming an obsolete idea and no Government to-day is powerful enough to defy the rest of the world. It is also manifest that the immediate by-product of this war would be the emergence of three States or polities which would occupy supreme positions taking into consideration power, population and resources, namely the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, none of them however being able to function independently of the others. The status of small countries and States throughout the world will necessarily be one of great complexity and delicacy. They will have to be junior partners of one or other of these great powers and enjoy the blessings and be prepared to reconcile themselves to the handicaps

attendant upon truncated sovereignties that are only partially able to enforce their will.

Apart from conventional phraseology it cannot be gainsaid that China although from the point of view of her size, population and potential resources, she may be regarded and spoken of as one of the great powers, will, in practice, be only one of the more influential entities amongst the minor partners. The position of India will be determined with direct reference to similar inescapable postulates. Like China, India's population and her resources, both mental and physical, entitle her to the position of a great power but her economic position and her neglect to catch up even with Canada and Australia in the matter of agriculture, industries manufactures and shipping, have placed her in a position of definite inferiority, and the problem of England being asked to quit India, when analysed, is only of academic significance. Self-government in the sense of India being allowed to solve her own political, social and economic problems, whatever the cost may be, and setting up her own constitution, whatever be the difficulties of such a task, has been long overdue. Its achievement : going to be a task of great magnitude but cannot be postponed. In the present juncture the problem of Indian self-government is not intrinsically different from the problems which China, Italy, Greece, Poland, Belgium, France, Spain and many other countries have to deal with. The solution in India can be reached only in one of two ways: (a) By Great Britain

adopting a policy of complete non interference with the procedure by which the various communities and groups in India adjust their differences and settle down to a constitution of their own devising after, it may be, undergoing in the process all incidental travails which may include a Civil War. Such a procedure may or may not result (and, in my opinion, will not result) in the establishment of an exact replica of responsible government on the British model (b) By Great Britain arriving at some decision as to the formulation of a constitution most suitable to India in her bonafide opinion and promulgating it as she did in 1858 1919 and partially under the Act of 1935 Even after such self government is attained India will be only at the threshold of the world Polity and proceeding thence she will have to enter the orbit of Great Britain, or the United States or Russia Whatever theorists may aver, India will not, in the next few years, be sufficiently strong to function as a State independently of these three great powers If so much be granted, there are many reasons for and very few against India electing to be a unit of the British system along with Canada and Australia To say this is not to understate or minimise future difficulties Canada Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are settlements of white races not all of whom are willing, in practice, whatever their professions might be, to treat brown or black races

on a footing of equality There are possibilities of economic conflicts between India on the one hand and the existing Dominions on the other as also between India and England. There are also possibilities of Australia, New Zealand and Canada aligning themselves especially in fiscal and economic affairs more and more with the United States and the economic practices of America None of these problems, however, will vanish if India declines to be a Dominion On the other hand, they may be accentuated Considering the question, therefore, without the importation of sentiment or passion the conclusion is in my opinion irresistible that, fully conscious though she should be of possible handicaps and obstacles, the right course for India to pursue is to choose Dominion Status, at the same time making it clear that the development of her army, her navy, her air forces and the evolution of her social and economic plans would be envisaged primarily in her own interests although Indian policy must be consonant with that regional and international policing and guidance without which humanity will slide into chaos It is not too much to declare that not otherwise than by including India as a willing partner and conjointly with India developing the common ideals outlined above will the British Commonwealth be an operative factor of World Peace and World Harmony

# Wanted—A Constitutional and Administrative Reconstruction Committee

BY PROF. M. RUTHNASWAMY

*Vice Chancellor, Annamalai University*

SO many reconstruction committees have been set up by the Government of India and the provincial Governments that the independent political observer may wonder why a committee for the reconstruction of the constitutional and administrative structure of government in India has not been set up—why no one has thought of it. He may be told that that is the business of the Government of India and of the great political parties and organizations. But the Government of India has thrown the burden of the business on the parties and the parties and organizations have agreed not to come to an agreement with each other on this matter. So that this important question of reconstructing the constitution of India is left suspended in the air—it remains a question mark. Now this question must be brought down to earth, it must be turned into a positive assertion. That can be done by the the appointment of a Constitutional and Administrative Reconstruction Committee—on the lines of the others, the economic and social services Committees that have been set up by the Government of India. It will be a exploratory rather than a decisive committee—so that neither the Government nor the political parties and organizations need fear that the decision will be taken out of their hands. If the political parties and organizations come to decide upon an agreed constitution—of which I have grave doubts, they disagree, the Muslim League and the

Hindu Mahasabha, and to a lesser but still important extent the Congress—on fundamentals—the work of the Committee I am proposing will help the formulation of proposals in regard to the details of the constitution. If the parties and organizations fail to agree on a constitution, the work of the Committee will furnish the Government of India and His Majesty's Government with the data on which they in the ultimate resort, in keeping with their responsibilities to the peoples of India, of England, and of the World which they have proclaimed on other occasions and in other contexts, will frame the future constitution of India.

First of all, this Committee will take up the constitutional structure of India. It must deal with it thoroughly from top to bottom not merely with the top-dressing, as recent proposals have done from the Cripps proposals onwards. It must start from the village, and go stage by stage through the district, the town, the province to the central government. It must be thorough not only vertically but horizontally—it must embrace the Indian States and their future relationship with the rest of India in their purview. It must be thorough in its study and proposals regarding village government, local government, provincial government and central government, the relations between the units of local government, and the provincial and central governments. The question of electoral franchise and organization at every stage, the constitution of provincial and central legislatures and executives it must

consider and report on Its study and recommendations must be so solid and far reaching that the main lines of political and constitutional development will be laid down once for all—that is for a generation or two—and political parties and organizations will not be tempted to propose radical changes in it except as the result of a revolution Of course it is assumed that all the proposals will be made with a view to furthering the cause of Indian self government—there can be no discussion of this premise

As necessary and as urgent as a study, with a view to proposals for changes of the constitutional structure of government is that of the structure of the administration The administrative structure of India, as we see it in operation now is nearly a hundred and fifty years old Its main features were determined by the commercial origins in the East India Company of the Government of India, the Land Revenue system the influence of the Army and of the Frontier and by the new duties of paternalism cast upon it when the Crown assumed the responsibility of the government of the country New influences like the modern theory of the duties of the State illustrated by the great importance of social services and public utilities, parliamentary and democratic government the State control of industry, and State participation in industry have not been allowed to influence the structure or the ways of administration The administrative structure has not been changed all these years in any fundamental aspect of direction—except for the addition of a room here or a corridor or passage there The old stage coach has gone lumbering on No wonder

it breaks down at times of crisis For instance the intensity of the disturbances of August 1942 in the United Provinces and Bihar would be attributed by the student of the history of administration to the prevalence of the Zamindari permanent settlement which keeps the cultivators and tenants—the bulk of the population—at more than arm's length from the district officials who thus have no means of knowing what is going on in the neighbourhood of villages and tahsils Whereas under the ryotwari system, this gap between official and ryot does not exist One would have thought that some reform of the administrative system in these Zamindari tracts could have been attempted to bridge the dangerous gap between district officials and the ryot The recent appointment of a high official from a ryotwari province like Madras to study and report on the administrative system of Bengal which has broken down under the impact of war and food scarcity is an admission under duress of facts that all is not well with the administrative machinery of Bengal The S O S sent to the army during the scarcity crisis of 1943 was another proof of this breakdown A notable defect in the constitution of provincial as well as central government is the absence, till war forced it on them, of a department of publicity and a section of public relations in each department of government One would have thought that in the modern world no government could afford to do without publicity, especially a government like governments in India which have few friends, many hostile critics, and a widespread hostile press But governments in India have preferred to let

their good deeds shine in a naughty world. But the naughty world has done its best to take the shine off its good deeds when it does not demigrate them. And again none could have thought that with the establishment of the beginnings of popular government 25 years ago, each department of government would have a public relations officer and section. But the people have been left to get at facts about Government's policy and acts, through newspapers which do not publicise anything which has no news value i.e., sensation or nuisance value, or through the painful and dilatory process of official correspondence. These and other defects like the slow speed of the administrative process, red-tape, circumlocution, the numerous forms and accounts in the Revenue Department, frequent reports which act as a drag on the real work of the district collector would have to be considered and reforms proposed by this Reconstruction Committee. If the administrative system is to be an efficient instrument in the hands of the new State in India it must be tempered to serve its new purposes.

And there is the important question of the recruitment and training of personnel. If for nothing else, the Committee I am proposing would have to be set up to deal with this question. The success of all the plans for reconstruction will depend on the men that will be called upon to put them into force. These plans would "gang aley" if there were no adequately qualified personnel to handle them. Are the present sources of recruitment satisfactory? Do our secondary schools furnish

a plentiful supply of suitable young men for recruitment to the subordinate grades of government service? Are our Universities good enough training grounds for candidates to the higher grades of Government service? Is supplementary training required? Would a Staff College be necessary for training candidates for the higher grades of government service, as has been suggested in influential government circles in England? These important questions connected with the important objective of getting a well-equipped personnel for the administrative services of the future would be dealt with by this Committee.

How should this Committee be constituted? The political parties and organizations having refused to study this question of the constitutional future of the country, as they have made up their minds already on the subject, it is useless to look to them for furnishing members to the Committee. It must be manned by people who can be presumed to bring willing and accommodating minds to the study of these important matters. Representatives of communities must be there—for communities are unlike parties a reality in India—Representatives of the Army and of the States—two forces that would tell in the running of any constitution would have to be there. Two or three representatives of the Imperial, Central and provincial services would be useful in advising on the administrative consequences of constitutional reforms and on reforms in the administrative structure itself. Universities, those nurseries of disinterested learning, ought to contribute two or three teachers who are also students of political science and constitutional law. And to give prestige and power to this Committee it ought to have as its chairman a member of the Governor General's Executive Council, who would look upon this work as a whole time job, for it will take the whole of his time and attention—if the work is to be finished by the time peace comes to us.



# IN WARTIME LONDON

BY MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

MY friend Mr Natesan, the editor has kindly invited me to write a few lines on a subject of general interest and I have been going over the past year in search of such a subject. But what a year it has been. Even to have trod so fast upon each other's heels they deserve a whole history. Rome freed one day, the next day is D Day. First Paris, then Brussels, is entered by the Allies, while at home the Flying Bombs roar over London. Tragedy indeed falls on other Allies. There is the waste of life and of a city in the heroic unsupported Warsaw Rising. Irreparable harm is suffered by the sturdy freedom loving Dutch, when the Germans flood their territory—territory which they wrested not from a neighbour after the high German fashion but from the sea. And all the time the Russians have been advancing and growing so great in power that some whisper it is Russia who will decide the destiny of Europe and not the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter.

But such events are beyond the scope of a short article. Instead it might be wiser to stick to London and give a few impressions of what we are doing and thinking. First as to what we look like. Do Indians think of London as battered, beleaguered, bomb scarred, with many of the old land marks gone for ever? Certainly it is scarcely possible to enter any street without coming on signs of bombing, the commonest sight being those flimsy looking 'stage windows' which are of course a feature of the first aid given to house

But in the main, with outstanding exceptions alas in the City and the Inns of Court and with Churches everywhere, London looks like it always did. It may be a very shabby London, badly in need of armies of house-repairers and oceans of new paint, but it hasn't changed its nature. You have only to see all the flags flying on the public buildings, as they did the other day on the King's Birthday, to feel that London will always go its accustomed way. Some of our most pictured sights are gone "for the duration". Eros, who for years gave a soul to Piccadilly Circus 'is away in the country' (Tho' the authorities, with most unlikely imagination have so boarded up his plinth as to give the impression that he is there all the time imprisoned, waiting to flit out across the Circus when Peace returns). Charles the First too no longer rides in Whitehall, nor are the Horse Guards mounted. Most missed of all by me, since for years my office had looked down on them, gone are the great round gas lamps which used to surround Palace yard. I never see the constant stream of sightseers—mostly American soldiers—who came to stare at Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament, without regretting that the lamps are no longer there. It was those lamps which gave its unchanging Victorian air to the scene. And when they were taken away, with them went the atmosphere of Gladstone and Disraeli.

In the matter of Art at large however London is by no means a desert. If Public authorities must 'send out of danger' the great and glorious collections committed to their charge, private collectors and present day

artists can and do take their chance of bomb or rocket. The National Gallery and the Tate Gallery, traditional resort of Londoners on a wet Sunday afternoon, may be denied to us. But there are, plenty of other Exhibitions. In Bond Street for instance at the present time, and within a few yards of each other, it is possible to see a collection of landscapes from Constable to Cezanne; or lower down and better still there is a collection of ancient Flemish landscapes. Indeed an Art Critic, writing in the current number of *Apollo*, groans over the fact that he is asked to "notice" no less than two thousand five hundred and twenty exhibits! But of the many shows now in progress one I shall certainly visit is that of the Fire Fighting Services. When war was imminent many London artists, being averse from the job of killing, volunteered as Fire Fighters. Since then, through blitz and flying-bomb and rocket, they must have looked on sights that would appal the devil. Yet they are as famous for their good spirits as for the paintings and toys that they make. The toys go to the most-bombed areas but many of the paintings have been bought for the nation. One painting in particular is sure to find its way into the Tate Gallery. It has for title "The Spirit of Camden Town" and its subject was suggested by the uncomplaining courage of a small child injured in a raid. (It is some comfort that the dreary wastes of Camden Town should gain such honour. Raids in the slums do such terrible damage because the houses have no chance against blast.)

It is not possible to think of life in *War time London*, and especially of the long

black-out evenings, without admitting that a feature of them has been the B.B.C. "Brains Trust". If it rarely lives up to its proud title, we most of us continue to listen. Indeed every now and then it reminds us of some truth, obvious or not, which is of value. The other day, a history specialist stated that Nostalgia is a powerful stimulus. And it is this truth which provides the key to the kind of books that are being read and written in England to-day. Never before were so many re-reading the classics, reading historical biographies, reading historical novels. Total war has destroyed so much of our heritage that almost everything out of the past has now a value. There was striking evidence of this nostalgia when, in August, Professor Trevelyan published his "English social history." It is safe to say that the edition could have been sold not a hundred but a thousand times over. It was noteworthy too how many critics quoted it from a letter written by one Thomas Betson in the year 1476 to his girl bride and the letter ended: "Written at Calais the first of June, when every man was gone to his dinner and clock smote noon and all our household cried after me and bade me come down. 'Come down to dinner at once!' And what answer I gave to them ye know of old." There is comfort in the midst of war to meet with that Englishman of five hundred years ago. That maddening trick of the Englishman (not of the Englishwoman) of keeping the dinner waiting whenever it suits him, is evidently hard to kill . . .

But space is running out and I must make an end. Still there is one event

which cannot be passed over and that is the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such hopes we had in him and so soon were they ended! A huge spirit in a huge being, he was the very embodiment of the Church Militant. His was no tentative, temporising faith, he seemed to think that nothing could be too good to be true. How we laughed with him too at what he termed the blue domers—those people we all know who can't be brothered really to give Christian worship a trial but the explanation they give is that they can worship God anywhere 'and especially out of doors"! Indeed, when one thinks of William Temple, one is reminded of the words inserted in the Mass for Sir Thomas More. For like that Tudor Saint he too

*clung to the Cross with a stout and cheerful heart*

"At the moment of writing the Germans have launched their terrific new Offensive and the Government propose to call up another quarter of a million new, what a specially cruel war this is when so many of the hazards and casualties are coming at the end. Perhaps remembering these men I may close with the words of a young Polish soldier, killed in London last summer by a senseless flying bomb

You mustn't think that war is horrible all the time. Much of it is very interesting. I am not afraid of dying, my religion means more to me than anything else on earth. And I am quite sure of one thing. I would rather have a dangerous life than a dull one.

A dangerous life or a dull one. Let men see to it that a different alternative be presented to future generations

*December, 1944*

## THE WORK OF LITERARY AMBASSADORS

BY MR G A CHANDAVARKAR, MA

IN the remarkable history of the impact of the East and the West the discovery of America by Columbus and the sea route to India by Vasco De Gama are, among others, two outstanding different ways. That impact has resulted either in the enrichment of the mutual cultures or in a clash of colours in different areas. While in America the subjugation of some races in places like Mexico proceeded on lines of ruthless conquests in the earlier stages, in India historical accidents in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, led to comparatively more peaceful transformation of the enterprising British trader into a well meaning trustee ruler, although at times the

courses of his penetration and consolidation ran through undulating beds and even uneven strata. Apart from the significance of the economic and the political results of the Indo British contact the work of some orientalists has been of much inestimable value in the cause of good will and harmony. Amidst the din of political changes there arose the stentorian voice of some literary ambassadors with a clear message. For consolidating the political relations between peoples correct mutual understanding is essential, a fact which has been rightly emphasised in the recent Conference of Dominion Ministers also. Equally incontrovertible is the fact that

the task of entering into the inwardness of the races is a supremely difficult one. To respond to the whispers of the soul of the ruled people demands the exercise of the great qualities of the head and heart of the powers that be, such as wide sympathy, great imagination and genuine toleration. That again means the emphasising the points of contact more than the accentuating of the differences between the rulers and the ruled. Such a task in spite of its difficulty was accomplished by some orientalists of the period, which undoubtedly facilitated the strengthening of the bonds of union and fellow-feeling then. The pragmatic aspect of the great and good work of the scholars is decidedly on a par with that of the liberal statesmen of the type of John Bright, William Wedderburn and A. O. Hume. Oriental scholars like Sir William Jones, E. B. Cowell, Thomas Colebrook, Muir, Wilson, Max Muller, Coleman and others widened the intellectual horizon of man by their patient researches in the field of Sanskrit literature. They taught us all 'to embrace millions of strangers as members of one family'. They believed 'India was an epitome of the whole world.' We are, however, not unmindful of the fact that there arose some detractors also but they were few and far between. Prof. Max Muller and Wilson vigorously condemned books like Mill's History of British India and tried to remove the misunderstandings that were likely to arise between the rulers and the ruled. The work of these orientalists was continued later by writers like Dr Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita and Romain Rolland. English poets too like Wordsworth, Browning and

Swinburne were profoundly affected by the Vedantic thought. Thinkers like Deussen, Schopenhauer and Dr. Schwaeltzer, Rene Guenon have all equated Hindu doctrines with the western wisdom. They felt that 'Science divides and Metaphysics unites'. The works of writers like Abbe Dubouis and Miss Catharine Mayo are too impotent to nullify the good effect of the work of these literary ambassadors. From India also was raised the stentorian voice of Swami Vivekanand, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Aravinda Gosh, Radhakrishnan and others to justify the sublimity of Indian thought. If England is the 'bridge-state between Europe and America, India is a bridge-nation between Europe and Asia. These literary ambassadors were and are the builders, among whom writers like Aldous Huxley, Hitler Brown, Pearl Buck and Andrews may also be counted. If the eastern philosophers hold that there is no gulf between matter and spirit, western writers proclaim that that there can be no barrier between man and man, to whatever colour he may belong to. Then again there are some mute but glorious interpreters of India in its architecture and sculpture. Buildings of this land, be they Hindu, Buddhist, Musalman or Jain silently proclaim that unity was secured in diversity. Variety of conception has been presented in rocks, marbles, wood and bricks in as marvellous a way as is done in the great books of the orientalists. Each endeavoured to establish first the great advance made in Indian culture and then what contribution India has made in the world's civilisation.

As long as peace is the supreme interest of Man it has to be maintained through proper

understanding between people. Pointed reference was made by Lord Wavell to the geographical unity of India but these literary exponents emphasise the existence of cultural, spiritual and historical unity of India also Lord Halifax in one of his speeches observes "The British Empire is founded upon the most successful reconciliation of unity and diversity through the alchemy of liberty". Towards that reconciliation the Indian and

the British writers have made a great contribution. Wherever the 'alchemy of liberty' has been applied greater success has been achieved. Wherever it has been delayed disquieting situations have arisen. Wherever disputes and differences have arisen between sections of the human race, reason based on liberty has been their best solvent. That is the message of the great literary ambassadors of the past and the present.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

BY MR H S L POLAK

This brief and forcible statement of the case for Indians in South Africa and for justice at the hands of the Whites there, will be read with interest by all those who are keen on a satisfactory solution of a grave problem. Mr Polak, it may be remembered, was almost the first European who bravely and at considerable self sacrifice took up the cause of Indians and played no mean part in helping Mahatma Gandhi in the great struggle.—Ed *Indian Review*

It is not generally known that some three millions of Indians have their permanent homes overseas, mostly in British territory. They are mainly descended from those who migrated under the old indentured labour system, which came to the aid of the sugar planters upon the abolition of slavery and was ended in 1920. In addition, a number of Indian traders went abroad in later years to supply the needs of the labourers. Most of these Indians overseas have been born (in many cases up to three generations) in the countries of their residence, know little at first hand of their country of origin, and have latterly tended to approximate to Western standards of life, where possible.

Of these, nearly 250,000 (as against some two millions of whites) are in South Africa, with which they have been connected since 1860. About 200,000 are in Natal, the

remainder in the Cape and Transvaal Provinces of the Union. Immigration is now virtually restricted to the wives and minor children of lawful male residents. They have no freedom of migration within the Union, so that, for practical purposes, the Natal Indians who constitute the great bulk of the South African population, are excluded from bettering their conditions in another Province. If a Natal Indian wishes to appear in person in his own case in the Appellate Division of a Supreme Court, at Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State (which has no Indian population at all), he would have to obtain a special temporary permit to do so, as presumably would his counsel if an Indian. Indians have no vote, municipal, provincial, or Dominion, save a tiny handful in the Cape. Speaking generally, Indian education has been badly neglected by the Governments concerned.

It will be seen that race-prejudice and the colour-bar affect these Indians almost as seriously as in the case of African natives. They must travel separately from the whites, they are refused admission by most of the trade-unions and in various other ways their assumed racial inferiority is emphasised. Their treatment under the old South African Republic of President Kruger was one of the alleged causes of the Boer War, and they are to this day segregated in the Transvaal for residential (and often, in effect, for trading) purposes under the Republican Law 3 of 1895, upon the doctrine that there should be no equality between white and colour.

It was to prevent an extension of this principle in the Transvaal and throughout the Union, to secure the removal of certain degrading anti-Indian legislation, and to preserve the honour of India, that Mr. Gandhi, who spent the first twenty years of his adult life in South Africa, fought so resolutely and self-sacrificingly. He finally, unable otherwise to secure redress, led his countrymen in a seven years' passive resistance struggle involving several terms of imprisonment, before he felt free, after a reasonable settlement with the Union Government (whose principal Minister concerned was General Smuts) to return to his Motherland at the beginning of the last Great War.

But soon afterwards a new wave of race-prejudice swept the Transvaal and Natal, and further attempts were made to enforce more rigorously the segregation policy, both as regards residence and trading areas. As a result of the intervention of the Government of India, to whom

the conduct of negotiations with the British overseas Governments had by this time been transferred from Whitehall, a Round Table conference was held in Capetown between representatives of the Indian and Union Governments and an agreement was reached in 1927, by which Western standards of life were conceded to be appropriate to South Africa, the Union Government recognised that Indians who were prepared to conform to those standards should be encouraged to do so, and they agreed to withdraw the proposed segregation measures, whilst a representative of the Government of India was to be appointed to South Africa to facilitate continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments.

It was hoped that, in consequence of the understanding so reached, racial tension would gradually relax. But, on the contrary, it has increased, notably in Natal though the white population there has expanded until it is now larger and much more affluent than the Indian. Some of the reasons for this are that fewer Indians than formerly are now engaged in agriculture and more in industry, trade and the professions, and from being in the main a rural population, they have become increasingly urban, tending to gravitate to Durban and the adjacent areas. But the Durban Municipality, whilst continuing to insist upon segregation, has permitted serious encroachments by the white residents upon what were formerly regarded as Indian residential areas, without making adequate provision for decent accommodation of the increasing number of Westernised Indian city-dwellers. Other causes

of intensified prejudice have been that, in order to obtain suitable residential facilities a few of the wealthier Indians, living fully up to Western standards had purchased residential plots in white areas adjacent to the Indian areas, whilst others, unable otherwise to invest suitably under war conditions and to remit their savings for investment to India had bought from willing European sellers a small number of residential plots in white areas, without however, intending to use them for their own residential purposes. In consequence, and taking advantage of General Smuts election needs in 1943 the Dominion Party of Natal, upon whom he relied for a satisfactory majority, persuaded him to put through the South African Parliament the so called Pegging Act, affecting adversely the Transvaal Indians too and which for the first time gave statutory sanction to racial segregation affecting Natal Indians residential rights. The measure was to be of a temporary character, pending further judicial inquiry into the facts and was enforced, in Natal, only in Durban. The passage of this measure, in defiance of the protests of many enlightened Europeans, and of the South African Indians and their countrymen in India regardless of party, as well as of the Government of India, has created so much bitterness and resentment that it is being used in India as an additional argument even in some moderate circles, against India's retention of the British connexion.

General Smuts latest attempt, to undo the mischief wrought by the passage of the Pegging Act by its withdrawal as regards Natal, and its replacement by an Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Council,

setting up a joint commission of Europeans and Indians to control, by voluntary action, the purchase of plots within each other's normal residential areas, has been embarrassed by opposition on both sides a section of the Indian community insisting that agreement even on a voluntary basis to racial segregation is unacceptable to a people claiming the full rights of South African citizenship, irrespective of race or colour. The outcome of this latest development is yet unknown, but the intransigence of the Dominion Party and of the Durban Municipality (which has notoriously failed in its civic duties) and the Chamber of Commerce is calculated rather to intensify than to heal the inter-racial friction which has been prevalent for so long.

One thing is clear from all this. The increased adoption of European standards by the South African Indians had not protected them from aggression on the part of the white population. The Natal Indians to whatever party or organisation they may belong, will look with apprehension to the future so long as the Pegging Act remains on the Statute book. And so long as such legislation disfigures it in any part of the Union, it will be difficult to convince the world that South Africa is genuinely opposed to Nazi doctrines of race supremacy.

The Ordinance which has just been passed by the Natal Legislature is a breach of the agreement between the Union Government and the Indian leaders, as it provides for complete statutory racial segregation prohibiting not only the purchase of plots in Durban areas described as 'white' for residential purposes but also even for investment purposes and it is also capable of extension to the purchase of business premises and agricultural lands not only in and around Durban, but throughout the Province. All this without consultation with the Indian community and without waiting for the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry before which the Community has given evidence.

# MINIATURE PAINTING IN INDIA

By Miss WAHIDA AZIZ

THE art of painting miniatures in India has resolved itself into three main schools or phases. These are the Moghul school, the Rajput school, and the Modern Movement initiated by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. The earliest miniature paintings in India which have come down to us date from the latter half of the 16th century, and these mark the beginning of the Moghul school of pictorial art.

It is doubtful whether this method of 'painting in little' was practised in India previous to the Moghul rule, although fresco and temple paintings were common forms of expression among the Hindus and Buddhists in the first centuries of the Christian era. In any case the miniature form of the art first comes into view during the reign of Akbar the Great, and the pictures of this earlier period are strongly Persian in character and style.

The wall-paintings, of which fragments survive at the Fatehpur Sikri, are also in the same style, though they may be called enlarged miniatures. It is a courtly and aristocratic art, realistic and romantic, almost wholly secular, and quite remote from folk sentiment. What is more, it is profoundly interested in individual character, and the splendid ceremonial of court life. Its keynote, accordingly, is portraiture—not the old Asiatic conception of portraiture, the rendering of a type—but actual likeness verisimilitude.

## INTRODUCTION INTO INDIA

The old home of the Moghuls or Timurias was in Turkestan, and it is from the schools of Bokhara and Samarkand

that this interest in personality and character derives. It is by this way also that there enters into Indian Moghul, as into Persian miniature art, a strong Chinese element. The term Indo-Persian is only applicable to a part of the Moghul painting, and obscures its general character. The art itself, though eclectic, is no mere appendage to the foreign schools; it is quite distinctive, and moreover, superior to any Persian art of the 17th century.

The Moghul art in India covers little more than a period of two centuries, from the middle of the 16th to the latter part of the 18th century. Its brilliance depended entirely on court and individual patronage. Baber's love for the masterpieces of Iranian miniatures shows him to be fairly acquainted with the art of Iran. This interest is reflected in the late 16th century picture in which he is represented as actually superintending the laying out of a garden.

The first part of Humayun's reign in India was too much occupied in quelling disturbances and finally seeking the protection of Shah Tahmasp, the ruler of Iran. It was here that he met the famous painter Mir Sayyid Ali whom he invited to India after he had regained the throne, to execute for him the illustrations of Amir Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet Mohammed. A brief examination of the paintings reveals that they were inspired by Iranian tradition, but Indian influences are equally apparent especially in the delineation of costumes and ornaments, figures of women, as also in the expression of vigorous movement and sense of overwhelming force.



## ART UNDER AKBAR

It is said that periods of exceptional artistic activity owe much to patronage and stable government. During the reign of Akbar, both these stimulus combined to give the artist writer, painter, musician and architect wider opportunities in India than any he had enjoyed during the preceding four centuries. In the sphere of art his enthusiasm is well known. While at Kabul he himself received lessons in drawing and once in power he did all he could to encourage the gentle art of painting.

It was his patronage which prepared the way for the development of the characteristic Moghul art of the 17th century. He employed a large number of Hindu artists to copy the illuminated pictures in the Persian 'Shah Namah' and similar romantic histories. Of the literary works illustrated in his time the greatest interest must always attach to the 'Razm Namah'. It is a compilation from the Mahabharata in the Persian language for the use of himself and his courtiers. The fact that there were no illustrations of the epic in earlier times but that they had to be new creations based entirely on the artist's own imagination and creative power gives them a special artistic value.

Of these artists five are well known. They are Dhannu Banwari, Narain Madho and Parsi. It is surprising to see with how much zeal the ceremonies of the Hindu Religion were studied and with how much minuteness they were rendered. The Horse Sacrifice and Vasuki Yagya by Dhannu, King Drupada's Sacrifice by Surju and others are most interesting documents of Hindu religion. The accuracy goes as far even

as to show the correct kind of tree leaves in the decoration of a canopy.

## LOVE OF NATURE

Jehangir inherited from his father a peaceful kingdom and a highly organised government. The pages of his memoirs bristle with his love of nature with its flowers and fountains, animals and birds. So great was his enthusiasm for beautiful flowers and birds that often he would stop on his marches to gloat over these, and he often made it a point to order their likeness to be taken by the painters who accompanied him on his tour.

The art of painting received great patronage from him. With such a connoisseur and critic at the head of the State pictorial art flourished and assumed a character hitherto unknown. He mentions the great painters of the day Farrakh Beg, Bishan Das, Abul Hassan and Ustad Mansur. The most treasured painting of his age is an incident of his visit to the mausoleum of Khawja Moin ud Din Chishti. The Emperor is himself not represented; his connection with the incident being indicated by an inscription overhead.

Similarly, the reign of Shah Jehan is marked with tremendous activities in the sphere of Moghul architecture and superb decoration. The art of painting however moved on by the sheer momentum it had received during the previous reigns. The painters of his period aimed most at the high finish and no pain was spared either in the selection of colours, or in the manipulation of studied lines or in the delineation of minutest decorative details, to give these paintings a very high finish. It began to decline during the reign of Aurangzeb.

## RAJPUT SCHOOL

Out of this Moghul development of miniature painting emerged almost imperceptibly the Hindu aspect of the art, which, for convenience, has been referred to as the Rajput school. It has been so named because the centres of its development were in Rajputana, or among some of the Rajput people of the Punjab Himalayas. Pictures of this school are not ancient, few of them are earlier than the 17th century, and the majority of those in most collections of Indian art are even as late as the 18th century.

In sentiment and method the Rajput art presents analogies with the contemporary music. Its chief motifs are traditional themes, upon which each artist improvises more or less freely. Thus, as in all national and long-enduring art, a tradition takes the place of individual supreme genius, but each artist must exercise much more invention than mere imitation, in his works are to be, as here they were, infused with life.

These paintings, though not a young tradition, have all the intensity of primitive art. They are largely inspired by the impassioned Vaishnava poetry, which they so often illustrate. Their beauty is perfectly naive, not intended to be picturesque, never sentimental, but inevitably resulting from the clear expression of deep feeling. Much of it is folk-art, drawing its imagery from the daily life of villagers and herdsmen.

## TWO GROUPS

The paintings fall into two groups: the Rajasthani, from Rajputana, and the Pahari, from the Punjab hill-states, especially Kangra, Chamba, and Punch. The chief features of a typical Rajput picture are delicacy of line,

brilliancy of colour, and minuteness of decorative detail. The earliest examples are Ragini paintings probably executed in the late 16th century. The treatment of the landscape is conventional; the colours are dark, and the subject matter infused with a lyrical feeling in keeping with the spirit of the poems of Brijbhāṣa, of which this school is visual interpretation.

A later Pahari work is another picture of Shiva and Parvati—a night scene, the great god watching her as she sleeps. It is uncertain how far the representation of night effects is original in Rajput art; they occur in some of the most provincial types, but are rarer in Kangra pictures. Some of the pictures of this school are attributed to a Hindu painter of Garhwal, whose ancestors had worked in the Moghul court, but came originally from Rajputana. The names of many others are unknown.

It seems from these paintings that portraiture was never a favourite subject among these people, and there are a few drawings which may strictly be called portraits. Thus Rajput painting contrasts in every way with the secular Moghul art with which it is largely contemporary. That secular and professional school was an affair of but two hundred years; but the hieratic and folk-art takes us back through many centuries, further even than Ajanta, to that "Early Asiatic", of which a Western phase has been preserved in the remains of ancient Crete.

## A WOMAN PAINTER

The work of the Pahari school would be incomplete without a mention of the name of Mankoo—a woman painter, whose series of 'Gitagovindā' pictures are perhaps the masterpieces of art. These

are classified as those of Bisholi, or in its Sanskrit form Visvathali, now an outlying tahsil of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. These paintings are particularly remarkable for their bold colour designs and somewhat unorthodox treatment of the background, especially landscape.

Mankoo appears to have acquired so much renown in her craft that an accomplished artist, working at a later date, considered it an honour to attribute his handiwork to her. She describes herself as a humble painter devoted to Vishnu and as having illustrated the 'Gitagovinda' in Vikrama Samvat 1787, or 1739 A.D. They are purely Hindu in technique and inspiration and remarkable for everything artistic in Indian art. These pictures apart from their feminine authorship, are therefore of exceptional interest.

Apparently Bisholi was a fruitful centre of pictorial art towards the end of the 17th and early years of the 18th century, for there is a mention of another artist under the name of Devidas, who, under the patronage of Raja Kripal Pal, illustrated a work called 'Chitrakamanjari' in 1752 Vikrama Samvat or 1695 A.D. in Bisholi on the beautiful banks of Aravati, the modern Ravi. The present Bisholi does not, however, seem to have any claims to distinction except perhaps for its ruined monuments.

#### MODERN SCHOOL

The latter part of the 19th century in India has been a blank, so far as any serious work in painting goes. Western influences have made fashionable the most trivial of academic realism, but not a

single painter, of all those who have worked under these influences, has produced any work of permanent importance, even of its own class. The beginning of the present century has been marked by a reaction, not only in a taste, leading to a renewed appreciation of the older works, but also in production, where a group of artists, led by Abanindranath Tagore, have endeavoured to recover old traditions, and give sincere expression to Indian sentiment.

In the course of time the work of the leader and his disciples has made itself known, and the effect that it is having on the modern thought of India is being watched and copied with sympathetic interest. Their treatment of the myths has not always proved a success, mainly from lack of sufficient conviction, but they have portrayed well, though in a manner too much influenced by Japan, the delicate charm and refinement of the old Indian daily life so far as it survives. Great credit is due to all such pioneers, under conditions so difficult and so hostile to sincere feeling as those which obtain in India at the present day.

The fact that paper was almost unknown in India, previous to the advent of the Moghuls in Hindustan, had much to do with the course of the miniature painter's art. It was the introduction of paper that developed the miniature picture in India almost as much as the Moghul Emperors' patronage. Previously the art was mainly employed in ornamenting the interiors of buildings, and the subjects were diffused over a considerable area of wall space.

# THE REIGNING RULER OF COCHIN

BY MR. T. K. KRISHNA MENON

THE Ruling Family of Cochin traces its descent from the last of the Cheraman Perumals. "It can, therefore, claim", as a research scholar remarks, "a continuity and antiquity scarcely paralleled by any other Royal family here or elsewhere"

Cochin, though small, made itself covetable by its rich variety, its valuable possessions, and still more by its ancient port of Muziris and later, by its modern harbour of Cochin. In the face of hostile conditions, it had to put up a stiff fight on its onward march. But even in the darkest days of its history, even when it was deprived of costly slices from its priceless possessions, it fearlessly fastened its fate to its flag which stood for *manum* as its *kula dhanam*, "Honour is our Family Treasure." Nor did it, at any time, give up its high ideals and lofty traditions, and its tireless efforts to enrich the realms of literature and fine arts. The rulers retained their hold on the people by their proper rule. Thus it is that Cochin stands, as it always stood, in the forefront among the progressive States of India.

To this heritage it is that H. H. Ravi Varma, familiarly known as Kunjappan Tampuran, became heir, on the demise of his brother, the late Maharaja, Sir Sri Kerala Varma, on the 27th of Kanni 1119 M.E.

The fight is still present. Only the arena is changed, the combatants are different, and the mode of warfare more delicate, difficult and extremely complicated. Like his forbears, His Highness is well equipped for the conflict and to lead his land in its path of progress. His Highness is also, fortunate in having for his Dewan Sir George Boag, a brilliant officer who has

left his mark in his university and in the varied departments he served under the British Government.

The early days His Highness passed under the tutelage of his father, Brahmasri Panayil Pazhur Kudtan Namputiripad, a learned member of a rich, aristocratic Illom, and of his mother and grandmother, who were cultured in the old, traditional way. They directed his studies in Sanskrit and religious lore, and imparted to their apt pupil something of their piety and courtly manners. These have stood him in good stead. Even now, His Highness never misses his daily devotional practices and has an abiding faith in the workings of the Divine Hand; while those who have had the privilege of coming into close contact with His Highness pronounce him to be the *beau ideal* of a perfect gentleman.

After this preliminary grounding, His Highness went to Kalikkotta, where Mr. Robert White and his able staff then took the Princes through a course of training in English, history, geography, elementary mathematics and science, and in such other subjects as would be useful to them in the performance of their divinely ordered duties. He applied himself with warm diligence to the acquisition of a sound and practical education.

He joined the Princes' Club and made good use of its library and of its tennis-court. Both in play and in study, there was no rush about him. He took to them slowly but carefully, so as to derive the maximum benefit out of them. To works on religion and philosophy, and to newspapers and magazines, he has always evinced a special

interest. He has great faith in the power for good of an upright, outspoken journalism. He always liked to enjoy the bracing sunshine of constructive and constitutional criticism. Thus, there will be no wonder for any to be told that His Highness has been a regular reader of *the Indian Review*, *the Anurita Bazaar Patrika* and of *the Modern Review*. He is, therefore, capable of seeing and of sympathising with both sides of a question.

He is singularly open to conviction. When his opinion is unformed, he may be seen oscillating from side to side, but when once the decision is made, there is a staunch tenacity in the grip with which he clings to his position.

It will not be wrong to remark that His Highness Ravi Varma has the faith of the Dharmika Chakravarti: the generous patriotic impulses of his late brother and the tactful firmness of the abdicated Ruler.

In his 31st year, His Highness married Srimathi Parakkat Kamakshi Amma, a sister of late Mr Damodara Menon, who retired in great dignity after holding several high offices of the State with conspicuous success. She is trained in the old tradition of aristocratic womanhood which is evidenced by her polished manners and her enlightened talk. She speaks little, she is a stranger to banter and to those other qualities cultivated in modern drawing rooms. Her life has something of the quiet of the cloister. She has no taste for politics and is never inclined to interfere with them. But to those who go to her for help and advice, she is ever ready with generous sympathy and resourceful counsel. If one is fortunate enough to go behind the veil of

family life, one will easily notice that though there is no scintillating glamour over their domestic felicity, their attachment to each other is almost idyllic in its fervour.

His Highness has two sons and a daughter. Their spotless character and their loving devotion to their parents bespeak not a little of their training and of their attainments. The loss of one son, a brilliant B.A., I.C.S., a model for modest, becoming behaviour, left a sore in the heart of his parents which even in this distant period, at times, still festers in a distressing manner. Other worldly ills too they had to suffer, but they bear them all with a philosophic calm and a full resignation before the one supreme spiritual Presence and Power.

On three occasions, both His Highness and the Consort went out on long pilgrimages. These have covered almost all the famous temples and the sacred rivers in India. These have in some way served to alleviate their sorrows, and the experience and the knowledge His Highness gained from these wide travels he regards as of inestimable value to him as the ruler of the State.

Although His Highness was not actively participating in the practical administration of the State he has been keeping himself informed of the important events ever after his eldest brother ascended the musnad. He was in this way not entirely new to the role he had to assume as the Maharaja of Cochin a year ago.

It is, perhaps too early to pronounce any verdict on his work as a Ruler. But it can be stated without any doubt that he has made it abundantly clear that he is cognizant of the elements of well being

and well-doing requisite to constitute progress, and that he owns qualities that will go to make him a patriotic and statesmanlike Maharaja. If he has the needed environments and the complementary encouragement from the public, His Highness is sure to leave a deep and beneficent mark on his regime. For this necessary co-operation, the people should not crawl about on the surface, sting one another in the dust, and try to kill one another. On the other hand, they should realise that the destiny of their country is partly entrusted to them as well, that it has a glorious potential future, and that they should prove themselves worthy citizens of this ancient motherland of theirs.

It was said before that His Highness is a prince of immense faith. But his religion combines in itself a loyalty to necessary conditions and devotion to ideal ends. He lays no exaggerated emphasis on convention, and is always ready to respond to the concrete realities of the situation.

To-day a dark shadow hangs broad, and heavy, over the land. The war, with its disastrous, disturbing effects, "which rob the spirit of man of its hope, of its sanity, and of its poise," is proving a disconcerting ordeal to His Highness. He has to subordinate every other consideration to the one endeavour for the success of the Allies and for the peace of the world.

In spite of it all, he tries to be cool and calm even under the burden of toil and anxiety, and to sail by the fixed stars of eternal values, with a grasp on the wheel that no gale can shake nor conquer.

He is accessible to all; the right of a subject to approach his ruler is never denied to any one in the State. He has an inviting manner in listening to whatever one has to represent, and a modest reserve in thrusting his opinion in reply. When he answers or explains, there is the fusion of a simple tone with serious content which, in apt cases, would clearly indicate that he could be deaf to the counsels of shallow sectarian wisdom which masquerades itself under the guise of well-meant guidance and statesmanship. There is an avuncular benevolence about him.

His age he does not count, and he devotes in more than the average measure to the study of the problems that come up for his consideration for the well-being of his subjects.

He is well posted with the character and capacity of most of the high officers of the state. Himself so gentle and so strong in the pursuit of duty, he is exacting in his demands for the purity of public conduct and the zeal for the promotion of the commonweal. He is never tired of remarking that he wants officers of character more than capacity, and those endowed with patriotism enough to think of a conscientious performance of duty, not equated to pay promotion and pension.

The zeal with which he labours for public weal and the courage with which he endures domestic calamity, the warmth with which he welcomes wholesome suggestions and the lofty disdain with which he regards carping criticism, the people of Cochin have to contemplate with grateful reverence. And let them pray that it may be given to his loyal subjects to approach with homage the great work for which his life His Highness devotes is brought to its magnificent fruition.

# HINDUISM AT A GLANCE

BY THE HON'BLE MR JUSTICE N CHANDRASEKHARA AIYER

SOME one has said that Hinduism is not one religion but a congeries of religions. In one sense, this is indeed true. It includes within itself the highest philosophy of the identity of the soul with Brahman and the crude image worship of the primitive man. It postulates one God—formless, attributeless, all pervading, immanent and omniscient—and at the same time admits the validity or utility of the worship of varied manifestations of the Deity with forms and names. There is no place where He is not found, say the Vedas. 'worship Him in temples and sacred places' is an injunction of equal force found in some of the Hindu scriptures. The preachers and propounders of unadulterated materialism are as much within its fold as the great seers and sages who pursued the quest after the unknown and the unknowable. With so much of diversity in thought and speculation and in religious observances and practices, still the Hindu religion stands for a most remarkable unity, which has preserved Hindu culture as a living and beneficent force, all these thousands of years, despite the impact on it of other forces, religions, spiritual systems of thought, and civilisations.

To define Hinduism therefore is by no means easy. To comprehend its scope and full meaning, to discover the true secret of its vitality, and realise what it has always stood for, and how it can help in a sane reconstruction and re ordering of the world with its present distractions, extravagances and horrors is a difficult task indeed. It is however possible even in a short-compass, to indicate the

primary sources of this great religion and its chief trains of thought, its ultimate goal, and the roads to be pursued for reaching it.

This is what Swami Nirvedananda of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission (Bengal) has done in this excellent book\*. It is a praiseworthy attempt to state cardinal principles of Hinduism as briefly and tersely as possible, without sacrificing clarity of thought. In this land of religion, life has always centred round religious beliefs and thoughts, and mundane existence has been inextricably interwoven with spiritual ideas and ideals. This does not mean that the Hindu has been enjoined to live a life of cloistered seclusion far from the maddening attractions of the earth and lost in philosophic contemplation. The life of the Hindu has been as rich in the matter of worldly possessions and glory as the lives of the people belonging to other races, climes and civilisations. But material prosperity so far as the Hindu is concerned is rooted in a strong belief of divine dispensation and its summation or culmination is spiritual efflorescence. Not only *can* a man become divine, he has to become divine—this is one of the fundamental tenets of Hinduism, and to the extent to which he does not strive after divinity to attain *mukti* or liberation, he continues in affinity with the animal class. This effort towards reaching perfection can be made in various directions and can take different shapes and this is where the Shastras—like the *Srutis*, the *Smritis*, the six *darshanas* or

\* Hinduism at a Glance by Swami Nirvedananda, Bengal Vidyamandira, Dhakuria. Foreword by Sir S Radhakrishnan.

systems of philosophy, the Puranas and the Itihāsas can help us—by direct and indirect teaching, by the systematisation of thought and reason, as well as by precept and parable. What is life? It is an accident, or is there any truth in the doctrines of rebirth, Karma, and transmigration, what is the nature of the soul or jiva, what is the process of creation of the Universe and what is meant by its dissolution—these are some of the questions ably expounded in this useful publication. The differences in the path of the wordly life and of renunciation, and the equipment necessary to endeavour to reach the Almighty by Karma-Yoga, Raja-Yoga, Bhakti-Yoga and Gnana-Yoga are portrayed and discussed with learning and simplicity. There is a well-written chapter on the nature of Ishwara or God. The place of rituals and mythology in religion also receives attention and the point is made that they are meant as so many processes for purification of the mind so that the veil of ignorance (Avidya) can be cast aside ultimately and the real Truth may dawn on us. Methods of prayer worship and approach to the Lord must necessarily vary according to the spiritual competency of the devotees, but so long as the faith is sincere and the belief is cherished that we conform to the higher laws of Nature and Self in our daily lives, there is progress along right lines and scope for improvement in our moral and ethical standards and in spiritual vision. The man who worships the God in the image and he who loves to think of Him as immanent and omnipresent are both pilgrims on the road to self-realisation, though at different

points. This catholicity of outlook, this tolerance of other creeds and faiths and religions, this comprehensiveness or synthesis of ultimate ideals has been the primary strength of Hinduism. To use the author's own words "Rigidity with regard to the fundamentals and elasticity in readjusting the externals have been the technique through which the Hindus have succeeded in living through millenniums". Hinduism is not narrow, exclusive or sectarian; it is not a creed or dogma: it is a way or mode of life. Intrinsically, it represents an outlook on life and emphasises the truth that the God worshipped in all great religions is One and one only, though the learned speak of Him variously and from different standpoints. एकं सत् दिवाः बहुधा वदन्ति (Ekam Sat; Viprah Bahudha Vadanti). Sri Sankara who composed शिवानन्दलहरी and सौन्दर्यलहरी (Sivananda Lahari and Soundarya Lahari) is, also the philosopher who was responsible for the wonderful hymn called परापूर्वा- describing the utter futility of the common modes of worship of the Absolute. Nowhere else do we find such a beautiful concept as in this memorable verse:

यं शेषाः समुपासन्ते शिव इति ब्रूयन्ति वेदाग्निनः  
योद्धा युद्ध इति प्रमाणपटयः कर्तेति वैद्यपिकाः ।  
अर्हन्त्यथ जेतदासनवताः कर्तेति मीमांसकाः  
सोऽयं वां विद्धानु वाञ्छितफलं वैलोपयनापो हरिः॥  
which freely translated means

"Grant, me my desires, oh Lord—

Who is worshipped as Siva by the  
Sālvites,

As Brahma by the Vedāntins,

As Buddha by the Buddhists,



As the Cause (कर्तृ) by the Nayyayikas,  
As Arhat by the Jainas, and

As Fate (कर्म) by the Mimamsakas

Such expansiveness of mood and comprehension of the fundamental unity underlying all faiths and religions is one of the great features of Hinduism rightly understood.]

When the Swamiji says that harmony and not rigid uniformity is the Divine law of nature he is asserting a great truth underlying Hindu religion. The careful and critical student of Hinduism does not turn away from the fourfold classification of the Hindu by the Smṛiti writers as senseless and an evil to be abhorred. There is not much truth in the saying that man is born equal. Inherited differences in tastes, capacity, bents of mind and outlook on life undeniably exist and they have to be taken into account in any proper ordering of society or the building up of a nation or the evolution of a particular type of culture. It is however another thing to say that all men should have equal opportunities in any civilised society or state. 'There may

exist diversity of castes but there must not be any hatred or rancour between them. Each group is sacred, each has its place, each has its part to play in the symphony of Hindu life." Who can deny the wisdom of this view of Hinduism with its singular loftiness of purpose and aim in inculcating the divinity of man and the humanity of God?

Renunciation, Love and Service have been the watchwords of the Hindu religion. If today it does not exhibit its full strength and grandeur, it is only because we have for the time being lost sight of our true ideals and allowed ourselves to slide away from them somewhat. But the lapse is only temporary. Thinkers say that the renaissance is coming and must come, so that there may be a revival not only of Hindu culture and civilisation but also a solution of some of the world's problems of today arising out of national greeds, jealousies, aggrandisements and strifes. The Swamiji says 'An ebb tide of our cultural life is just over, a resurgence is in the offing.' May this prove true!

## THE NIAGARA FALLS

BY DR. H. L. PASRICHA,

*Professor of Economics, Durgar College, Bikaner.*

SIX million horse power stampeding in wild waste over a 165 foot precipice—that was Niagara Falls up to a generation or two ago. Countless generations of Red Indians wove the "Thunder of Waters" into their myths and legends. French missionaries of the 17th century, venturing through

a wilderness brought back amazing tales of wild waters leaping down a mountain side.

It was an obscure fur trader, Chabert Joncaire by name, who first saw both power and beauty in Niagara Falls. Sometime in 1757 he dug a little circular ditch just above the American Falls. With a six foot fall he

ran a saw-mill that may have used 20 horse-power. The lumber thus produced was used in building ships to bring down furs from the Upper lakes.

Modern methods in the Niagara power industry began in 1852 with the digging of what is known as the Hydraulic Canal. This canal was part of a project to take water from a point about a half mile above the American Falls and bring it across the city of Niagara Falls to the cliff wall of the gorge below the Falls. By letting the canal water flow over the cliff, power could be developed on a far greater scale than had ever been undertaken before. As in 1852 electricity had only been recently applied to telegraphy, the dream of the Niagara power pioneers of that generation never went beyond water wheels directly connected with machinery.

Even so, it was a great dream. Some pioneers sacrificed careers and fortunes to a dream they never saw come true. Walter Bryant and his friends struggled against unexpected obstacles until they had lost \$300,000. Horace H Day and others who then took up the challenge sunk \$700,000 in the project before they confessed failure.

But the hour produces the man. In 1877 Jacob F. Schoellkopf and his associates bought the canal property at public auction and set doggedly to work, building, experimenting, testing, perfecting. They struggled and persevered. Soon a flour-mill was using 900 horse-power developed from the canal water.

Then came electricity which revolutionized the entire Niagara power industry. In 1879 Prospect Park in Niagara Falls was

lighted by arc-lamps fed by Niagara power. By 1881 water wheels of 2,000 horse-power capacity were connected with dynamos by rope-drive, and the electric power developed was sold for commercial use.

Others came to share in the great power development. The trial had been blazed. Capital was slowly obtained for the necessary experimental work. Great electro-chemical industries spread about the Falls. Constant and dependable low-cost power in the quantity production of ferro-alloys, chloride and alkalis, electrodes, graphite phosphorus compounds, sodium, potassium, aluminium, and a score more basic products was the magnet that attracted them.

New water-ways, tunnels, receiving basins, grew to mammoth constructions of cement and steel and stone. Improved electrical machinery continuously increased in size, efficiency and power, until units of 70,000 horse power were reached and a vast web of transmission lines radiated from the Falls to serve wide country-sides and multitudinous populations.

Quite as fascinating as the taming of Niagara's wild horse-power is the story of how it was harnessed to transmission lines and put to work. When the transmission of Niagara power was first begun, a range of a few miles was the limit for practical and economical distribution. In 1905 the Niagara, Lockport and Ontario Power Company undertook the creation of a high voltage transmission service for supplying Niagara power to Syracuse. Failure was freely prophesied concerning such long distance transmission of electrical power.

Today Syracuse uses 110 000 volts—nearly 200 000 000 kilowatt hours all transmitted and supplied by the Company

High voltage transmission of electrical power over long distances is not so mysterious an operation as some people think. Increasing the voltage on a transmission line is precisely similar in effect to increasing the pressure in a water main. Just as more water is sent through a pipe of the same size under a great pressure, so more electricity goes over the same wire under a higher voltage.

The Niagara, Lockport and Ontario Power Company's transmission service has a total installed capacity of 678 500 horse power. Its operating capacity approximates 550 000 horse power, leaving a reserve for emergency use of 128 500 horse power. The Company today has in operation more than 1300 miles of high voltage circuits and this vast system represents an investment of over \$ 30 000 000. Its transmission lines cover 17 counties in New York State, reaching 2 000 000 people in 142 cities, towns and villages. It is worth remembering that all this untiring engineering skill gives the people the most power from the least water at the lowest cost.

The visitor sees at the Prospect Point of the Niagara Falls half a million tons of water per minute fall 165 feet. But not till he has gone to the foot of the Falls can he form a just idea to their height or volume. For when gazing up from a vantage point below, he sees, as it were, the ocean itself pouring out of the sky. He sees the remarkable group of bridges—steel arch suspension and cantilever—which span the gorge—the finest

group of its kind on earth. He sees large generators built in the river, three of which develop 70 000 horse power each. During his excursion through the gorge he sees the cliffs, over 300 feet high, showing the successive strata of shales and limestones, and further down the first outcroppings of the Medina sandstone. He sees everywhere one of earth's most tremendous object lessons in erosion and can reason for himself the time required for the river to cut its way from the edge of the escarpment at Lewiston to the present position of the cataracts, and he can learn from official sources that the apex of the Horse shoe is receding at a rate of more than five feet a year. The grinding away of the rock by the ceaseless rushing waters has been going on through the ages, geologists estimating that it has taken 36 000 years for the Falls to recede from the escarpment at Queenston and Lewiston to their present location. Nowhere on earth is there a better place to study these tremendous problems. The botanist will find a wonderfully rich flora, with several rare species, on the islands and cliffs, especially at Niagara Glen, a beauty spot on the Canadian side. A lover of Nature with an eye for fine scenery will delight in the outlook from Queenston Heights, the eye sweeping over seven miles of farm and orchard land through which the green river peacefully flows to the blue Ontario. Whether an artist or scientist, student of past or present man of business or of leisure, the visitor will find much at Niagara to interest and amuse him.

The Niagara River is the greatest single source of water power in North America. Its flow is uniform throughout the year.

Neither flood nor drought affects its tumbling torrents. Only the wind can check its flow, which averages 210,000 cubic feet per second.

Utilising the full developable drop between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario the river's waters equal the labour of 15,000,000 horses working eight hours a day. To produce a like amount of power by burning fuels would make it necessary to consume at least 50 000 000 tons of coal annually. But a small part of this power is being developed, although the generating system at Niagara leads all systems in the world in annual output of electrical energy.

The demands of home and farm and industry for Niagara power greatly exceed the supply and, in view of the dwindling coal resources of the United States, probably always will. Just imagine that one would have to burn more than a ton of coal each second to produce the amount of power represented by the inexhaustible torrents of Niagara. The amount of coal burned has a direct effect upon the price we all pay for it. The supply of coal cannot be increased. The greater the demand for coal, the higher the price will be.

It is, therefore, to the public advantage that more power be produced from Niagara Falls, but the problem is complicated in diverse ways and is even affected by international relations. The boundary line between the United States and Canada runs down the Niagara River. The amount of water that may be diverted from above the Falls is limited by Treaty, and the Congress of the United States has created the Federal Power Commission with authority, to license and regulate power plant development and

operation. Because the Niagara Falls Power Company was in a position to produce power most speedily as well as most efficiently and economically, it was licensed for 50 years to use practically all of the water that may be diverted from above the Falls on the New York side under the existing treaty.

Several methods have been proposed for the utilization of more water for power purposes without in any way affecting the scenic beauty of the Falls.

Water already used for the production of power could be taken at a lower level from the Whirlpool Rapids. By leading this water through a tunnel of moderate length and returning it to the Niagara River still lower down, about 200,000 additional horse-power could be developed. This project would take no more water from above the Falls and the amount diverted would be too small to affect the appearance of the Whirlpool Rapids.

Another feasible method would be to obtain a better distribution of water along the crest of the Horseshoe Falls by means of submerged and invisible engineering works in the bed of the river. Only 5 per cent of the water flowing down the river goes over the American Falls, but because it is evenly distributed along the crest, the American Falls are in some ways a more beautiful sight than the Horseshoe Falls which receive 95 per cent. of the river's flow.

On account of the character of the river bed, the great bulk of the water is concentrated at the centre of the Horseshoe Falls. This concentration of ever-rushing waters increases and speeds the wear on the rock underlying the centre of the

Horseshoe Falls so that the condition is becoming continuously worse, with more and deeper water going over the centre and less and shallower water going over both sides of the crest. Submerged engineering works in the river bed would produce a more equal flow all along the crest and lessen the wear at the centre which is now steadily detracting from the appearance of the Horseshoe Falls. If this

were done, double the present amount of water could be taken for power purposes, while affecting at the same time a very considerable improvement in the scenic beauty of the entire Niagara Falls district.

Thus it will be seen that further power development at Niagara Falls is a complicated question that lends itself readily enough to controversy and misunderstanding.

## CO-EDUCATION

BY MR. PREM NATH, M.A.

NEVER in the history of education before has there existed more indefiniteness, doubt and hesitation on the problem of mixed education than at the present juncture. Not only this, we have witnessed extreme reactions during these years of transition towards this vital problem for if Germany declared with all her strength the 'close down' of Co-educational institutions, Russia rose up with as much strength to plant the mixed school in her soil. Why such irreconcilable tendencies?

Germany, apparently, has been led to this order because of her new political ideas and imperialistic ambitions to train the men and women to the modern warfare for which the prevalent system of co education seems to be a definite hindrance, while Russia in her attempt to carry to perfection socio economic revolution has economized and nationalized the problem of education by providing the mixed schools for boys and girls.

Here in India, we have the problem still more complicated due to our socio

political conditions. Rather than take up the problem and find out the best solution, we have kept ourselves at arm's length and only allowed the affairs to take shape by force of circumstances which has been the tragedy of education.

The first objection against co education has been raised in that it is an undesirable act to draw together the two sexes in early childhood which is harmful for the development of a child's personality biologically as well as psychologically. Children in co educational institutions are likely to be driven to sex misconduct and psychological phantasies attending that faithfully may pervert still more the sex life. How far this fear is exaggerated is quite clear from the observations of the persons who have had some experience in such institutions. It goes without saying that the school has always generated a healthy influence on the growth of the children and has always sublimated their sex instinct. The boys and girls are found to behave better in each other's company and are more considerate and regardful of

each other's feelings. More positively the presence of either sex stimulates all that is best in each other as also it remedies each other's faults. A boy learns more self-restraint, better etiquette and appreciation of all that is good and beautiful while a girl grows more and more conscious of self respect and loses pettiness and sentimentality. It may be good answer for the critics who make much evil of co-education on the ground that it retards the progress of the sexes.

The mutual influence is responsible more or less, for regulating the sex life of the children who grow less ticklish to that problem in contrast to the segregated children who are led to more harmful acts like self-abuse by way of compensation for something that is missing in their life. Those who believe in the home atmosphere as the basis of education realize full well the importance of co-educational institutions which are somewhat extended units of the same model. Since co-education should give training 'of life for life and by life,' it is only in such atmosphere that the proper intellectual and emotional development of the children can take place, without which education has no meaning. Perhaps, this is what Addison meant when he said that female friendship is necessary for intellectual development. School being the pivot of social life, it is bound to thwart and falsify the social values if boys and girls are kept apart. Those who are blind to this exceedingly important aspect may well consider how co-educational schools compensate the family atmosphere in case of boys and girls who lead lonely lives in the families.

Arnold Lloyd quotes a family analysis recently drawn up in a co-educational school of 170 children; of 85 boys, 9 were only children and 33 had no sisters; and of 85 girls 9 were "onlies" and 24 had no brothers. Thus among 70 children whom there is no reason to suppose not typical of their age, 18 were only children and one in three had at home no companion of the opposite sex.

Some of the critics raise still another objection that mixing of the two sexes makes boys more effeminate and girls more masculine which, however, seems to be groundless. Rather in the presence of each other's company boys and girls try to preserve their respective qualities and rejoice in them.

Physiological and psychological differences are yet another reason for which co-education has never been given full support and at best, it has been approved upto the primary standard, for till then - the sex differences do not come to full operation. While I admit the psychological significances of the difference in inclinations and tastes for the matter of education, I feel this point has been made much of, for we have failed to understand and introduce the right type of mixed school. So far, a band of a few girls has been joining the boys' schools and colleges and have been almost compelled to fit in with the system devoted mainly, and primarily for boys. Girls are there only in negligible numbers. But new school must start with equal consideration for both boys and girls alike. Yet, the objection may stand that the different types of studies could not be provided to the different sizes. But this is only more apparent than real for the same school can provide the facilities for different subjects and yet the boys and girls would be reading together for all purposes.

# MR. SUMNER WELLES ON BRITAIN & INDIA

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**A**MONG the many interesting chapters in Mr Sumner Welles' remarkable book on "The Time for Decision",—[Hamish Hamilton, London—Thacker & Co, Ltd, Bombay, Rs 9 12 0]—is the one on the 'Japanese Threat'. He describes in vivid terms how in 1942 the situation in the Pacific continued to grow worse how the onward rush of the Japanese military and naval forces was left unchecked, how the people of the United States and the Filipino patriots passed through those grim days which ended in the complete domination of the Philippine Islands by the Japanese troops, the infiltration of Japan in Thailand accomplished by treachery and corruption which later terminated in British disaster, the capture of Burma and Malaya and Singapore, the conquest of the Netherlands East Indies and finally her occupation of the strategic islands in the South Western Pacific, bringing her within an easy striking distance of Australia and New Zealand. Though the United Nations were able finally to prevent the Japanese invasion of the dominions of the South Pacific, and prevent the danger of the German and Japanese forces effecting a juncture, it must frankly be noted, says Mr Welles, that one psychological development—the growth of nationalism among the peoples of the Far East—has been greatly accelerated by the Japanese triumphs of 1942. The quick collapse of the British naval base at Singapore and the general elimination of all western resistance to Japan, were due to nationalistic development, due in part to "healthy and

spontaneous growth, as represented by the birth of a greatly unified China and by the demands of the people of India during the past quarter of a century for the right of self government'. This, according to Mr Sumner Welles, "has likewise been stimulated by Japanese propaganda during the past five years or more, in all of which much emphasis has been laid upon the issue of 'Asia for the Asiatics'".

The inherent justice of that thesis, if divorced from the fact that it has been put forward to serve their own ends by a people who have shown the most cynical disregard for the rights of others has necessarily made an appeal to all the peoples of the Far East. For that matter it has appealed to many peoples in other parts of the world as well. Moreover during the years between 1930 and 1940 a period in the history of the Asiatic and Pacific peoples was in any event drawing to its close. The startling development of Japan as a world power and the slower but nevertheless steady emergence of China as a full member of the family of nations together with the growth of popular institutions among many other peoples of Asia, notably India all combined to erase very swiftly indeed the fetish of white supremacy cultivated by the big colonial powers during the nineteenth century. The thesis of white supremacy could only exist so long as the white race actually proved to be supreme. The nature of the defeats suffered by the western nations in 1942 dealt the final blow to any concept of white superiority which still remained.

Another factor in the Asiatic situation, which we of the west must constantly bear in mind, is that quite apart from the fact that we cannot logically expect any people to derive satisfaction from their domination by an alien power, the colonising powers of Europe have only in a few instances used their authority with any regard for the rights or interests of the people over whom they have ruled. Resentments as a result are deeply rooted. They have their roots not

only in the memory of early brutalities and shocking injustices, but also in such recent horrors as the massacre at Amritsar. They find their origin likewise in the very natural human reaction to the contemptuous treatment usually accorded a subject people by its overlords.

The British Government, like the government of the Netherlands, has undoubtedly demonstrated a desire to deal justly with the people within the British Empire, and the spirit of devotion, of decency and of self-abnegation shown by many thousands of British colonial administrators can only be admired. Yet only too many British representatives in Far East have demonstrated that type of thinking which is so well exemplified in the words of a high British official in India at the outset of the present century when he expressed a conviction which he asserted "was shared by every Englishman in India from the highest to the lowest. . . the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue".

These words might well have been spoken in this present year of grace to the German people by Hitler, or by one of his Nazi associates. They assert the existence of a master race, and the right of that master race to "govern and subdue". We ourselves, the British people, and all free peoples are at the present moment fighting and dying in order to show the intrinsic falsity of any such philosophies as these.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that as the peoples of Asia have become increasingly conscious of their own individual virtues, of their own national strength, and of their own national resources, any such doctrine as that should become more and more intolerable. If the assertion of these alleged rights has already proved to be so completely unbearable to peoples ruled by the most humane and the least tyrannical of the colonial powers, how far more unbearable it must have proved to the peoples dominated by colonial nations mainly bent upon the exploitation of the subject population.

No wonder Mr. Sumner Welles asserts that these new forces of nationalism can

successfully be canalized into peaceful and constructive channels only if the powers of the world are willing to adopt the basic principle that no nation possesses the inherent and unlimited right to dominate alien peoples.

Referring to India, Mr. Sumner Welles avers that no useful purpose will be served by debating whether or not the people of India are capable of self government, since upon several occasions after the conclusion of the first World War and notably two years ago during the the special mission to India by Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Government has officially announced its intention of granting self-government to India. As recently as January 28, 1944 that most enlightened and liberal-minded of Indian Viceroys, Lord Halifax, publicly stated in the name of the British Government:

We hope that India, in what we believe to be her own highest interests, will wish to remain within the British Commonwealth. But if, after the war, her people can establish an agreed constitution and then desire to sever their partnership with us, we have undertaken not to overrule such decision . . .

The ideal method of solution, according to Mr. Welles, is through direct negotiation between the British Government and the representatives of leaders in India. But he is emphatic that, should, these efforts continue to fail, the Executive Council of the International Organization, through its agencies, should stand ready to assist in composing the difficulties which may still exist.



# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY AN INDIAN JOURNALIST "

## India and the Commonwealth Conference

FOR one in his position in the official hierarchy, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan's speech at the Commonwealth Relations Conference in London must be said to be remarkably outspoken. Pleading for full Dominion Status for India with considerable warmth and no less cogency he asked the Empire statesmen, assembled at the Conference,

Does it not strike you as irony of the first magnitude that India should have two and a half million men in the field fighting and struggling to preserve the liberty of the nations of the Commonwealth and yet should be a suppliant for her own freedom?

Reuter has not reported what the other statesmen said to this query. But there is no doubt Sir Zafrullah's straight talk must have gone home. Indians have fought for the liberation of Greece and Italy, of Burma and Abyssinia, but the liberation of India herself is as far from realisation as ever. It seems to be receding in proportion to her sacrifices in the interest of the Empire! It is a queer situation, and Sir Zafrullah did not hesitate to point out the growing impatience in this country of her continued subjection. It is clear that despite the affected coolness of the British press, Dominion representatives have been deeply impressed by the arguments and fervour of the Indian delegation's plea. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan publicly stated that the British Government could not absolve itself by saying that lack of agreement among Indians was the sole hindrance in India's path to freedom. He characterised this as a defective attitude and added,

India should be given a year's notice of Dominion Status in which she could prepare herself to take up her own responsibilities.

No wonder that quite a few of the Dominion delegates thought that Sir Zafrullah Khan was a member of the Indian National Congress and "this is certainly a great tribute to his patriotism and his courageous stand."

## Mr Brelvi's Plea for a Free Press

We wholeheartedly endorse Mr Brelvi's eloquent plea for the freedom of the press in India, made at the last session of the Editors' Conference at Calcutta. With him, we welcome the world movement for a guarantee of the freedom of the press being written into the peace treaties in unequivocal language.

Bitter experience has taught us to beware of fine phrases which are not translated into deeds. Not only has India been grossly misrepresented abroad but she has also not known a genuinely free press at home.

But for countries like India, said Mr Brelvi, a news charter even if embodied in the peace treaties will not be worth the paper on which it is written unless the peace treaties usher in the dissolution of imperialism as well as the destruction of Nazism and Fascism. The press in India has therefore to work both for its own freedom and that of the country.

We stand for the freedom of the Press, I declared. We stand for the emancipation of the radio as well as all the other channels of information from the monopolistic control either of the Government or of private agencies.

But even more urgent is the removal of the numerous restrictions under which the press in India has to carry out its day to day work.

The time has come when we should demand the immediate repeal of the Press Emergency and the Press Protection Acts and the necessary amendment of the Penal and the Criminal Procedure Codes and also other Acts so as to make the Press law in this country no more restrictive than is the Press law in U.S.A. or Great Britain.

Now that the war situation has definitely taken a better turn and the internal political situation has vastly improved there is no meaning in interfering with the legitimate functions of the press and the freedom of expression.

"If we succeed in the attempt to make the Press in India as free as the Press in Britain or U.S.A." said Mr Brelvi "we shall have taken a very great step forward in achieving the second object of our Conference which is to safeguard the right of the Press in general and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comment."

### *Savings Certificates or Forced Loans ?*

Government sustained the first defeat of the Session over a non-official adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Abdul Ghani of the Muslim League censuring them for the "use of force and unfair methods employed in Bihar in collecting subscriptions to the National Savings Campaign". Mr. Ghani told the House that in Bihar parents were compelled to pay for National Savings Certificate at Rs 10 per child on pain of non-admission. Holders of gun licences had to pay anything from Rs 200 to 300. Everyone who paid a tax of Re. 1 should buy S.C. for Rs 20. Those who refused to comply with the order were harassed in all possible ways. The fact of oppression on a large scale has been testified by unimpeachable authority. The Patna High Court condemned in no uncertain terms a case of illegal extortion brought to its notice. Surely not all such cases are brought to the notice of the Court and the plight of the poor can well be imagined. Mr. Neogy mentioned instances of what he called the "Mudie touch" in methods adopted in U.P. and Bihar. Other instances of the application of third degree methods were brought to the notice of the House. Sir Mahommed Yamin Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and Mr. Bhulabhai D. sai supported the motion which was carried by 47 votes to 40. The Finance Member's plea that such saving went to check inflation is beside the point, as

in a country where death from starvation has become a common spectacle and the vitality of millions is being undermined irretrievably by sustained privations of a character which would be simply unintelligible to Sir Jeremy's countrymen. It is a mockery of economic doctrine to talk of compulsory levies by irresponsible officials saying for the people's own good.

Government should tap other sources to arrest the so-called inflation. The Nawabzada asserted that 75 p.c. of inflated money was with

contractors, hotheaders and black marketers working under the protection of the Government of India. These were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money; only then could a large portion of inflated money have been got at.

### *India and South Africa*

The recent debate in the Central Legislature gave unmistakable proof of the strength of feeling in this country on the South African question. For the whole non-official block, irrespective of party or political affiliations, attacked Dr. Khare, the member for Commonwealth Relations for not giving effect to the Reciprocity Act. Some members of the House went so far as to demand the recall of the High Commissioner who, it was contended, should not have been sent while the House was yet to give its verdict.

It is some comfort that at such a juncture competent authorities in South Africa should have ruled the hated ordinances *ultra vires* of the Provincial Council of Natal. There is therefore the chance of their being vetoed by the Governor-General. The ordinances have created wide-spread discontent among South African Indians and it is hoped that the banning of these obnoxious ordinances will pave the way for a more reasonable approach to the Indian problem. May we hope that so acute a statesman as Field-Marshal Smuts will not miss this opportunity to right a grievous wrong to a people who, after all, are members of the same Commonwealth of which he is such an eloquent expositor.

It is good too that the subject should have been brought to the notice of the Commonwealth Relations Conference now sitting in London. The Memorandum presented by the delegation led by Mr. Fenner Brockway, representing the Indian Freedom campaign, rightly demands that Indians in South Africa be given full right of franchise in local and provincial elections, and urges all Dominion delegates to press the South African Government to abolish all racial discriminatory legislation.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## The Yalta Conference

COMPREHENSIVE plans for the final defeat of Germany and for enforcing unconditional surrender terms which will be imposed upon her, were announced in a joint statement issued by Mr Churchill, President Roosevelt, and Marshal Stalin.

The statement, which discloses that the "Big Three's" 8 day conference took place at Yalta, in the Crimea says that the three Powers will each occupy a separate zone in Germany. Co ordination will be through a Central Control Commission with headquarters in Berlin. France will be invited to take a zone of occupation, if she desires.

An agreement was reached on Poland involving a reorganisation of the Provincial Government now in Poland, with inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and Poles abroad. The eastern Polish frontier shall essentially follow Curzon Line with Poland receiving new territory elsewhere.

It was agreed that a conference of the United Nations be called in San Francisco, in April next to prepare a charter of peace.

## Declaration by the "Big Three"

The following are highlights of the Declaration signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, Crimea on February 12 1945

*Faith in Atlantic Charter* —We reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter and our pledge in the declaration with other peace loving nations of a world order under law dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well being of all mankind.

*Unity for Peace as for War* —Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this War. We believe that this is a sacred obligation, which our Government owe to their peoples and to the people of the world. Only with continuing and growing co operation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realised—a secure and lasting peace, which will in the words of the Atlantic Charter "afford an assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". It is considered that victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organisation will provide the greatest opportunity in all to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

## Egypt's Declaration of Defensive War

The Egyptian Parliament has declared a defensive war after hearing a statement by Ahmed Maher, Premier.

The Wafdist Party under the presidency of Nahas Pasha, however, unanimously decided to oppose Egypt's declaration of war. The decision was communicated to King Farouk, Ahmed Maher and Britain, the United States and Russia.

Egypt's declaration of war is almost exclusively an academic one. She has declared a defensive not an offensive war. In other words, she will not wage an active war against the Axis, her views all along being that the "sacrifices" she has made in helping to drive the Italo German forces from Africa entitle her to be regarded as all but a belligerent nation with a right to direct representation in the conferences to settle the pattern of the post war world.

Egypt feels she has every right to regard herself as justifying Britain's description of her as an 'independent power and ally'.

With the news of the Egyptian declaration came also the news of the Premier's assassination on February 24.

Ahmed Maher, who was shot at while walking from the Chamber of Deputies to the Senate, was killed instantly.

The assassination took place as Ahmed Maher was carrying the declaration of war, bearing the signature of King Farouk from the Chamber of Deputies to the Senate.

## Turkey to declare War on the Axis

The Turkish National Assembly has unanimously approved the declaration of war against the Axis.

The Ankara Radio said that the British ambassador to Turkey has invited the Turkish Government to take part in the San Francisco Conference. The Radio added that the condition for Turkey's participation in Conference was that Turkey should declare war against the Axis by March 1.



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:**  
No. 20. *Tariffs and Industry* by John  
Matthal. Oxford University Press.

In this pamphlet, Dr. John Matthal in his masterly way deals with two related topics, the origin and working of the policy of protection in India and the part that protection is likely to play in the industrial development of India in the post-war period. In the first part of the work while admitting the substantial successes achieved by discriminating protection, the author gives expression to the view that they might have been greater if the Fiscal Autonomy Convention had been worked in the proper spirit. In the second part, after dealing with the benefits the country will derive from industrialization, he examines the question of tariffs as a means of assisting the development of industries. Here his conclusions are that in the immediate post-war period tariffs will play an insignificant part, but that they will have a more important bearing on a long range industrial plan. As a true economist he however deprecates economic isolationism and pleads for the development of an international outlook for reconciling India's interests with her obligations to the world.

**MARY: ENGLÉS LENIN STALIN SERIES**  
No. 23. *ON YOUTH* By Lenin & J.  
V. Stalin. People's Publishing House,  
Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

In this selection of letters, articles and speeches by Lenin and Stalin addressed to youth one meets the familiar thesis of communism expounded in lucid style. They deal with the problems that face the youth in Russia with a fanatic appeal for unity and organisation in building a communist society. The extracts from the speeches of Stalin outline the tasks before the Communist League laying sharp emphasis on the study of Marxism and

**THE FUTURE OF THE RUPEE.** By C.  
N. Vakil and J. J. Anjaria. Popular  
Book Depot. Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

Vital questions such as the future of sterling balances, deflation, post-war currency policy and India's attitude to the proposed monetary fund are discussed dispassionately by the authors of this stimulating booklet. They point out that after the war, India must have an autonomous rupee de-linked from sterling and supported by appropriate exchange control, which would enable us to shape our price-and-cost structure to suit our economic conditions and exigencies. Within a short compass the authors have contrived to pack valuable suggestions with the historical background necessary for understanding the significant factors internal and external and their interaction when determining our future currency and exchange policy. A topical study which is bound to be valuable to students of economics, bankers and financiers.

**A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS.** By  
V S Bendrey. Karnatak Publishing  
House, Bombay.

Mr. Bendrey has brought out several useful publications on Maratha and Deccan history and an instructive brochure on the Iltutmish era of Akbar. His present work is based on a study of several hundreds of inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1907-1938). The first part of the work gives a very informative apparatus of data indispensable for a proper study of these inscriptions. The second part contains a chronological table of these inscriptions, as well as lists of places and place-names embodied in them. The author's observations are very valuable for a grasp of the different eras and date schemes and of the direct and indirect values of the contents of the

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 1. Zhukov's march to Berlin—forty miles from Reich capital.
- Feb. 2. Three power Conference meets.  
—Sir C. Setalvad calls on Government to apply trade sanctions against S. Africa.
- Feb. 3. Death is reported of "Pussyfoot" Johnson.
- Feb. 4. Manila re-captured by Americans
- Feb. 5. Messrs. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill meet in Black Sea area.  
—Greek Deadlock ends.
- Feb. 6. Lords pass India Estate Duty Bill, without a division.
- Feb. 7. Ninth Session of the Indian Road Congress meets under the presidency of H. E. Sir Arthur Hope at Madras.  
—Belgium Government resigns.
- Feb. 8. S African Union Assembly passes motion expressing full confidence in the Government.  
—Central Assembly carries adjournment motion censuring the Govt. of India for failing to apply sanctions against S. Africa.
- Feb. 9. Bombay High Court sets aside the Bombay Govt.'s order demanding security from the Editor of *Forum*
- Feb. 10. Japs abandon Malaya.  
—Churchill's stern reply to Franco.  
—Assembly condemns use of force in Savings drive.
- Feb. 11. U. S. planes bomb Tokyo.  
—Marshal Koniev crosses the Oder, north-west of Breslau.
- Feb. 12. Statement by the "Big Three" on agreed policy towards Germany.  
—Civil war ends in Greece.
- Feb. 13. Select Committee report on Insurance Amending Bill published.  
—Budapest falls: end of German resistance.
- Feb. 14. Breslau is encircled.  
—Chinese troops occupy Kufai.
- Feb. 15. Chile declares war on Japan.  
—Railway Budget is presented in the Assembly.
- Feb. 16. Egyptian Premier demands complete independence for Egypt.
- Feb. 17. Sir Zafrullah Khan pleads for full Dominion Status for India at the Commonwealth Conference in London.
- Feb. 18. Gandhiji indicts Behar order.  
—Death of General Chemyakorsky, Soviet Commander in E. Prussia.
- Feb. 19. U. S. land on Jwojima.  
—Natal Indian Congress warns Indians against accepting segregation plan.
- Feb. 20. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar and other members of the delegation arrive in India.
- Feb. 21. Cut motion on Government's Railway policy carried by Assembly by 58 to 46.
- Feb. 22. Assembly passes motion to discuss inadequacy of dearness allowance to Railwaymen.
- Feb. 23. Turkish National Assembly approves decision re declaration of war on Germany and Japan to take effect from March 1
- Feb. 24. The Hidayatullah Ministry is defeated in the Sind Assembly by 25 votes to 19
- Feb. 25. Egypt declares war on the Axis: Egyptian Premier assassinated.
- Feb. 26. Delegation headed by Mr. Fenner Brockway presents memorandum to Commonwealth Relations Conference urging abolition of racial legislation in S. Africa.  
—Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, New High Commissioner, arrives at Durban.
- Feb. 27. Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Hope's term extended for 6 months.  
—Mr. Churchill explains Yalta decisions to the House of Commons.
- Feb. 28. King Farouk signs war decree against the Axis.  
—Mr. Amery turns down proposal for Parliamentary delegation to India.

## THE INDIAN DEADLOCK

The general situation in India does not appear to be making much progress, writes the *Economist*. "If Mr. Jinnah's refusal to co-operate with the mediatory Sapru Committee is final, and there seems no reason why it should not be so, hopes of an agreement between Indian leaders must be lower than ever," says the paper.

Putting the query whose should be the move in India, the *Economist* writes.

Tactically it may be the turn of British to play a card or two and yet it is hardly likely that if they did, anything more could be offered than the Cripps proposals of 1942. . . . But merely to repeat the Cripps offer would probably only exacerbate Indian suspicions of sincerity of British motives. In that case, the wiser strategy of achieving the best possible solution compatible with independence may dictate a firm stand on the very liberal terms already offered and refusal to initiate detailed discussions until Government's stated conditions are accepted and the terms of release for imprisoned Congress leaders fulfilled. This policy has paid dividends (though not very large ones) in the past two years, and may have still more to pay. In any event, if it be granted that there is any case at all for firmness, it would surely be foolish to abandon the policy, now that the Congress is on the defensive. If this is the intended line, the Viceroy, in calling the Princes' bluff, may be sounding a warning to others. It may also explain the rather studied concentration of the Indian Government on problems of economic development in India.

In this context of events, the resolution passed by the Labour Party Conference against the advice of its executive shows admirable enthusiasm of Indian independence, but little appreciation of the complex difficulties of achieving genuine freedom for Indians.

The resolution called for the immediate opening of negotiations with Indian leaders, but it failed to specify on what basis such negotiations should proceed. Unless the supporters believed that Indian leaders would find a common ground in the presence of the dominating power and would forget the difference which broke up their own direct discussions, it is hard to see how such a suggestion amounts a final and acceptable solution. While many will have more emotional sympathy with the Labour Party Conference than with the hard headed and obscure workings of the Government of India, it may yet be that the policy of the latter will contribute more to the formation of a free and cohesive India.

## DE VALERA

The *Aryan Path* for February contains an article on "De Valera: Eire's man of destiny" by Mr. R. M. Fox who compares De Valera to Mahatma Gandhi. What is the secret of De Valera's hold on his countrymen which so often baffles the stranger and even puzzles many of his contemporaries in Ireland? Mr. Fox answers:

He shares with Gandhi an air of calm self-confidence, a simplicity of manner, a single-mindedness of purpose, that is undeflected by good or ill fortune. This gives him a greater personal ascendancy than any other Irish leader of our time.

No one since Parnell has evoked such a degree of loyalty and affection. Like Parnell he is by no means a consistently great orator. His speeches can be dull. But he always conveys the impression of passionate sincerity. Often he seems to be examining his conscience in public. He subjects everything to a moral as well as an intellectual test and does not rely on mere cleverness alone. In a country where eloquent spellbinders are three a penny, the tone of aloof authority and moral purpose will dominate.

De Valera stood again for election and he came out triumphant at the polls. What are his achievements? The writer sums up as follows:

Step by step he has extended the independence of Eire until he is able to declare that if only the boundary question of Northern Ireland could be solved Ireland would have no grievance left. De Valera has pursued a policy of friendliness towards Britain both politically and economically. He has won his biggest victories not by battle but by moral power and by the recognition that the destinies of Ireland and Britain must be closely intertwined. Both nations have much to gain by close trade relations and it is De Valera's argument that Ireland's independence should mean greater friendliness between them.

Although De Valera is one of the shrewdest political leaders of Europe it remains true that his appeal is not primarily political. For

when you listen to him you forget you are listening to a politician. He stands on the platform carefully examining his conscience. Not until he has finished with himself does he seem to become aware of his audience. And then suddenly he appears to be speaking as the voice of a nation.

## NEW ORDER IN ASIA

The magazine *Amerasia*, reviewing British imperial policy, asserts that the post-war economic prosperity of Britain, America, and other industrial nations must be based on an expanding world economy which can only be created "by large-scale development programmes in hitherto backward and impoverished areas of the world particularly India and China."

Only by raising the living standards of these millions of people can we hope to bring about an increase in the world's purchasing power on a scale sufficient to keep the world's productive facilities fully employed to provide profitable outlet for capital investment. For India, China and other backward areas, such a programme would mean increased prosperity, escape from the oppressive fetters of feudal and semi-feudal land systems and opportunity to build up a strong foundation for political democracy and national independence. For the United States such a programme holds out the only hope for maintenance of full employment and a high level of national income. It also holds out by far the best hope for solution of Britain's serious economic problems. Only an expanding world economy can enable her to achieve that substantial increase in her export trade that is imperative, if British standards of living are not to suffer serious decline. Above all, it would remove the threat of disastrous economic rivalry among major Powers, particularly between Britain and the United States.

Declaring that United States and Britain hold the key to the solution of the problem, the magazine says that America's enormous resources in investment funds and capital goods place her in a position to take the lead in formulating a programme for constructive economic development in backward areas.

It is essential, however, that future trade investment policies for the United States should be shaped with an eye to the need of the world as a whole and not designed to merely protect the short term interests of individual American business concerns. For unless American policy on this question is designed primarily with a view to benefiting peoples of those areas and not to securing special advantages for American trade, there will be no chance of achieving the long term goal of an expanding world economy.

The *Amerasia* says that Britain holds the other key, since "she alone can say whether the pre-war colonial status is to be restored intact or whether there shall be a genuine "new order" in Asia.

## BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

Trenchant criticism of British Government's "do nothing" policy on India is made by *New Vision* a quarterly review devoted to problems of subject peoples of the world published recently in an article on Gandhi-Jinnah talks. The editor sums up the position in these words:

The position shows that the British Government's attitude of lying low and saying "nuffin" is a deliberate and machiavellian policy. Having helped to create the present Hindu-Muslim problem, the British Government announces that nothing can be done until it is solved. When it suits its purpose the British Government turns innocently to the questioner and says blandly that it is not its policy, to interfere with the people under its rule. It has only been the policy of Government so to interfere when personal gain has been concerned. There would be no personal gain for Government to announce that it intended to put in hands plans for provisional Indian National Government—that for the interim period rights of all minorities would be safeguarded and that once British power had been withdrawn Indians would be free themselves to come to a settlement of their own problems. It is the right, only policy but it will not be undertaken.

All indications to-day go to show that the moral degradation of British policy and lamentable apathy of the British people as a whole leave no alternative for a solution of the Indian problem but revolt. Hatred in India to-day is such that final revolution from British rule may take a dangerously violent form.

## THE TORY PLAN FOR BURMA

The *New Statesman and Nation* in an editorial note on the Conservative members' "Blue-print for Burma" says: "It offers what it absurdly calls Dominion Status, but reserves defence and foreign affairs, excludes a big area of hill country and proposes that the constitution shall be framed after a six-year period of transition. This is impossible. The Burmese will accept nothing less than what Sir Stafford Cripps offered the Indians. The demand that this Dominion shall compensate British capitalists for all their losses during the war would infuriate even milder people than the Burmese. The old exploitation must not start again: the problem is to find a socially desirable organisation to replace it."

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### POST WAR PLANS FOR HYDERABAD

Sir Ardeshtir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, speaking at the annual dinner of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that the progress made in connection with reconstruction planning in Hyderabad were satisfactory. He congratulated Mr Ghulam Mohammad, Finance Member, Nizam's Council and those who collaborated with him in the formulation of post war development schemes, but it was one thing to form a scheme and another to implement it. Hyderabad was in a fortunate position in this respect, as its financial resources had been carefully husbanded by successive Finance Members—Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr Ghulam Mohammad. Post war plans however could not be financed out of accumulated resources alone. If Hyderabad was to reap the same benefits as those proposed in British India, their level of taxation must come up to that prevailing in British India.

### AN INDUSTRIALIST'S MUNIFICENCE

A sum of Rs 15 lakhs has been set apart by the well known Hyderabad industrialist Nawab Ahmed Nawaz Jung Bahadur for the spread of education and relief to the needy of Mecca and Medina, holy places of the Muslims the world over.

The money is to be used for building blocks in Hyderabad city the rent of which will be utilised for the purposes which the Nawab has in view. H E H the Nizam has issued a 'Firman' permitting the Nawab to acquire at cost price extensive grounds for the construction of buildings in one of the busiest localities of Hyderabad City.

The Fund is to be administered by a Trust consisting of representatives of the Nawab's family, members of the Nizam's Government and some non officials.

## Baroda

### FOOD INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr V S Mahajani to go round the various districts of the State, study the food situation and suggest ways of introducing improvements in the matter of procurement and distribution of food grains, controlling black markets etc, and make other recommendations on allied questions. Messrs Maganbhai Shankerbhai Patel, Rasolkhan Pathan and Magjubhai Govindbhai Arya have been appointed members and Mr S M Shitole, the Secretary of the Committee.

### BOARD OF INDUSTRIAL ADVICE

One more prominent industrialist Sir Sri Ram Managing Agent, Delhi Cloth and General Mills Ltd, Delhi, has accepted the Government's invitation to work on the Board of Industrial Advice for Post war Planning and Development, which has been recently established by H H the Maharaja Saheb. The other members are Sir Homi Mehta (Chairman), Sir Sultan Chinoy, Mr M C Ghia, Sheth Tulsidas Kilachand and Dr Matthai.

### LABOURERS SAVINGS

The Labourers' Co operative Savings Societies continued to work smoothly last year. The number of societies was 20 with 23 291 members. The compulsory and dearness allowance savings amounted to Rs 2 59 987 and Rs 12 32,391 respectively. The total working capital came to Rs 17 05,784.

### RATIONING IN BARODA

The Government have sanctioned the scheme of rationing the supply of food grains in the Baroda city, as outlined by the Director of Civil Supplies. Schemes for big towns like Pattan, Navsari, Amreli, Petlad, etc are also directed to be prepared.



## Mysore

### GRANT TO DEPRESSED CLASSES

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned Rs 75,000 for the amelioration of the Depressed Classes in the State.

The amelioration will take the form of help towards construction of houses for the members of the community and promotion of their economic position and general welfare. Funds are to be placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners of Districts so that, in case of accidental fire in which members of this community are seriously affected and left helpless, gratuitous relief could be afforded with the least possible delay. More industrial centres are to be opened by the Industries Department for the benefit of this community at which members of the Depressed Classes may pursue some cottage industry suited to their condition.

### THE VICEROY IN MYSORE

His Excellency Lord Wavell, during his visit to Mysore last month conferred on the Maharaja of Mysore the insignia of the Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, announced in the New Year's honours list.

Historical events connected with the Mysore wars of the 18th century and the exploits of great Tippu Sultan and his father Hyder Ali were recalled when Their Excellencies spent more than two hours visiting several places at Seringapatam, so full of historic incidents of particular interest to a great soldier like His Excellency.

### MYSORE RULER'S SCHOLARSHIP

The Maharaja of Mysore has donated a sum of about one lakh of rupees from Palace funds for the institution of a scholarship in the name of his mother of the value of Rs 300 a month. This scholarship will be awarded to women doctors of Mysore to prosecute higher medical studies in England or America and to specialise in diseases concerning women and children.

## Travancore

### WAR SERVICES OF TRAVANCOREANS

Presiding over the Travancore War Services Exhibition at Trivandrum on January 12, H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore said:—"Since the Exhibition was started in Delhi about two years ago, Trivandrum is the 16th centre it has visited and the exhibition has already been witnessed by more than two million visitors. It is designed to bring within the ken of the lay citizen in the far-flung corners of India what the processes of modern warfare are. It also represents to Travancoreans who have thrown in their lot with His Majesty's subjects from all quarters of the Empire—a picture of the perils and the privations as well as their triumphs of the spirit of response to duty. . . .

About 80,000 men have been recruited for the various services besides recruitment to the Women's Auxiliary Corps and in regard to the percentages of total enrolment, Travancore has been reported as being the foremost among the Indian States."

### TRAVANCORE STATE FINANCES

The accounts of the Travancore Government for the year 1119 M.E., corresponding to 1943-44, have been closed. The revised estimates for 1119 were Rs. 489.41 lakhs whereas the actual figures are now seen to be Rs. 506.11 lakhs. The expenditure charged to revenue aggregates to Rs 366.20 lakhs. Out of the surplus of Rs. 133.91 lakhs, Rs 9 lakhs have been allotted to the revenue Reserve Fund and the balance, namely, Rs. 130.91 lakhs have been credited to the Post-War Reconstruction Fund.

### TRAVANCORE ENGINEERING DEGREE

The Institute of Engineers (India) has recognised the B.Sc. (Engineering) degree of the Travancore University as entitling its holders to exemption from sections "A" and "B" of their associate membership examination.

**Patiala****THE RULER'S APPEAL FOR UNITY**

The Maharaja of Patiala, in reply to an address of welcome from the Peshawar Sikhs, said: "My family always has been serving the Sikh community and I too, am not unconscious of my duty towards my country, the Indian people, and the Sikhs in particular. But unity is the chief factor which makes nations and if the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus unite and live like true Indians, the world will respect you. The Sikhs are a small community and if they truly follow their religion and organise themselves they can easily live honourably. The respect which the Sikh community commands at present is all due to their military spirit and sense of duty and I hope they will stick to their martial traditions."

**Cochin****HOSPITAL FOR COCHIN**

Sir George Boag, Dewan of Cochin laying the foundation stone of the new hospital constructed by Dr. Rm Alagappa Chettiar for the welfare of the labourers of the Cochin Textiles observed: "I am glad that in his relation with labour, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar has set an example which all employers of labour in this State and indeed throughout the country will do well to emulate." The new hospital located in the spacious grounds in front of the Mills and providing 12 beds will be named "H. H. Maharaja Ravi Varma Cochin Textiles Hospital"

**Bikaner****BIKANER'S 5-LAKH GRANT**

To prepare the people of Bikaner for technical and other services, H. H. the Maharaja has sanctioned scholarships of the value of Rs. 5 lakhs covering higher education and training in India and abroad in geology, industrial chemistry, tanning, public health, agriculture and engineering.

**Bharatpur****BHARATPUR ORDERS**

The Bharatpur Government have given discretion to all the Government Departments for the use of Khadi for uniforms of the State employees where it is possible.

In order to prevent the slaughter of the useful cattle and also to preserve the cattle wealth of the State, the Bharatpur Government have banned the slaughter of cows, bulls, bullocks and calves, buffaloes below 3 years of age, male-buffaloes between 3 and 10 years and she-buffaloes between 3 and 10 years of age which are capable of producing milk and that no cattle will be slaughtered on Mondays and Fridays.

**Jaipur****THE TEMPLES OF JAIPUR**

The temples in Jaipur are a wonderful sight; they are all over the city—on the hill-tops and in the valleys, on many a road-side and right in the centre of some streets and squares. Within the last three years, several of these age-old abodes of worship have been repaired and renovated, and a sum of above one and a half lakhs of rupees has been spent on their restoration and maintenance.

**Kathiawar States****JOINT SCHEME FOR FOREST**

A meeting of the representatives of the Kathiawar States was held at Rajko recently under the presidentship of the Resident to consider the scheme of post-war developments of forests

The forest policy of the Eastern States Agency was recommended as a model for Kathiawar States to be adopted with suitable changes. But all the States, except Junagad, rejected the idea of working the scheme on co-operative basis, owing to their dislike of joint services. Some of the bigger States were willing to take the work individually.

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# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### NATAL CONGRESS'S WARNING

The Working Committee of the Natal Indian Congress has passed the following resolutions:

This meeting of the Working Committee, Natal Indian Congress, reiterates its unequivocal opposition to any plan or scheme which is intended to segregate the Indian community. It views with grave concern and alarm the recent efforts of the department of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs to entice the Indian people in country districts and towns to accept separate areas for occupational purposes and housing schemes. It feels that this is a measure to give effect to the aim and purpose of the servitude scheme of 1939, which has for its objective complete residential and economic segregation.

It declares that the Pegging Act has been responsible for stagnating economic development and bringing about the present deplorable and inadequate housing conditions. As a sequel to that the Government is endeavouring to compel the Indian community to acquiesce in an unjust and undemocratic policy of segregation, which is becoming more and more evident in the declarations of General Smuts and other responsible authorities to solve the so called racial problem by establishing racial zones.

The meeting therefore rejects in toto the policy pursued by the department of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs and local authorities, and determines not to entertain any scheme of separation in the country or towns but asks for immediate and unconditional repeal of the Pegging Act.

In giving practical effect to this, the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress is instructed to inform the Prime Minister, the Minister of Interior and the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs of the decision of the Congress to instruct all branches of the Congress not to acquiesce in, or enter into, any agreement with the department of Immigration and Asiatic Affairs or any other local authority. The meeting resolves to conduct a country wide campaign for repeal of the Pegging Act by petitions, meetings of protest and other means.

In this connection it is interesting to learn that legal difficulties have arisen in the promulgation of the Natal Provincial legislation passed last year and that Field Marshal Smuts has been apprised of it.

The South African Press Association has been informed that the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance, the Housing Ordinance, the Expropriation Ordinance and the Water Supply Ordinance, in their present form have all been ruled 'ultra vires' the powers of the Natal Provincial Council.

## Burma

### FUTURE OF INDIANS IN BURMA

The Council of the Imperial Citizens' Association, in a letter to the Department of Commonwealth Relations, Government of India, on the "blue-print" for the future of Burma, says:

"If the recommendations of the 'blue-print' are accepted, the pre-war prejudices against Indians will re-appear, which by no means will contribute to Burma's future welfare and happiness. . .

No final agreement should be concluded without consulting all bodies interested in Indians in Burma and without the approval of the Central Legislature, the letter says: India should be represented in an adequate manner at any future conference that may be held for the reconstruction of Burma.

While the Burmans themselves are trying to maintain good relations with Indians, the Council observes, speeches such as the one made recently by Sir Alfred Watson saying that "the Burmese in these years of freedom have developed the strongest prejudice against the exploitation by Indians" tend to prejudice British public opinion.

## U. S. A.

### U S CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

The United Press of America understands from a responsible quarter that the State Department will throw its weight behind the Bill pending before the Congress to place India on the same level as China and European countries as far as immigration is concerned. It is understood the State Department will make the position known in the hearing on the bills now before the House Immigration Committee which would make the Indian nationals eligible for citizenship and establish an immigration quota. It is understood the Committee has asked the State and Justice Departments for their views. It is reliably reported that the State Department has already prepared a favourable reply.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### SOLVE THE INDIAN PROBLEM

A strong appeal for a solution of the Indian problem was made by Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, when he replied to the toast of "Delegates from Overseas" proposed by Viscount Astor at a dinner to the delegates to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in London on February 19

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan said

Believe me issues far more momentous and vital for future peace and civilisation hang upon the solution of this problem than is perhaps being appreciated at the moment. The attitude of His Majesty's Government appears to be that they having announced a policy regarding India it is now up to India to make the next move. Failing such a move is Britain released from all further liability concerning India? In the interests of the United Kingdom itself in the interests of the Commonwealth and in the interests of world peace and security the situation must not be permitted to deteriorate any further. The strains and stresses imposed by the war have not prevented Britain from making big strides in many directions. She has not been too timid to tackle tremendous and intricate problems of social security at home. In foreign relations she has struggled through to an understanding with the United States and what is more satisfactory, with Russia. Is Britain content to accept defeat only in the case of India?

After describing how the Cripps proposals had failed to resolve the "Indian deadlock", Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan continued

May I appeal to you, who are gathered here from all parts of the Commonwealth, to bring constructive minds to bear on this problem that when victory is achieved the Indian question may also have been settled? Would it not be feasible for His Majesty's Government to announce that it would be prepared to implement any agreed settlement put up on behalf of India within one year from the cessation of hostilities against Japan, but failing such a settlement His Majesty's Government would place, before Parliament itself proposals concerning the future constitution of India designed to place India on a footing of complete equality with the Dominions?

### INDIAN SCIENTISTS' STATEMENT

Five members of the Indian Scientific Mission, who returned to India on 19th February after five months' stay in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada, in a statement, say that in the course of their lectures and conversations in the U K, they advocated the view that for developing India, her natural resources must be used to the fullest extent, and for this purpose there should be a National Government at the centre as well as in the provinces

"We were happy to find," the statement says,

that most of the scientists, administrators and industrialists fully endorsed this view

Mr Amery and other Cabinet members told us repeatedly that India now enjoys the fullest freedom regarding her economic development, and if she fails to take any effective measures in this direction, the responsibility rests solely with the members of the Government of India

In U K, the statement says, the scientists were impressed by the total mobilisation of scientific talent for the prosecution of war,

The effort being made there has already effected vast changes in industrial efficiency, and has revealed that when the people and the Government are enthused with a common purpose, industrial and agricultural exploitation of resources offered by nature can effect wonders in peace as well as during a war. India too has the brain power and the population to achieve this "but her progress in these directions must be by forced marches and there must be a national purpose behind all her plans of development, so that the people may be enthused to put forth their best effort and support the Government to the fullest extent in their effort for an all round industrial and agricultural development

The signatories to the statement are Sir S S Bhatnagar, Sir J N Ghosh, Prof S K Mitra, Prof J N Mukherjee and Prof M N Saha

# Utterances of the Day

## SIR ZAFRULLAH ON INDIA'S FREEDOM

Sir M. Zafarullah Khan, Leader of the Indian Delegation addressing the Commonwealth Relations Conference which opened in London on February 17, said :

Statesmen of the Commonwealth, does it not strike you as an irony of the first magnitude that India should have two and half million men in the field fighting and struggling to preserve the liberty of the nations of the Commonwealth and yet should be a suppliant for her own freedom?

How long do you think she will be prepared to wait? India is on the march. You may help her or you may hinder but none shall stop her. India shall be free within the Commonwealth if you will let her and accord her the position which is her due, but without the Commonwealth if you leave her no alternative.

Sir Mohd Zafarullah continued

The sense of disappointment and frustration in the political field is being aggravated by the fear that it may be relegated to a position of inglorious obscurity in the post war arrangements some of which will form the subject matter of discussion in this Conference. China is to day freely recognised as one of the four big nations. India does not compare unfavourably with China in population and area. In every other respect China can stand no comparison with India. I am sure it will be freely recognised that in respect of natural resources and their development, of manufacturing capacity, industrial potentials, technical and mechanical skill, capital investments, literacy and higher education, in arts and sciences, communications, public health and veterinary services, maintenance of law and order and administration of justice and a host of similar matters, India stands far ahead of China whatever may be its position *vis-à-vis* the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR. It may be objected that India suffers from divisions and conflicts but the divisions and conflicts in India do not prove more intractable than differences that divide Communists and Kookintang in China. Though often a victim of aggression, India has throughout her long history never been guilty of aggression herself.

Elucidating his remark that "India will be free within or without the British Commonwealth" Sir Zafarullah Khan, said, in an interview with the United Press of America Correspondent, that India can only be fitted into the Commonwealth if two conditions are fulfilled: firstly, she should be free to order her own affairs without dictation from outside, and secondly, between the Dominions she should be able to pull her full weight in the matter of racial discrimination. After that, India may decide to remain within the British Commonwealth.

## MRS. PANDIT'S BROADCAST

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, broadcasting from Washington said that an effective system of collective security could not be established "so long as 400 million people in India are not free to choose the pattern of their national life."

India presents a moral challenge to all progressive forces and is the acid test for those declarations which have been made regarding the policy of the United Nations. You cannot think in terms of a system of collective security by which peace and progress will be established as long as 400 million people are not free to choose the pattern of their national life. The world has shrunk so rapidly that each country is dependent on and in need of co-operation from its neighbourhood. A world plan wherein India is not an equal partner can never succeed because in the solution of India's problem and in her freedom lies the key of the bigger issues which will affect peace and happiness in the entire world. India is part of that world picture. . . . You are fighting this war for freedom—remember freedom is indivisible. The present political deadlock in India must be ended and the natural leaders of the people who are behind prison bars must be released and even an opportunity to share as equals in the making of those great decisions which will share the future course of world events. Time is moving so rapidly that we cannot afford to have relations between peoples embittered any further. . . . Let it not be said that fear and self interest hold back peace and prosperity of the world. . . .

Mrs. Pandit continued.

America won its freedom from the British. We are striving for ours. . . . You have established the four freedoms in the United States. We work in order to make them possible for our people. We have no quarrel with the Englishmen. . . . But we are out to destroy the Imperialist system they represent. . . . When the war came, we saw in it an opportunity to help the cause of democracy and our leaders announced that a free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression.

Refuting those who claim that Indian independence was hardly possible due to the "minorities problem" she said:

India's main problem is not the minority problem. It is the problem of a vast majority of people who go hungry, unclothed and uneducated. There is no help in time of sickness. . . . The war is drawing to an end and the future world will be determined by the policies which the United States along with others will formulate. It is not enough to bring new words into use—new words must have new thoughts behind them and those thoughts must have strength and force so that they culminate in action. If this war has been fought to defend *status quo*, if Imperialist possessions, colonies, and vested interests are to continue to dominate the world in less familiar names then the future holds little hope.

## DR SHRIDHARANI ON INDIAN ASPIRATION

"America is the only Western country which still retains the confidence of Asiatic people," said Dr Krishnalal Shridharani, the Hindu philosopher and writer, the other day at New York

All the great colonial powers—France the Netherlands and England—have discredited themselves in the eyes of Asia. The aspirations of India are based on two fundamental propositions—firstly, India should always remain one economic unit. Any attempt at partitioning India into Hindu India and Muslim India or into Pakistan or Hindustan would mean India's subjugation to foreign powers indefinitely. India is a unit and she should remain a unit. Secondly, the necessity of India's complete independence and freedom. The cause of India's present misery is the lopsided economy fostered under alien authorities who have looked upon India as nothing but a consumers market. India should become a producers market. This can never be altered by alien authority. So only a Government of Indian people by the Indian people and for the Indian people can be trusted to preside over the transformation of India from a poor country into a great industrial country.

## INDIA, THE ACID TEST

India will be the acid test of all that has been said regarding the moral issues of this war, declared Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit, in a speech at Boston on February 15.

In the freedom of India lies the hope of a settlement of the world problem. Free India becomes a force for good in the East and the whole problem of the Pacific becomes more easy of solution. A discontented India means a discontented Asia. There can be no lasting peace unless it is based on the recognition of human rights. The first step in this direction is the freedom of these countries still under foreign domination. Unless this is done, the present global conflict becomes merely a war for power with no moral sanction behind it.

Proceeding, Mrs Pandit said

Statements are not enough—good intentions do not go very far if they are only theoretical. It is only actions that will help in clarifying the issues and so far, no such action has been taken by the United Nations. If the plan for post war world is to concentrate on power and to impose systems of security on weaker nations it is bound to fail. Civilisation is not a monopoly of the white man. Asia and Africa have a heritage which stretches far back into antiquity and the world is as much in need of a message of these great continents as any that Europe and America have to give.

## MAJLIS SECRETARY ON MR JINNAH

Accusing Mr Jinnah of retarding the progress of the country and doing the greatest disservice to the Muslims of India, Shaikh Mohammad Jan, M.L.C., General Secretary, All India Muslim Majlis, says

Whenever slightest sympathy for the political aspirations of this down trodden country is shown by the progressive sections of the people of England or America, Mr Jinnah does not fail to raise his head from his cool Malabar Hill treat in order to indulge in mean tirades against the Congress and empty threats to the British Government of dire consequences for them if they ever have any truck with the Congress without his sanction.

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit is touring America for the last few weeks pleading for the release of innocent Congress leaders and self determination for the people of India on democratic lines. The American public have given her sympathetic hearing and this was sufficient for Mr Jinnah in an exclusive interview to the *New Chronicle* to vilify not only all Congress leaders but malign each and every Hindu, no matter what school of thought he belongs to for conspiracy against the Muslims. He even spoke of incompetence of the Hindu society for democracy and if ever Britishers left India's shores committing 'the faithful' to the mercy of the Hindus "100 millions will revolt". But the truth is other wise, as save and except certain vested interests headed by Mr Jinnah all Muslims with their manifold differences with the Hindus, religious, social and cultural are equally anxious to throw away the foreign yoke by all legitimate and peaceful means.

## NEW INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE

Gandhiji wrote out the following Independence Pledge for celebrating Independence Day while he was in detention in the Aga Khan Palace. The pledge was repeated by him and his companions on August 8, 1943, and also on Independence Day in 1943 and 1944.

My immediate objective is and for years has been to gain for India her independence complete in every sense of the term by truthful and non violent means. In prosecution of that objective I repledge myself on this Independence Day not to rest till it is gained. I seek for the fulfilment of my pledge, the assistance of that divine unseen power which we recognize by such familiar names as God, Allah and Paramatma.

This was the pledge taken on Independence day (26th January) this year at various centres in India.



## DR. SARGENT'S PLAN

Dr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, speaking on the post-war educational reconstruction of India, at New Delhi on January 24, outlined the aims and objects of the educational plan of the Central Advisory Board of Education. The plan, he said, would be regarded as a kind of house with six main rooms and six out-buildings.

Elaborating his thesis, he said that the first room provided not only universal free and compulsory education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and sixteen but it sought to ensure for them a healthy and successful life for the exercise in the fullest capacity of their rights as citizens. The second provided for the starting of nurseries to lay the foundation of good behaviour, good social attitude in boys and girls and to check infant mortality. The next three provided adequate high school accommodation, training of technical, industrial and research workers for the industrialisation of the country and the colossal problem of adult education.

The out-building provided for linking up the medical inspection of students with the urgent question of treatment, essential nutrition, recreation facilities, setting up of bureaux to provide information to those seeking employment after completing their education and training of teachers.

The scheme aimed at providing equal opportunities for all when it laid down that no boys or girls should be deprived of education owing to the poverty of their parents. The object of the scheme which was as elastic as possible, was to frame a system of education suited to the interests and conditions of this country. It was set out in the principles of the Board's report to make children physically fit, mentally alert and morally sound.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN'S PLEA FOR MORE UNIVERSITIES

A demand for the establishment of more universities in different regions with the system of education completely overhauled to suit modern times was made by Sir C. V. Raman in the course of his recent address on "Unity of Knowledge" at the Maharaja's College, Jaipur.

The lecturer pleaded for the establishment of a University at Jaipur as a vital need in furtherance of the transformation going on there and repudiated the assumption that the bigness of a university depended on its size by illustrating the superiority of Cambridge over London. He emphasised that the real wealth of the country lay in knowledge that its youth could acquire in a healthy atmosphere and congenial surrounding, peculiarly appropriate to the genius of the soil.

## DR JAYAKAR ON 'VARSITIES

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, opening at Ahmedabad on February 3, the building of the research centre of the 96-years old Gujarat Vernacular Society, founded by an Englishman, Forbes, said that feeling for a separate University had permeated the intellectual classes of Gujarat.

India was a vast country where there was scope for many regional Universities. The Bombay University was too unwieldy to exercise efficient and beneficent control over its component parts. The committee appointed by the Government of Bombay with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as President had reported in 1925 in favour of regional Universities, which could not be given as gifts from God, but must grow from the soil, free from Government control.

Stressing the importance of research, he said that the soil of Gujarat was rich in material for research. Hindu and Muslim civilisations had combined in the past and would combine into one stream in future, showing that there was nothing inconsistent between the two civilisations.

## HINDU LAW REFORM

Sir S Varadachariar, Judge of Federal Court of India, addressing the students of the Lucknow University Law Faculty on the "Codification of Hindu Law", discussed the organic nature of all laws and their revolutionary character whether developed or legislated. He thought that the conventional hold of the customary laws in India was broken with the advent of the British in India when they superseded these laws with their own piecemeal and temporary legislations.

The speaker said

This break in the continuity of our organic laws has made the problem of reforms and codification a very difficult one. This break up has led to the emergence of a maze of texts and interpretations which are incoherent to the synthetic whole that Hindu philosophy is and are thus devoid of their logical or sociological justification.

"The advocate of reform and codification," the speaker continued, "takes it as a powerful plea for his cause while the opponent takes it to be a justification for his proposal to codify the whole of Hindu Law into the integral piece or not to attempt at all."

Concluding, the speaker pleaded for the middle course of adopting long range legislation, wide in its sphere.

## SECURITY ORDER ON FORUM

A full bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of Mr Justice Mohammad Chagla, Mr Justice Lokor, and Mr Justice Weston, on February 9 set aside the Bombay Government's order demanding a security of Rs 2,000 from Mr Joachim Alva, Editor, Printer and Publisher of the weekly news magazine, the "Forum".

The demand for security was based on an article in the 'Forum' commenting on the death sentence passed on 16 accused persons in the Ashti and Chimur cases.

Their Lordships held that the article in question was only a strong plea for the commutation of the death sentence on the 16 accused, and did not express approval or admiration of the action of the accused persons.

## LAWYER WHO LEFT HIS POST AS PROTEST

The Chief Justice and Mr Justice M C Chagla of the Bombay High Court agreed with a tribunal of the Bombay Bar Council that an advocate of the High Court, Mr D N Subba Rao, was not guilty of professional, or other misconduct, within the meaning of Section 10 of the Bar Council Act.

It was contended on behalf of the Government that Mr Subba Rao had abandoned his post without lawful or reasonable excuse and without informing the Court to which he had been attached. It was an offence for which he had been convicted and he was guilty of professional misconduct, and liable for disciplinary action.

Their Lordships agreed with the findings of the Bar Council that there had been no professional misconduct.

## NEW MADRAS JUDGES

Mr. P V Rajamannar, Advocate General, Madras has been appointed Judge of the Madras High Court in the vacancy that will be caused by the retirement of Justice Sir Vere Mockett on July 25 next.

Mr. Rajamannar is aged 44. He is the son of Mr Justice P Venkataramana Rao, Chief Justice, Mysore and former Judge of the Madras High Court.

Mr. Rajamannar took charge as Advocate General only on July 10 last, from Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar.

It is officially announced that Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali, Chairman of the Income-tax Tribunal, Bombay, has been appointed Judge of the Madras High Court during the period when Justice Sir A J King goes on leave, viz, March 5 to April 28.

## CONVICTION FOR POLITICAL OFFENCES

That conviction for political offence should not be taken to imply a defect of character, unfitting a pleader or an advocate to be a member of the legal profession was the view expressed by the Madras Advocates' Association, on a reference made to it by the Bar Council, Madras.

## IDEALS OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speaking on 'Indian Womanhood' at a meeting of the Islamia College Students' Union at Calcutta said: "Indian women—your mothers, your sisters, wives and daughters—are all integral parts of your nation, and your nation's worth can only be measured by the opportunity women have for fulfilling the highest ideals of your nation". Indian women, she added, could not be divided into this generation and that generation, Hindus and Muslims.

Referring to reports that Indian women were all sad and down-trodden, she said that the women of India had a record of which any part of the world might be proud. In India, women had been working gladly and selflessly for a long time and the whole of the Hindu civilization demanded that Indian women should have independence of judgment because they had half the responsibility in the progress of humanity.

The ancient ideals were of co-operation and comradeship between man and woman; it was also the case with that great wife of the Prophet, who helped him in every way. As things progressed and digressed, Mrs. Naidu continued, women began to seek protection and privilege. Then, with the cessation of responsibility, right also began to lapse. And, that was the history all over the world and there came a period when women were regarded as mere goods and chattels for all practical purposes.

Women in the East had always had a right in property and in Islam too they had an economic position. It was with the lapse of right they became entirely dependent on others. Comparing Indian women with those of other countries she said: "We are not really so backward as we like to believe. We are as good as anybody else, and can be better if we work out our old traditions".

Mrs. Naidu finally pointed out that at present women could be found working in various branches of education, law, commerce, social service and the like.

## MRS. V. L. PANDIT'S OFFER

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in an interview in Boston said that if India had certain promises amounting to a guarantee of freedom and the release of the 18,000 still in prison without trial since 1942, "we will throw our whole weight of men and resources into the war against the Japanese."

"The two million supposed to be in the war to-day are just 'rice' soldiers forced by unemployment into army. We are a little bored by the assumption of the English that they are the only civilised people."

"There is a talk of the affairs of the world being settled by the Big Five. Who the dickens are the Big Five to determine what is to be done for the world? Without a free India the Pacific problem cannot be solved."

Saying that she had come to the United States by courtesy of the United States Air Command and that she was very much touched by the kind treatment from American soldiers and officers who were "so gentle and kind to other people," Mrs. Pandit added that it was by these things that nations were drawn together.

## WOMEN FOR MEN'S JOBS IN U. S

Mr. R. Burlew, Director of the United States Office of War Information told the Rotary Club of Calcutta that the present war had broken down all barriers between men's and women's jobs in the United States.

Women, he said, had taken a number of men's jobs and to-day one-fourth of the workers in the war factories were women.

Mr. Burlew emphasised that women were making a magnificent contribution to the war effort without which, he said, it would have been impossible to achieve the considerable production of goods in the States.

The men in the States, Mr. Burlew said, considered women as their equals. There were women doctors, lawyers and judges. Women competed with men in business and also held responsible Government posts.

### AIMS OF EMPIRE PRESS UNION

Lt Col J J Astor, Chairman of the *Times*, presiding at the annual meeting of the Empire Press Union said that there were two principles which the Union had always sought to practise and, indeed, fought for,—freedom from Government control and speedy transmission of news

"One of our first duties after the war" he said, "will be to ensure for the Empire Press full benefit of war time technical research and invention. Our aim must always be to secure the fastest possible transmission at the lowest possible rates. Exchange of news from reputable sources and responsible comment free from Government control from whatever country of origin is one of the burning questions of the day. We have seen what mischief can be wrought and harm done when people are kept in ignorance of world affairs and their own country's affairs and when news can be censored, doctored and delayed."

### RESPONSIBILITIES OF JOURNALISTS

Presiding over the United Provinces Journalists Conference at Allahabad on January 20, Mr K P. Viswanatha Aiyar, President Tamil Nadu Journalists Federation and Assistant Editor of the *Hindu* surveyed the rights and responsibilities of Indian journalists as well as the difficulties and dangers that surrounded them and exhorted them to organise themselves into a powerful body to do justice to themselves and discharge their duty by the public.

"The conditions of newspaper finance to day are such", he said, "as could sustain a far higher standard. Newspaper profits are governed by advertisement revenue and the latter increases with the increase in national income. If, therefore, the expectation of a considerable increase in India's national income materialises, then newspaper revenues are bound to expand and newspaper proprietors have no cause to feel pessimistic about their ability to do material justice by their employees."

### MR J M KUMARAPPA IN AMERICA

Mr J M Kumarappa, the first Indian educationist to be invited to U S under the State Department's cultural relations programme, told the United Press that his mission was three fold. Firstly, study of State and private social service programmes, and "correction" institutions for the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, secondly, visit universities to collect information for the Foreign University Bureau, thirdly find out to what extent the American Foundation is interested in the International Cultural Centre of Bombay and to help to acquaint foreigners with Indian culture. He pointed out India could furnish important contributions, especially in philosophical values, to scientific and practically-minded westerners. He expects to visit New York, Boston and Cleveland where he will attend a Social Workers' Convention.

### 'PUSSYFOOT' JOHNSON

Mr William Eugene 'Pussyfoot' Johnson, the internationally known prohibitionist died on February 2 at the age of 82. He made three trips round the world in the interests of temperance and delivered more than 4 000 lectures. He was honorary member of the Devalaya Association and Vishwa Bharati in India, and a life member of the Prohibition League of India. He lost one eye at a prohibition meeting in London in 1919, by a missile thrown from the crowd.

### SIR C V RAMAN

The honorary degree of Doctor in Science was conferred on Sir C V Raman *in absentia* at the annual convocation of the Lucknow University on February 3 in recognition of his 'high eminence in the scientific world and his great services to the cause of Science in India'.

### GANDHI'S STATUE FOR KARACHI

The Karachi Municipal Corporation has unanimously decided to erect near the Sind Secretariat a full size bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi offered by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association.

## HONEY CURE FOR TUBERCULOSIS

The Russians seek honey cure for the treatment of tuberculosis. The honey is distilled from flowers of the local cork tree and has been used for years as a sure remedy for tuberculosis by the natives in jungle country on the Manchurian borders. Now, following scientific research into the chemical properties of this tree, the Geographical Society of the Academy of Scientists of U.S.S.R. intends sending a fully-equipped expedition to the jungle to study the tree and establish a base for exploitation, says Moscow Radio.

## SHARK LIVER OIL

The phenomenal development of the shark liver oil industry in India during the past 4 years, is due no less to the increasing recognition of its therapeutic value as to the wartime shortage of the imported product. India's present output is estimated at 1,500,000 lbs of cod liver oil standard. Questions vital to the development of this important industry are discussed in the January issue of the *Journal of the Scientific and Industrial Research*.

## NEW MALARIA CURE

A new cure for malaria, one of the worst maladies in China, has been discovered following one year's laboratory work conducted by a group of Chinese. The new cure, known as "Changshan" is a Chinese drug prepared from a native herb called "Changshan" which abounds in West China. It is an effective substitute for quinine.

## DELHI MEDICAL COLLEGE

The late Lord Hardinge, former Viceroy of India, who died in August last, left £71,000 on which the death duty paid was £12,000. He bequeathed £2,000 to the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi. The bulk of the estate is left to his son, Sir Alexander H. L. Hardinge.

## DR. P. V. CHERIAN

Dr. P. V. Cherian of Madras has been elected a member of the British Association of Otolaryngologists.

## LEPROSY IN AMERICA

Leprosy is still an important problem in some American countries; campaigns against it are slow; new outbreaks may be expected after the war. This solemn warning is contained in a report submitted by the delegates to the Fifth Pan American conference of directors of health in Washington.

Disease, adds the report, has done as much as the attraction of city life to speed the rural-to-urban shift in population. Sickness takes the head of the family to a city hospital, his dependents follow. This trend can bring about a serious increase in living costs owing to the lack of farm labour. Higher costs, in turn, will increase malnutrition—the "chronic hunger" of the Americas.

## FLU AS A PREVENTIVE

"Flu may be a blessing in disguise, says the *British Medical Journal*, in a leading article on air disinfection.

"If there is any serious prospect of checking the spread of the common cold or influenza completely, it may be asked whether the effect of this would be entirely desirable," it says.

"One distinguished author has suggested that occasional attacks of these infections are the price we pay for some degree of immunity to more serious diseases of the air passages.

"If there is any basis for this idea it may perhaps be inadvisable to go beyond a certain point in protecting the community against airborne infection."

## ELIMINATION OF TETANUS

The *Times'* medical correspondent reports that as a result of compulsory immunisation of all officers and men, the United States War Department has almost eliminated tetanus. Not one case of tetanus among wounded soldiers or sailors has occurred in men, who completed the course of injections.

## INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

Financial circles in America continue to be interested in India's problem of blocked balances. It is pointed out that it is to the interest of the United States to unblock Indian balances thus enabling India to trade with the United States. It is said that Britain will not be in a position to repatriate the sums involved in the post war period.

It is also noted that India and the United States will possibly be the only two creditor nations in the post war period.

## BANKING SYSTEM

The Committee of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, in a communication to the Government of India states that the present step to amend the law relating to banking companies was merely a tinkering with the problem and not designed to develop the banking system of the country on a sound footing.

It urges the need for reorganization of the whole banking system in the country and also equal and fair treatment for Indian banks in foreign countries.

## THE INDO COMMERCIAL BANK

The twenty fourth report of the Indo Commercial Bank Ltd shows the steady progress of the bank. The Net profits of the Bank amounted to Rs 484168 14 2. Out of this, after providing for taxes and placing Rs 75000 to the Reserve Fund (thus raising it to Rs 375000) Rs 56250 is to be given as dividend. It is also satisfactory to note that provision for Rs 26000 has been made as two months bonus to the staff.

## DAILY OUTPUT OF MINTS

The average daily output of the mints said the France Member in reply to Mr Manu Subedar, were, Bombay 40 lakhs, Calcutta 31 lakhs and Lahore 11 1/2 lakhs pieces. Both Bombay and Lahore mints produced rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees, two annas and single pies. The Bombay mint produced in addition one anna coins. At Calcutta one anna and half anna coins only were minted.

## THE RAILWAY BUDGET

The Central Government's Railway Budget, which was presented to the Central Assembly and the Council of State on February 15, revealed the following figures (all are in Crores of Rupees)

	1944 45	1945 46
	Rs	Rs
Traffic Receipts	214 30	220
Working Expenses	147 49	169 87
Writing Down Costs	21	30
Surplus	42 01	16 51
To General Revenues	32	32

Presenting what he described as a somewhat unorthodox budget, the War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthall, stated that it was not proposed to make any general increase in rates and fares, apart from the decision announced already that from February 1, the port to port rates on certain goods would be increased in order to bring them into line with the cost of shipment by sea.

## RATES FOR RAILWAY GOODS TRAFFIC

An important change contemplated in the system of railway rates was mentioned by Mr G E Cuffe, President Indian Railway Conference Association at a Press conference last month.

He said the idea was to introduce, for all varieties of traffic, telescopic class rates under which the charges per mile decreased as the distance to be traversed increased. By means of this system which was on the basis of continuous mileage traffic would have the benefit of tapping scales of rates on the total distance from the booking to the destination station irrespective of railway boundaries.

"It is clear", he said, "that such a principle is preferable to the present unsatisfactory system under which horizontal class rates increase the charge to be paid by the trader directly in ratio to distance. The new scale of rates provide for a lowering of the charge per mile over long distances and should be of considerable benefit to trader generally."

### DRAMA AND FILM

"That society is best ordered where there is perfect harmony between life and art. Men and women cannot realise their lives fully without the aid of art. Nor can there be true art unless it is vitally related to life," said Mr. S. A. Brelvi, presiding over the People's Theatre Conference at Bombay.

"The vast majority of our fellow-countrymen," Mr. Brelvi continued, "do not live but merely exist, being deprived of the joy of living, oppressed by the humiliations of political subjection and haunted by the fear of want and economic insecurity. Art in our own country is for most part, divorced from life. The problem before us is thus a two-fold one.

"We have, in the first place, to win our political freedom so that we may use it to secure for all of us freedom from want, freedom from fear and all those other invaluable freedoms which make life worth living for men and women."

Mr. Brelvi said that the film had become a great and growingly formidable rival of drama. Drama would live and could never die. But it would never hope to win the hold over the minds and hearts of the people which the film was fast acquiring.

#### SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN

The artist Sir William Rothenstein died on February 14, at the age of 75.

Sir William was one of the official artists of the first world war. He was Principal of the Royal College of Art 1920-35 and Trustee of the Tate Gallery.

Among his many publications were: Six portraits of Rabindranath Tagore, Ancient India, Life of Goya, Paul Verlaine; A Plea for the wider use of artists and craftsmen.

It was Rothenstein who introduced Tagore to W. B. Yeats and Yeats' encouragement led to the publication of "Gitanjali" which first brought Tagore's writing to the notice of the Western world and earned him the Nobel Prize for literature.

### INDIAN CRICKET TEAM FOR AUSTRALIA

Mr. R. A. Oxlade, the New South Wales member of the Boards Control, referring to the hope expressed by Lieut.-Col. C. K. Nayudu that Australia would invite an Indian team after the war, said that an Australia tour by an Indian team was included in the Board's post-war plans. An invitation to India was being considered when the war began. "The visit will now have to be delayed until matches with England are resumed", he said, "and it must be remembered that South Africa is due to pay us a return visit."

#### ARCHIE MACLAREN

Sir Pelham Warner, Deputy Secretary of the Marylebone Cricket Club in a letter to Mr. K. S. Ranga Rao, Honorary Secretary to the Board of Control for Cricket in India, acknowledging the letter of sympathy on the death of Archie MacLaren, says he was a very fine cricketer and was one of the four best batsmen in what has been called "the golden age of cricket", the other three being Jackson, Fry and Ranji.

### INTER VARSITY TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP

The Madras University won the Inter-University Tennis Championship defeating the Panjab University by 3 matches to 2. Madras had a lead of 3 matches to 1 on January 17 and of the two Singles ties decided on January 18, each University claimed one.

#### THE RANJI TROPHY

Holkar defeated Madras by 10 wickets at Chepauk in the semi-final and thus qualified to meet the winners of the match between Bombay and the Northern India Cricket Association in the final of Ranji Trophy Cricket Tournament.

#### ALL INDIA FOOTBALL TOURNAMENT

Minerva Club, Madras won the All-India War Fund Football Tournament on February 9 defeating the R.A.F. Golden Rock Reds by one goal to nil.

### "LIVING BOMBS" IN PACIFIC

A German News Agency message from Japan says that the Japanese are using "human V's"—air torpedos with a pilot against the American Fleet in the Philippines

The Agency's correspondent described the new weapon as "a kind of V with a pilot" and said that it had only enough petrol for a flight to attack. "There is no fight back. These pilots try to hit the side of a ship. These death pilots have been trained for two to three years."

### PLASTIC TREATMENT FOR CLOTH FIBRES

The Monsanto Chemical Laboratories have announced the development of a process called "res looming," whereby individual fibres of fabrics are impregnated with a plastic that resists heat, water and most chemicals. Woollens thus treated do not run and trousers retain their creases. The fabrics are sponged with one of several chemicals lumped under the heading of "systons"—made of highly purified quartz (silicon dioxide) in water.

### MODERN METHOD OF DEHYDRATION

Dr B C Guha and Dr M L Khanna who left for UK last September to investigate modern methods of dehydration have completed their work and will be shortly leaving for U S A to study fruit and the quick freeze process.

Competent observers are of the opinion that low temperature treatment of fruit is the real line of future advance in India. The quick freeze process, therefore, is likely to occupy a prominent place in post war conditions.

### LONDON D SC FOR INDIAN BIO CHEMIST

The University of London has conferred the degree of Doctor of Science (D.Sc.) on Dr C N Acharya, Chief Bio Chemist to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, for his investigations in the field of biological decomposition of organic materials, with special reference to the preparation of farm and town composts.

### UDAY SHANKAR'S KALPANA

It looks as though Uday Shankar has made up his mind to shoot his picture *Kalpana* at Gemini Studios Madras. The world famous dancer during his recent visit to Madras, is said to have marvelled at Mr S S Vasani's movieland and at the innumerable facilities afforded there to producers.

Report has it that Mr Vasani is also examining the possibility of bringing out Hindi pictures for an all-India market.

### BRITISH WHITE PAPER TO BE FILMED

The British Government's White Paper on Britain's war effort is to be made into a 50 minute show by the Ministry of Information and shown all over the world.

It will be a mixture of animated cartoons and snatches from newsreels and will contain many shots, such as jet planes, until now banned on security grounds.

### RAMNIC'S MUSICAL HIT

*Kiran*, Ramnic's romantic musical, features the screen's popular romantic team, Ashok Kumar and Leela Chitnis. Melodious music is claimed to be one of the highlights of the picture, which was directed by Jagirdar.

### THE COSTLIEST PICTURE

"Frenchmen's Creek" is planned by Paramount as the costliest picture ever to come out of a Hollywood studio. This screen version of the Du Maurier novel is estimated to cost 4 000 000 dollars (approximately £1 000 000), a shade more than the great "Gone with the Wind."

### POLT NARENDRA'S LYRICS

One of the highlights of Bombay Talkies' *Jwar Bhata*, under production is Poet Narendra's lyrics, appropriately set to music. This popular Hindi poet is known to have composed a number of poems which have an appeal of their own and charmed many.



## INDIAN MOTOR CARS

A small group of Nuffield key-technicians who are coming to Calcutta to assist Birla's Hindustan Motors, are experts in latest mass-production methods.

In an interview with *Globe* an official of the Nuffield organisation tended to deprecate press suggestions, that Indian motor-cars would soon be rolling off the assembly line.

"Our key men are going to prepare for such a contingency, but everything depends upon Governmental control and the amount of material which can be exported from the United Kingdom under licence," he said. "If the war goes well one can expect to see the 'Hindustan 10' within a short period, but if the war lags, so will production in Calcutta.

"Eventual developments will be something tremendous. With many new major roads already in being, the Indian market offers great potentialities," he added.

## MOTOR INDUSTRY FOR INDIA

The *Glasgow Herald*, commenting editorially on the arrangement between the Nuffield Organisation and Birla Brothers by which Indian industry will undertake production of cars and trucks on a large scale, says: "We are learning slowly and somewhat painfully a new technique, for mixing humanity with commerce, and India provides a singular testing ground.

"The relationship between India's physical and political problems is capable of exaggeration; yet, it is clear that the road towards Dominion Status is hard, so long as the country overpopulated by any standard which can be applied, is dependent on primitive or almost entirely agricultural economy. No matter what fresh difficulties appear to complicate the situation, between this date and total victory, there must be a vigorous attempt to raise the standard of life for the multitude and that implies a move towards a semi-mechanised society."

## INDO-BRITISH AIR LINES SURVEY

Preparations are now being made by the British Airways Corporation for a survey of air passage requirements of the commercial community in India to and from the United Kingdom during the immediate post-war period.

The survey, which will include other classes of potential passenger traffic, is being undertaken in collaboration with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. On its results, it is stated, will depend largely not only the successful planning of the services, and their frequency but also the prompt procurement of aircraft required for the purpose and permission to utilise them for civilian traffic.

The provision of air services, it is further stated, will in the case of many firms and companies, go a long way towards affording a partial solution of the post-war "home leave" problems which have to be faced.

## LONGEST AIR ROUTE

R. A. F. Transport Command recently opened the longest air route in the world and has made its net work of air communications world-wide.

It is a military air service between Canada and Australia through New Zealand, with connections from Great Britain and the East.

From Montreal passengers, war freight and official mail are delivered in Sydney in approximately four days while from Great Britain and Cairo, for instance, the travelling time is five and six days respectively. The distance from Montreal is 11,520 miles and the route is via San Francisco, Honolulu, Canton Island, Auckland and Sydney.

The service was inaugurated by the famous Liberator transport named "Commando" from a mission it once flew with Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten when he was in charge of the Commandos. This machine has flown more than 400,000 miles during the war, including flights to all the big international meetings. It took Mr Churchill twice to Moscow, including his last visit.

## THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY

An optimistic view of the future of the Indian cotton industry, especially in the immediate post war years is taken by *The Financial Times*. There are large arrears of unsatisfied civilian demand on it and current demand after the war will also be heavy. No piecegoods imports can be expected from Japan or from devastated Europe. If India, therefore, wants to import piecegoods they can come only from Lancashire or the United States. It is probable that such imports will be needed for, if internal demand continues at the pre war and current annual rate, the Indian industry may not be able to export even at the present rationed figure of 600 000 000 yards. If plans to increase India's industrialisation radically improve her agriculture, raise the standard of living of the agricultural population and expand the national income are effective, the paper continues, the expansion in India's home market for cotton cloth should be vast.

## TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE FOR INDIA

The United Press understands that the Government of India is appointing a committee to consider the establishment of high grade technological institute in India somewhat on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The committee, which may be presided over by Mr Sarkar, will constitute of men interested in business and in applied science and technological education.

## FUTURE OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES

"I am in a position to give an unrestricted and unqualified assurance that Indian industries would get adequate protection against foreign competition and foreign dumping," said Sir Ardesbir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development Government of India, replying to the speech delivered by Seth Gopaldas Motha, President of the C P and Berar Chamber of Commerce, at the "at home" given in his honour at Nagpur on January 18.

## SOIL EROSION

Soil erosion is possibly the worst menace to the agricultural prosperity of any country. Nature spares no nation that thoughtlessly commits 'rape' on the soil. The United States of America is an instance in point. Every year floods devastate that country, destroy crops and vegetation and sap away the fertility of the soil. It is because the Americans have cleared most of the forests that fed the soil of the land and acted as a great reservoir of the rain water.

In his informative pamphlet entitled *Soil Erosion* (Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay Price Rs 6) Sir Harold Glover suggests various measures to strike at the root causes of erosion. The urgency of the task would become apparent when it is considered that the productivity of half the cultivated area (total 330 million acres) of our country is being seriously lowered on account soil erosion.

## VALUE OF RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURE

The *Spectator*, commenting on Prof Hill's report on scientific research in India, stresses the importance of wide extension of scientific research in India itself and says that in no field is that more necessary than agriculture which must long, probably always, remain India's staple industry. "To convey the fruits of scientific research to the ryot," adds the *Spectator*, 'is a formidable undertaking but it must be attempted and can no doubt be achieved. If in regard only to agriculture and medicine Prof Hill's recommendations were carried out, the effect on the physical well being of India would be far reaching.

And there are many other recommendations than these. To begin with, India will need some assistance from the West and it can and should be given and accepted without any kind of political implications. A country of men like Sir Jagadish Bose has its own contributions to make in the field of scientific research, but it may need to learn how to apply them.

### MR. M. K. BOSE'S PLEA FOR UNITY

Mr Mrinal Kantl Bose, the newly elected President of the All-India Trade Union Congress has issued the following statement to the Press

"We have just concluded the biggest session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Madras Founded in 1920 with a very small membership, it has reached its present dimension covering all India, including the States, with a membership of over five lakhs. The most important resolution of the session is the one dealing with the political situation. This resolution pledges the TUC to the effort at securing the independence of India. The TUC is now more or less a deliberative rather than an executive body. I have no doubt that at no distant future it will develop, as the National Congress has done, into a fighting machine in the hands of the working class. The workers have, therefore, to be trained in discipline, organisation and sacrifice. This is only possible if the various groups in the TUC develop a greater spirit of comradeship. I would also suggest for the consideration of TUC unions the desirability of passing only resolutions of general interest leaving the provincial organisations to deal with matters which can only be dealt with by the Provincial Governments."

### U. S. LABOUR LEADER'S CALL

Mr. R. J. Thomas, Vice-President of the Congress of Industrial Organisation of America, said at the World Trade Union Conference in London on February 11 that they must have consideration for the position of workers in China, India and other countries. They were not trying to exploit the workers of those countries.

He added, "We must help them to help themselves, so that they are in a position to buy our manufactured goods and we are in a position to buy theirs. That is the only way peace can be organised throughout the world on a sound basis."

### NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The first meeting of the Advisory Board of Archaeology, which met at New Delhi on February 3, recommended that a Committee be set up to consider the establishment of an Indian National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology.

The Board stressed the need of establishing closer cultural contact with Iran, China and other adjacent countries. One way of doing this, according to the Board, was to set up wings for each country in the proposed Indian National Museum. They should also exchange professors and students with these countries from time to time.

The Board recommended that Government should provide necessary funds and facilities for resuming the publications of the Department. It further advised the starting of a periodical bulletin that would chronicle the activities of the Department and describe the "new finds" and current work.

Another recommendation was that the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act should be amended to empower the Central Government to deal more effectively with the protection of ancient archaeological sites and monuments.

### COST OF FOREIGN MISSIONS TO INDIA

Enquires made by the United Press indicate that a sum of about Rs. 8,50,000 has been spent from the Indian Exchequer to meet the expenses of the 13 foreign Missions that have visited India since the commencement of the war, the few individuals who were invited to visit India and the 13 experts called out in this country. The above figure does not include the expenses that the Indian Revenue had to bear on account of the various military Missions and military experts that visited India.

### SAGOTRA MARRIAGES

The five hundred scientists who attended the Indian Science Congress at Nagpur have unanimously arrived at the decision that Sagotra marriages among Hindus are not harmful biologically.

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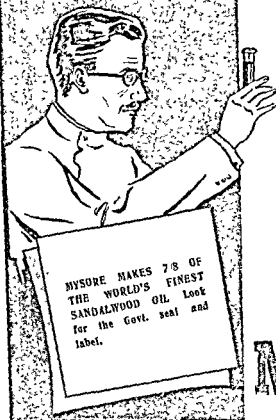
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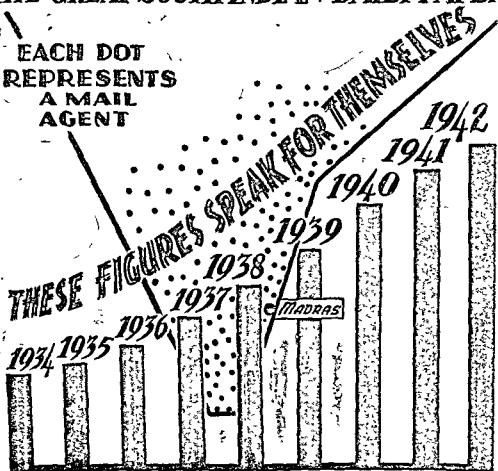


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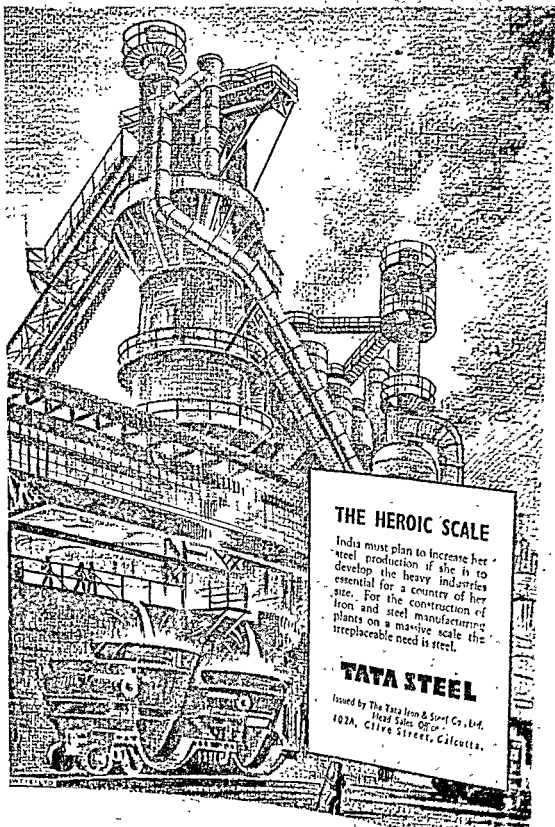
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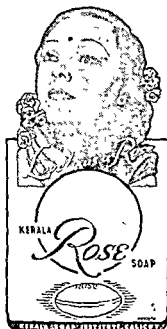
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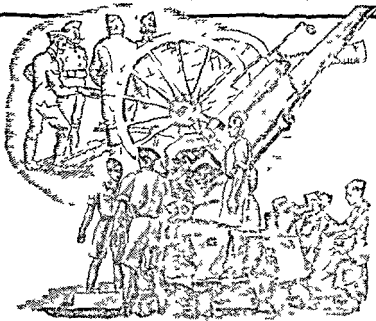
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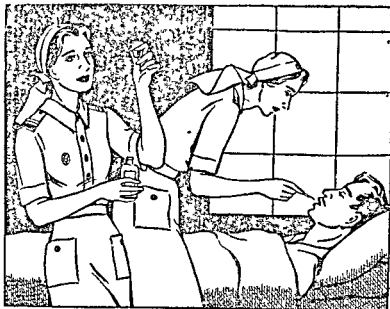
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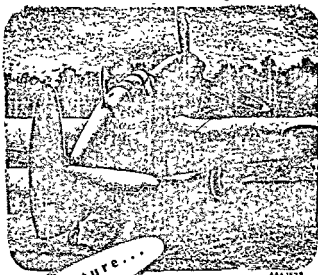
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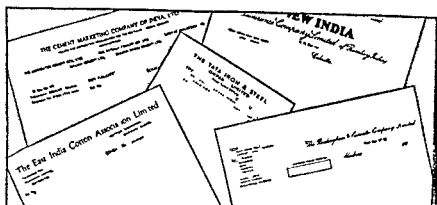
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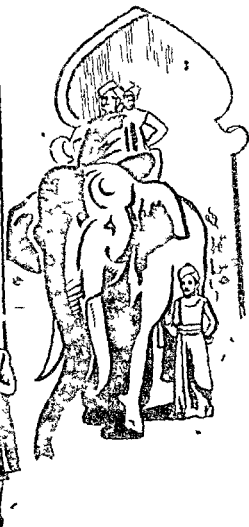
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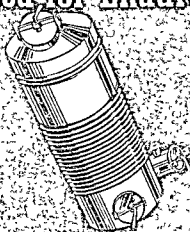
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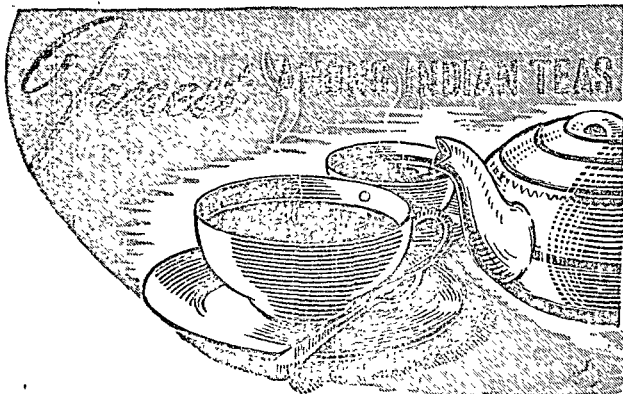
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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## ORIGINS OF EMPIRE

BY PROF K A NILAKANTA SASTRI, M A

(University of Madras)

THERE is a common Indian adage which forbids the drawing of the veil that hides the origins of sages,—and rivers, and some would add to the list of things wisely left obscure the origins of empires as well. But the present generation is faced with a crisis in civilization and all human institutions, social economic and political, have to face the consequences of a searching enquiry of *quo warranto*. In the good sized volume before us,\* the first part of a comprehensive work on the early constitutional history of India under British rule, Mr D N Banerjee of Dacca has focussed the light issuing from many sources on the beginnings of territorial administration apart from trade, under the East India Company in Bengal. The story has long been fairly well known in its outline, and many of the documents used in this volume have been published in one way and another. But there is much source material in the book that is altogether new, particularly on the position of the Nawab of Bengal *vis à vis* the East India Company and in regard to the early administrative and judicial system of the

Company in Bengal. The value of the work lies in its being the first comprehensive and systematic survey of the entire administration by a competent Indian scholar who has wisely followed the rule of laying before his readers *in extenso* the most significant part of the evidence on each of the topics he has successively taken up for study.

In a long introductory chapter the author describes the posture of affairs in Bengal after the grant of the Diwani to the Company in 1765 demonstrates the impotence of the Nawab for promoting the good of his subjects or resisting their oppression by the servants of the Company which had reduced him virtually to the position of a pensioner, and sketches the constitution and organisation of the Company in England in its two courts of Proprietors and of Directors, as well as of the Committees by which the Court of Directors maintained their supervision and control of Indian trade and politics. The cool effrontery with which the Company's servants claimed and exercised powers that they never acquired in any lawful manner, and the pusillanimity of the Nabob which acquiesced in and thus promoted all the arrogations are clearly traced

\* Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal Vol I 1851-74 by D N Banerjee Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., pp xii, 720 Price Rs 15

step by step from the documents; and the process had begun and made some way before the diwani was granted by the Mughal Emperor in August, 1763. Nawab Mir Jaffer died on the 5th February, 1765 and his eldest son Nazm-ud-Dowlah, who had been acting for the Nawab for some days during his last illness, installed himself on the vacant *gaddi*. The resident at the darbar in Murshidabad, Mr Samuel Middleton, reported to the Council at Calcutta with becoming promptness the illness of the Nawab, the choice of his son by the Nawab to act for him and to succeed him "in case of an accident to himself," and later, the death and the accession, together with the friendly assurances given to the Company by the new Nawab. But this did not satisfy the Company's agents in Calcutta who were not going to allow anything to happen without their orders. So they wrote to Middleton on the 8th February stating their general intent to support the family of Mir Jaffer and that time was needed to make up their minds on the "many arrangements" necessary; meanwhile the resident was to "signify our orders" that officers of the late government were to keep their places and carry on in the usual manner; later after deciding all points that needed consideration, "a Committee of the Board will be appointed to seat the successor on the Masnad in a proper and public manner that he as well as the whole country may see that he receives his Government from the Company". Having thus arrogated to themselves the right of investiture over the Nawabi, they proceeded to tighten their hold still further by resolving on the 14th February that Nazm-ud-Dowlah "shall be

given to understand he shall make no application for Sannads (from the Emperor) but through us". They also prepared the draft of a treaty which according to one member of the Council, Mr. Gray, was "clogged with articles" which left the Nawab "only the Name without any part of the Power"; and was not such as could be offered "to one connected with us by ties of Friendship, and not subjected to us by conquest". Mr. Gray did not see that Resolutions and Treaties were to be the main instruments for effecting the conquest of India! The reasoning with which the majority of the Council traversed the opinions of Gray form a very illuminating section of the ethics and politics of British Indian imperialism and must be read in the original.

The motives which influenced the Company's agents in the choice of a nincompoop for Nawab and in the perfecting of his dependency on them from the outset have been exposed with disarming candour by Clive in one of his letters to the Court written soon after his acceptance of the Diwani from the Mughal Emperor. The Company, he argued, had no reason to expect "the princes of Indostan" to be ever attached to it by any motive other than Fear. Mir Jaffer, Mir Kasim and the Nawab of Arcot had afforded "instances sufficient of their inclination to throw off the English superiority". Even Nazm-ud-Dowla "who has little abilities, and less education to supply the want of them; mean, weak and ignorant, as this man is, he would, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, pursue the very paths of his predecessors. It is impossible therefore to trust him with power, and be safe.

If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army and receipt of the revenues must be kept in your hands. Every wish he may express to obtain either, be assured, is an indication of his desire to reduce you to your original state of dependency, to which you can never return, without ceasing to exist. If you allow the Nabob to have forces, he will soon raise money, if you allow him a full treasury without forces, he will certainly make use of it to invite the Mahrattas, or other Powers, to invade the country upon a supposition that we shall not suspect the part he takes and that success will restore him to the full extent of his sovereignty. No one could require a more complete avowal of the origin of empire in the self-interest of the Englishman coupled with the utmost distrust of the Indian, qualities inherent in such an origin are too deep rooted to disappear altogether, and their relics play no mean part in the creation of the Indian tangle of to day and the delay in its straightening out.

Within a few months of the acquisition of the Diwani, Lord Clive wrote to the Court in November, 1765 "I can now with the greatest pleasure inform you that the state of the treasury is such and the revenues of the country since the acquisition of the Dewannee have flowed in so fast that we shall not through necessity draw upon you for a rupee although we have determined to send £ 300 000 this year to China." Mr Banerjee shows from the records that in the six years from 1765 to 1771 the total wealth taken away from Bengal in the form of bullion and commodities was little short of six million £,

and the consequences of the deliberate impoverishment of the province soon declared themselves in unmistakable terms. The rapid decay in the condition of the Province is thus pictured by a good hearted English administrator of the time, who was among the few exceptions that go to prove the rule. "It must give pain to an Englishman", he says, in 1769,

to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewannee the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before, and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted, and I believe has proceeded from the following causes—the mode of providing the Company's investment (from territorial revenue), the exportation of specie instead of importing large sums annually the strictness that has been observed in the collections (of revenues) the endeavours of all concerned to gain credit by an increase of revenue during the time of their being in station, without sufficiently attending to what future consequences might be expected from such a measure, the errors that subsist in the manner of making the collections, particularly by the employment of Amildars (tax farmers). These appear to me the principal causes why this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the administration.

This is a record which leaves the worst abuses of the Roman Provincial system far behind, and the detailed study that this book offers of the selfishness and corruption that pervaded the system and most of the men who worked it furnishes the background against which must be viewed the severe strictures of Ghulam Husain in his *Sehr ul Mutakherin* against the English government in India in his time, or the grim earnestness of Burke and his associates who conducted the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which was the arraignment not so much of an individual as of the whole system in which he had grown and which, with all his unrivalled knowledge of its working, he had not done nearly enough to purify and reform.



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The last chapter (IX) is called "Some basic principles of the early administrative system of the Company"; but the topics dealt with in the chapter fall far short of the expectations raised by the title. For in this relatively short chapter Mr. Banerjee only lays stress on the subordination of the Military to Civil authorities, a topic he has dealt with in some detail earlier in the work, and the practice of mutual help and co-operation among the presidencies which though co-ordinate in their powers and independent of one another in policy and administration in this period, were still driven by force of practical necessity to go to one another's aid on critical occasions. One other "principle" laid down by the Court of Directors is to be noted particularly as symptomatic of the Company's awareness that there was little love lost between them and the "natives", that principle the Directors enunciated in 1770 in the following terms:

As it is very essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible both of the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns, and therefore direct that in future four European artillery men be constantly attached to the service of the two guns which belong to each battalion of sepoys and that no native be trusted with any part of this important service, unless necessity should require it.

But there were not enough Europeans available to give effect to this direction, and necessity did require the employment of lascars or sepoys for assistance in the artillery section of the army. The President and Council of Fort William were, however, equal to the occasion and pointed out to the Court the way of seeming to trust the native with the artillery without doing so in reality. They said;

The two Europeans now attached to the guns of the sepoy battalions are employed in serving the vent and pointing the gun which being what requires the greater caution and the essential part that constitutes as good manner are two circumstances, which the natives will have no opportunity of learning.

Who can deny that similar views still have an unduly large share in shaping policy with regard to "Indian defence"?

The intervening chapters give a detailed account of the machinery of government in Bengal and the many improvisations necessitated by time and circumstance, and the narrative is throughout very well documented. The governor and his relations to the Council and the country powers, the working of the Council and its Committees, the disputes among the Councillors and between the Select Committee and the Council, and between the Civil and Military authorities, the Civil Service—its recruitment and emoluments, and the personal conduct of its members in lending money, engaging in trade, buying land, writing about official matters in private letters to England are among the principal topics reviewed here. The chapters VII and VIII on the judiciary are seen to be the best part of this bad record, and the relative purity and efficiency of the Judiciary is an agreeable contrast to the performance of the other branches of the Company's government in those days. And the extent to which the servants of the Company abused their privileges of private trade has a poignant interest even now to the unfortunate province of Bengal where the old evils seem to have come up again in a new avatar. The Court of Directors wrote once: "a monopoly of the necessities of life in any hands whatever, more especially in the hands of the English who are possessed of such an overruling influence" was liable "to the greatest abuses". This was in 1766; the Bengal famine of 1943 is also largely man-made, though the facts that led up to it could not be had now, or perhaps ever.

# MAHATMA GANDHI

BY MR M S ANEY

*Agent General to the Government of India in Ceylon*

THE whole of India offered their sincere prayers to the Almighty on the 2nd of October last and wished Mahatma Gandhi long life. He finished his 75th year on that day and entered on the 76th. There were some very big men from different parts of the civilised world also who joined with the Indians in offering their felicitations to Mahatmaji on the auspicious occasion.

It may be asked what is the thing in Mahatma Gandhi which makes such a powerful appeal to the people and commands their respect and reverential admiration. Certainly he is not a very great scholar who has made any contribution to the literature or added to the stock of human knowledge by any scientific research. He is also not a very eloquent speaker. He is not a mystic who shows himself possessed of miraculous powers. He is not even a philosopher who deals with the fundamental problems of life and death and man's relation to God and the divine purpose behind the creation. On a dispassionate consideration I feel that Mahatma Gandhi's popularity is not due to any hypnotic spell of his words. There is nothing mysterious about him and his life although some of his moves may not be intelligible to many. His life is an open book for all to read. He himself has written his autobiography styling it as 'My Experiments with Truth'. He considers his life as a series of experiments on his part in quest of Truth and therefore he is merciless in his self-inspection. He makes throughout his life a most

conscientious attempt to adhere to what he regards as Truth. No sacrifice is deemed by him too much if it be needed to vindicate his loyalty to his fundamental principles.

I am inclined to feel that his popularity depends on three things: he is the simplest man, the bravest man and the most selfless man.

He will be held up in the world as an embodiment of plain living and high thinking. This habit of his enables him to be in the closest contact with the poorest people, with men and women who live in the slums of the town and in the insanitary villages scattered all over the country. They are instinctively drawn to him because there is nothing about him of the artificial glamour that separates the educated or the so-called enlightened man from the simple villager of India. They see in his activities every day indisputable and unmistakable proofs of his deep and abiding sympathies for them and they are drawn to him.

The second quality I have mentioned above as one of the grounds of his extraordinary popularity is that he is a brave man. This might look somewhat paradoxical because he is known as one of the greatest votaries of non-violence. Bravery has always been associated in history from times immemorial with violence. But still it will be quite obvious to anybody who has come in personal contact with him or carefully studied his life that there is hardly a man who is more fearless and more daring than he is. In vindication of Truth

he is always prepared to risk anything and everything because he has identified himself completely with service of truth. Whenever he finds that there is an inroad on the domain of Truth he is prepared to stand up and tell the wrong doer that he shall not submit and he will tell the people also not to submit. The striking feature of his bravery is that he fights by submitting himself to suffering as he hopes that a suffering endured by man cheerfully at the hand of the oppressor will surely bring about a change for the better in the mind of the oppressor himself. That result may not come off immediately. It may take its own time. But a change brought about in this way is more permanent than any favourable result which a man may expect to achieve by inflicting on the opponent or oppressor a defeat by physical force. He is engaged in proving the efficacy of this weapon of suffering which he calls Ahimsa. This weapon does not demand mere capacity for suffering but a still higher quality, namely, love for the tyrant and no hatred towards the wrong doer. That submission to the suffering must be voluntary, cheerful and in all humility.

His fasts have generally been a kind of appeal to the God of Truth to enlighten some erring soul whether of an individual or of a corporation as to the path it should follow in the discharge of its duties towards others. Sometimes they were undertaken as penitential remedies for wrong willingly or unwillingly done by himself or his followers. They were observed at times for self-purification. He will probably go down to posterity as the pioneer of a band of non-violent soldiers who intend to carry

on a bloodless war against wrong done to humanity. People may have strong misgivings about the possibility of the expansion of this army to such an extent at any time in future as to attain sufficient strength to rid the world of the curse of large defence forces equipped with all kinds of deadly weapons to maintain peace and help orderly progress of mankind. But there is no doubt that he has this vision of the future and he sincerely believes in it.

Lastly his services demand no return for himself. He renders them because it is his duty to render them and not intended to secure even a grateful appreciation by way of return from those who are served or benefitted. He has practised and literally acted up to the doctrine of Renunciation by imposing upon himself and others who follow him an obligation of being without property. He also wants his followers to live a simple life and reduce their wants to the barest necessities of life. Luxury of any kind is prohibited. He regards simplicity as the essence of beauty. His life stands to the world as an embodiment of some of the great principles which I have touched above. Mahatma Gandhi stands unrivalled on account of his sublimity of thought, humility of spirit and magnanimity of heart.

I join my voice with the rest of my countrymen and his admirers all over the world in imploring Almighty to grant him a long and healthy life and all facilities to make the mission of his life a success.

# ANCIENT BRAHMINS

By DR BIMALA CHURN LAW, MA, BT, PHD, DLitt, FRASB

In the 6th century BC, there were five types of Brahmins in the Indo Aryan Society (1) those resembling the Brahma (Creator), (2) those resembling the gods, (3) those respecting their ancient tradition, (4) those disregarding their ancient tradition, and (5) those leading a vulgar life. In the first category are included the Brahmins of high and pure birth through seven generations on both the father's and the mother's side, who after leading the life of a Brahma chari\* and completely studying the four Vedas with all the auxiliary works, adopted the profession of teachers depending for their livelihood only on alms and thereafter gave up the worldly life to live the life of lonely meditation and holy communion. In the second category are placed those Brahmins who differed from the former only in one respect, namely, that in the second stage of life they took up the position of married householders and as such they married girls only from their own classes. They met their wives in proper time only for the purpose of procreation. Otherwise they lived a life of moral rectitude. In the third category are included those Brahmins who differed from those of the second class only in one respect, namely, that they did not renounce the worldly life in the third stage of life but continued to live a household life strictly adhering to their ancient tradition. In the fourth category are placed those Brahmins who differed from those of the third class only in this respect that they married girls from all social grades and indulged in sexual

intercourse for the purpose of procreation. In the fifth or last category we find those Brahmins who differed from those of the fourth class only in this respect that besides marrying girls from all social grades, they adopted with impurity all manner of pursuits, agriculture, trade, cattle breeding, fighting as soldiers, Government service, and the rest as a means of livelihood.

The second classification of Brahmins is interesting as it presents two sides of the picture in contrast on one side, supreme worth, moral elevation, intellectual perfection and spiritual fervour and on the other, worthlessness, moral degradation, dullness and worldly mindedness.

The study of the Vedas with all the auxiliary sciences and arts, the teaching of the Vedas along with all sciences and arts useful to the state and to the people at large, and the office of a priest appertaining to the religious part of all social ceremonies constituted the sole occupation of the Brahmins.

The early Jain and Buddhist books place the Brahmins either in the usual social environments or in the hermitages. In the first connection they are introduced either as those who were in the service of the king or as those who had followed different professions of their own. In the second connection they are introduced as those who went out of the social environments and lived the life of hermits or sages in forest homes called *Asramas* with or without their families and resident pupils. Of those in the service of the king the most important was the *Purohita* (priest). The next

\* Practising sacred study as an unmarried student observing chastity

to him in importance were the councillors and ministers. The sacrificers, and others are no better than assistants in the office of the priest. Partly in connection with the king they held the position of heads of Vedic institutions. They were occasionally employed as ambassadors. They also filled the office of generals and soldiers, chariot-drivers, trainers of elephants, legal experts and judges. To the people in general they rendered services, as priests, as physicians and druggists, as astronomers and architects, as ballad reciters and match-makers. They pursued various other vocations of life as well in their own independent capacities as private citizens. The economic position of the Brahmins as a class could not but be poor as they were wholly dependent on an uncertain income from fees, gifts and alms.

The *Purohita* occupied a peculiar position in the court. Though in the service of the king, he was not counted among the king's officers. But he was partly entrusted with official functions and surpassed the royal officers in many respects in importance and influence. As house priest of the king, he advised him in secular and spiritual matters. He acted as the preceptor and the sacrificial priest. He used to invoke the favour of the gods on behalf of the king or his family. He performed the sacrifice with the help of the other Brahmins to guard against misfortunes suggested through bad dreams or through some unusual natural phenomena. He was expected to be able to predict the result of all the important undertakings on the part of the king by means of signs or constellations of stars. He was preferably

appointed from among the teachers, play-mates, comrades or class-fellows of the king, so that he might be always trusted and relied upon as the best friend in weal and woe. One of his duties was to protect the king's treasures. Sometimes he had to replace the general in the matter of judicial duties.

The office of the *Purohita* was not necessarily hereditary, although we find instances where it was held by the same family for generations. His main source of income was the fees and gifts received from the kings on all festive occasions and at the time of sacrifices. The gifts included land, endowments, women, maidens, slaves (male and female) and live-stocks.

The Brahmins acted as councillors and ministers in ancient monarchies. They were rich and influential by virtue of the office held by them. The strength and efficiency of administration largely depended on their honesty and capability. They were great diplomats and specialists in the rules of royal polity. Under the supervision of the two able Brahmin ministers of a powerful Magadhan king, the village of Pataligrama was fortified and the city of Pataliputra was built. The strong unity of a powerful republican confederacy was broken by the tactful machination of a Brahmin minister. Chanakya under whose guidance Chandragupta was able to found the powerful Maurya Empire in India, belonged to this official rank.

A son of the priest of the king of Benares by a Brahmin wife who was noted for his skill in archery was appointed

Commander in Chief He displayed his wonderful skill by defeating 500 archers in an open contest and his daily pay was therefore increased immensely A Brahmin of the Bharadvaja clan was a rich agriculturist Five hundred ploughs were needed to cultivate the fields owned by him There was a poor Brahmin farmer who himself ploughed his field and whose son was a menial in a royal court There are many other instances in which we find that the Brahmin farmers drove the ploughs with their own hands A wealthy Brahmin carried on trade between the East end and West end of India, transporting his goods in 500 wagons There were ordinary Brahmin tradesmen and hawkers who roamed about in the country to sell their wares A Brahmin carpenter collected wood from the forest and made wagons for sale A Brahmin youth earned his livelihood by selling the hunted beasts The reason seems to be purely economical

The Brahmins in ancient times became rich and powerful only because of certain permanent land grants and endowments made by the kings The localities, full

of life and covered with much grassy land, woodland and corn fields around Northern India, were dotted over with such Brahmin villages The rich Brahmins had a control over them as regards their revenue and the judicial and the civil administration

The Brahmins claimed two privileges for them, viz., unmolestibility and immunity from execution They were not required to pay rents so far as the land endowments were concerned The Buddhist texts do not lend any support to the privileged position enjoyed by them in the eye of the law It is distinctly stated that a criminal, whether a Brahmin or not, was liable to execution The early Buddhist and Jain texts do not contain any reference to the Brahmins discharging worldly duties along with sacerdotal functions The *Uddaca Brahmins* in Buddha's time were either those belonging to Kuru Pancala or those claiming descent from them They occupied pre eminent position among the Brahmins as a class The position of the Brahmins gradually improved and in the Aranyaka period their views were quoted with respect

## India's Heritage of Art & Its Modern Neglect

BY MR T H SOMERVELL, FRCS

WHEN we start thinking about art—Indian art or anyone else's art—we are tempted to think of it as a mere luxury, a non essential, one of the trimmings of life rather than the material of which life is made

But I am sure that such a view is entirely wrong Art is one of the essentials of life,

without it life is dull, ordinary, incomplete In our life of to day, when the material world seems so real, and material progress so important, we must remind ourselves that the philosophers who called the material world *Maya*, unreal were quite right This real, visible, hard world with which we have to deal is not real at all—it, all of it, is



destructible. Our own part of the world—the bodies in which we live—are only going to last for a few years, and then be destroyed. It is only the world of the spirit, where ideals, character, truth, love, courage exist, that nothing can destroy. And one of the things in that eternal and permanent and real world is Beauty. Over 2,000 years ago the Greek philosopher Plato laid down what are still recognised as the three Values of life—Truth, Beauty and Goodness. These are things which science cannot measure, but which exist in their own right as the three great characteristics of the spiritual world.

One of the things which Plato said about Truth, Beauty and Goodness, is that we can't live without them. Nietzsche, a more cynical philosopher than Plato, put it still more strongly by saying that the only thing that makes life and the world even justifiable is the beauty in them. If a man is not truthful, you can't trust him, and (as we say in England) "you don't know where you are" with him. If the life of a nation is bad (that is to say, is lived without truth or goodness being honoured), you get the sort of situation in which Germany is, and has been for the last few years—a miserable and in the end unworkable kind of life. And although it is possible to live all your life in an ugly house, in an ugly town, with ugly people and bad people all around you, yet that is not the kind of life God wants men to live; it is never a really happy life.

We hear a lot of talk nowadays of industrial and other *material* reforms. But we must keep our life balanced and reforms in the material world only are not going to

make us happier, or better, in the long run, or to solve our post-war problem. So beauty is really a necessary thing for a happy and full life. Nature is full of beauty. We have only got to look around us at flowers and mountains and trees and clouds to see that. If we go back many years, or if we go into old towns and old buildings, or if we go into unspoiled and remote villages, we will see far more beauty than we usually see in our modern towns. I am going to quote now a few lines from a book written many years ago by a great friend of India.

"The old Indian life was a life full of beauty. Even now, out in the villages, life is beautiful. The garments of men and women alike are graceful, flowing, often exquisite in colour. . . . If you see an Indian peasant woman working in the fields she is a picture to paint, for the grace of her drapery, for the beauty of the colours that she wears; and if you see her going to the village well to draw water, she will carry on her head some vessel, it may be of beaten bronze or copper, it may be of clay, it will always be beautiful in form and colour. Nowadays, since European civilisation has spread its power through India, things are changing; aniline dyes are replacing vegetable dyes; kerosene oil tins are replacing the exquisite vessels of the older days. In the old days in a village, when there was a wedding, every house contributed some of its beautiful vessels for the village festival; but now those have been cast aside, and miserable tin vessels (made in Japan) take their place. It is only a small thing, you may say, I assure you it is a very great thing,—for Nature is beautiful

everywhere, and contact with her beautifies the human face and form and mind—the killing out of that sense of beauty which grows out of the mountains and the rivers, and the meadows and the forest, that is a national loss, and spells national decay.”

Mrs Besant wrote that in 1909, 35 years ago, and it is even more true to day than when she wrote it. Go into an old world Nair house in Travancore, and you will find a great deal of beauty, especially in the country houses, where the beautiful lines of the roof, the fine proportions of the building, and the exquisite workmanship of the ends of the rafters and the frame of the door are combined with the graceful curves of the stems and leaves of coconut palms. This is part of our heritage of art in Travancore. So are the old temples, especially the really Travancorean ones such as the Adi Kesava temple at Tiruvattar.

The beauty of these old houses lies chiefly in two things, first, that they are fitted for their job. The roof is well adapted to keep out the heavy rain, the well carpentered rafters with their accurately fitting joints and mortises will not creak or shift when the strong winds blow, so the house will last for many, many years. The chest where paddy is kept will not let a grain of rice out, nor let the smallest mouse in.

The second thing that makes that house beautiful is that every workman who made it had a pride and joy in his craft. He did his work well because he was proud of being a good carpenter. That is Art for Art's sake. In the same way the pots and cooking vessels whether of brass or copper or of simple pottery, are

beautiful because they are right—they are made for a certain purpose, and are adapted for that purpose.

Now come with me to a tenement building in Bombay, built perhaps fifty years ago. Ugly, overcrowded, dirty, monotonous with every room in it exactly like every other room, with rickety verandahs and creaking doors. Here is no sign of workmanship done for its own sake, but of quick and shoddy building put up rapidly and cheaply to give the workers' families the minimum of room to live in at the lowest possible price. Standing on the rickety verandah, if we can do so safely, we look across the street at an exactly similar building, equally ugly, dirty, and overcrowded. Life for the people in those buildings can never be a full and happy life, for life is poor where there is ugliness, and grows more common and dull and ordinary in the absence of beauty.

What is the secret of the contrast between the old country house and the new workmen's dwelling? It is that one is built in a country steeped in its own philosophy and traditions, and in a form which has grown up along the centuries as part of the country itself. The other is the product of a material minded, money-making age, where the value of a life is the profit it can give to the shareholders of a company. Leave out God, and you will leave out beauty. The present war is going on because certain nations in the West, and one nation at least in the Far East, left God out of their politics, and founded their life and their ambitions on selfishness,

personal and national profit-making territorial expansion; in fact on material things alone. And could anything be more horrible and ugly, soul-destroying and productive of misery, than the present war? Yes, it could; any civilisation or national life founded on material things only, where God and the spiritual side of man's nature are left out, where truth, beauty, and goodness are cast aside in favour of expediency, profit-making, and selfishness; any life whether of men or of nations organised on such a basis will inevitably lead to misery, to ugliness, to war and to the destruction of men's souls, which is after all far more terrible than the destruction of their bodies.

All this means that it is not only our duty to ourselves but to our country and to the world that we should try to re-discover a new and beautiful Indian art in all sides of life in painting and sculpture, in buildings, in making pottery and brassware, in music, in culture. It can be done if we remember that art must be creative, not imitative.

A lot of harm has been done to art by imitation; but it is a very good thing for an artist to see what other artists are doing, not that he may imitate them, but that he may share in their vision and thereby increase and improve his own. Free circulation into different centres of the artistic products of other centres should be encouraged by those people who have vision, especially if they also have wealth or influence. We should be able to see what artists in other parts of India are doing. Pictures are the most portable forms of art, and exhibitions of them are far easier

to organise than exchange of sculptures, or of buildings, or even of music and dancing. At the time of His Highness' birthday we see in Trivandrum exhibitions of our own culture, old and new. Why not try to see other people's too, and to let other people see ours? I feel sure this could, and should be done after the war.

Travancore is particularly fortunate in having an artistic legacy from the past in Kathakali and its sister arts, such as Ottam Thullal, and the simple village Kallal (stick dance), in decorative art we have the mural paintings of Padmanabhapuram, and the carvings there and in some temples, and in thousands of old houses. The woodwork of Kerala is unequalled in any country in the world save perhaps China. We in Travancore as well as others all over India have the old things to *guide* us; to guide, not to copy, for in art, I believe, we should be creative. We have seen during the last four years in Trivandrum the way in which a creative artist dancing can take an old thing, get the best out of it, and develop it into new forms, partly borrowed from other countries, but largely original and therefore progressive, a true modern art. But apart from one or two artists, I fail to see his counterpart in the world of painting, or sculpture, or architecture, or music. Yet I believe there exist in Travancore many people who have got the ability to do creative, original advances in these other arts. Is it too much to hope that Travancore can lead India along these paths—can be in the forefront of a movement for a real, progressive, and truly beautiful modern art

and culture throughout his vast country with its wonderful heritage?

India has a vast heritage of art. Although the ravages of time, war, and wanton destructions of invaders, the eating away by whiteants and mould, have destroyed much that is priceless in our heritage of art, yet there is a good deal left in this vast country of India, a good deal that we to day can enjoy and admire.

During the last 23 years I have travelled the length and breadth of India, and seen many hundreds of the great buildings of the past, some in ruins, but many still magnificent and well preserved. I have seen some of the old pictures of India, and visited modern art schools to see what is being turned out there. I have always kept my eyes open for new buildings, to see how the Indian genius and style can be adapted to modern requirements and materials, and combined with modern trends in the world of architecture. And I have noticed that art is stagnant when it imitates, but that in all the different branches of art there are a few good, original and yet thoroughly Indian things being produced—but oh how few of them!

In all the many fine buildings of Bombay I saw only two or three—the best, the building now occupied by the Censor's Office—which were beautiful, and modern, and Indian, all three. But what a delight those few buildings gave! In Delhi there is a new temple built by the family of Birla who own a great commercial undertaking. It is quite unlike the old temples. Nothing in it is copied. Instead of statues and carving, it has plain polished

marble and pictures let in to the wall—pictures illustrating the old books—the songs of the Rig Veda and the Ramayana. Some of these pictures are poor stuff, but some are really beautiful things. Some parts of the temple are not quite beautiful and appear not quite suited to worship, and not quite Indian in design. But taking it, as a whole, this temple at Delhi is a thing of great interest, and is an important step towards the evolving of a new, yet typically Indian, sort of temple. In the years to come, that temple will be surpassed by others whose architects have been led aright by the beautiful parts of it, and have been taught to avoid or to alter the parts in it that are commonplace or ugly or unworthy of the very fine conception which its architects had. But it is a brave attempt, and far more Indian than the official Government buildings of New Delhi, fine buildings, but oh how British!

To come nearer home—how many of our newest buildings in Trivandrum are just copies of European ferro concrete buildings, entirely un-Indian, though not so ugly as the Victoria Jubilee Hall of 50 years ago. Surely that is one of the ugliest buildings in the world! It is indeed well named, entirely European in style, typical of the Victorian age, the age of the industrial West, and in the world of art one of the darkest ages that has yet been seen.

The new Legislative Assembly Hall is a fine building, but one would hardly describe it as Indian in style. It is simply an imitation of a good European building. Directly art starts imitating, it is finished, its inspiration is gone, and it

is time for it to look for new inspiration, or it will die.

No! Let us not imitate. There is a cry in some Indian artistic circles now—"Back to Ajanta". But however beautiful the pictures at Ajanta may be—and many of them are very fine indeed—we must not go back, not even to Ajanta. Art is only alive if it is progressing, like everything else in the spiritual sphere.

In some parts of India, notably in Chettinad, several interesting brand new temples have been built. They are beautiful, and Indian—but they are not art, for they are just copied from the old. They are beautiful because they are copied from fine temples, but art is a creative thing, and a copy is never creative, and therefore never art. A copy may be good handicraft, but that is all.

We have a fine heritage of music, but what are we in India doing with it now? We take a Carnatic ragam, and add to it an entirely unsuitable accompaniment, based on the cheapest and most debased music of the West, and lo! we have the modern cinema tune, neither Indian nor Western and certainly neither beautiful nor musical. The cinema has a grand opportunity to lead the way in the development of Indian music into a beautiful, up-to-date, yet truly Indian thing. But from the days of Chintamani onwards it has taken the wrong path through borrowing too much from the worst the West has produced, and not from the best, and in trying to combine two incompatible things; for when you harmonize Indian music it ceases to be Indian, and in the country of India it therefore may even cease to be art.

As Dr. Cousins recently said in a lecture on art, "A work of art is given its identity, i.e. its separate existence, by unity. A modernistic metal handle rivetted on a South Indian clay waterpot would turn the pot's exquisite unity of simple form into a mocking caricature". That is what the cinema is doing to the beautiful and simple tunes of Indian music. But a new and beautiful and modern and yet truly Indian music may yet come from the cinema. We must hope that this may be so.

Lastly—education. Here, in India, is art being taught properly? I am not an expert on teaching, but I am informed by an expert that the way drawing is taught in most of the schools here is 30 years out of date. Boys and girls are taught to draw largely from copies, from drawings and not from objects; to draw set things, not to exercise their own imagination; to draw in order to pass an examination, not in order to see beauty around them and to look out for beautiful things; not in order to possess the most fascinating and uplifting of all hobbies. Can we wonder that almost no students at all take Art as a subject at the University? They have never been taught at school to do anything original; all copy, copy.

When I paint a picture as I often do by the roadside, or in some village street, or in some field with a fine view, the boys of the village crowd around to see. And what do they say—what question do they ask? "Is that for an examination?", or "Is that for a competition?" "No" I say "I'm doing it because I enjoy doing it". The boys who have learnt drawing

at school to pass an examination simply don't understand that. And as long as art is taught in order to pass an examination or as long as painting or drawing is done simply in order to get money, it is not real art.

Art must be done for art's sake. The good workman is the one who finds joy in his work, the good artist is he who produces a good thing because he can't help doing

so. Let our art teaching be a thing that brings joy, interest, enthusiasm, and appreciation of the beautiful, to the children, and never mind about the examinations—they will be passed all right if the child rejoices in his work! And the foundations will then be laid for a generation of Indians who will produce a new beautiful and truly Indian art.

A talk broadcast from Trivandrum

## INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN INDIA

BY MR P C JAIN, M A, M SC (ECON) London,

*University of Allahabad*

INDIA'S industrial production, except only in few cases, has increased during the last five years. The Indian manufacturers, with the assistance of the Supply Department, have made a tremendous effort to remove many hurdles from their path. A number of basic materials such as acids, dyes, and tools had to be manufactured in India for the first time in order to sustain increased industrial production. There is no doubt that if we did not lack a machine manufacturing industry and, in consequence, did not suffer from shortages of coal, transport, and technical equipment, production could have expanded to much higher levels. India possesses such raw materials as iron ore, bauxite, raw cotton and jute, bamboo, and sugarcane in abundance and this combined to our hydro electric resources and man power would have permitted a much greater increase in industrial production. The shortage of skilled labour and backwardness of scientific and industrial research have to a certain extent been overcome and if

we did not suffer from other limiting factors they could not restrain our progress because as production expands labour is trained and industrial research is made easier, and developments in these would have accompanied further industrialization of this country.

SOME STATISTICS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

		1938-39	1942-43 (e)	Percentage increase or decrease
Cotton piece goods	million yds	4269	4842	+13.4
Jute goods	(000) tons	1222	938	-23.2
Paper	(000) cwt	1,134	1436	+21.3
Tea	million lbs	4.2	5.43	+20.2
Factory Sugar	(000) tons	940 (b)	1,216	+29.3
Matches	million gross boxes	21.06	14.83 (c)	-29.6
Cement	million tons	1.50 (d)	2.00 (d)	+37.3

(a) Provisional Source: Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India

(b) Figure is for 1937-38 as the output in 1938-39 amounted to a low figure of 0.65 million tons due to exceptional circumstances

(c) Figure relates to 1942-43. More recent statistics are not yet available

(d) Estimated figures

So far as information about production is concerned, the Indian industries at present can be divided into three classes. In the case of such industries as cotton and jute textiles, tea and sugar, regular statistics are published. In the second category we have such industries as iron and steel, coal, chemicals, and cement in which the publication of statistics has been discontinued but reliable, though approximate, estimates of production can be made. For such industries as munitions and armaments, which belong to the third category, even these rough estimates are not possible.

Due to the war, as is partially evident from the above table, the output of all industries except jute, matches, and coal has expanded. The production of cotton piece-goods in 1943-44 amounted to 4842 million yards which is nearly  $13\frac{1}{3}$  per cent higher than the pre-war output. The cotton textile industry also experienced shortages of coal, man-power, and dyes but production has been kept up by special efforts on the part of mill owners and the Textile Control Board. During the last four years the number of types and designs of cloth has been reduced and the number of picks in cloth has been cut down in order to secure bulk production. More mills are now working multiple shifts than in the past and machinery has been readjusted to war time production in order to expand the output. The mills experienced shortages of dye-stuffs, bobbins, and starch and considerable amounts of these are now being manufactured in India and special priorities have been granted for the import of mill stores and machinery. Finally, more than a dozen mills have been 'taken over' by

the Government as they failed to speed up production. These measures have helped in increasing the production of cotton cloth but its 'distribution' is still very defective and consequently the consumers continue to experience serious difficulties in getting it.

The jute industry, in spite of better organisation and repeated rationalization, has been less fortunate. The production in 1943-44 amounted to 094 million tons against an output of 1'22 million tons before the war. The industry has both steam-driven and electrically-driven mills. The former were handicapped by an acute shortage of coal chiefly due to the difficulty of transport. The electrically-driven mills could have increased production considerably but they were disabled by the agreement about loom-hours and it was only at the end of summer 1944 that a scheme was enforced according to which the electrically-driven mills can work a larger number of loom-hours on payment of a certain penalty. The requisition of some mills by military authorities for purposes of storage and house accommodation has also reduced the output. Finally, there has been an acute shortage of labour as the military construction work, where higher wages are paid, attracted the labourers. Faced with these difficulties and in the absence of active demand from foreign countries the Indian jute industry has remained relatively depressed.

In the case of sugar, paper, and cement, production in 1943-44 was, on an average, 29 per cent higher than in the pre-war year. In the case of these industries the raw materials are available in India in plenty; there is also a huge internal market to be

supplied, and these industries were well established even before the war. Production has consequently increased, and it could have increased much more if certain extraordinary difficulties were not experienced. A shortage of coal, labour, and transport has very much handicapped these industries. In sugar manufacturing the shortage of coal did not matter much as the bagasse provides most of the fuel but the output of paper and cement has been kept low because of shortage of coal. In 1942-43, the paper mills also experienced a shortage of raw material as bamboo was required for military constructions and other raw materials became scarce because of inadequate transport facilities. In the case of sugar, cane was being diverted from factories to *gur* making industry and in order to prevent this the *gur* making industry had to be controlled and higher prices were fixed for cane purchased by the factories and in order to make this possible sufficiently high prices were fixed for sugar. The price of sugar was fixed at Rs 11 12 per maund (Marhowrah C 28) in April 1942 and it was raised by stages to Rs 16 12 6 per maund in October 1944 and consequently the price of cane was increased from annas eight per maund in 1942-43 to annas fourteen in the present (1944-45) crushing season. This device helped to maintain the supply of cane to factories. In addition to this, assistance was given to sugar factories in obtaining sulphur and machinery and in the U P and Bihar all restrictions against maximum production were withdrawn as early as the 1942-43 season. But in spite of all this, the production of sugar has only increased

from 7 78 lakh tons in 1941-42 and 10 70 lakh tons in 1942-43 to 12 16 lakh tons in 1943-44 as the recovery of sugar went down from 10 28 per cent to 10 02 per cent and the crushing season was shorter. The machinery in most cases has become old and worn out and in many cases due to transport shortage the cane got dried up thus leading to low recovery.

The cement industry has suffered by a shortage of coal, chemicals, and machinery. In consequence the output could not be increased as much as was necessary. The result was, as in the case of paper, that the public supplies were almost cut off. The distribution of cement was taken over by the Supply Department in 1942 and in the beginning only 10 per cent of the output was released for non-military use and it was only later on that this share was increased to 20 per cent. Similarly, by an order under Defence of India Rules issued in November 1942 only 10 per cent of mill output of paper was allotted for public use and only as late as April 1943 this share was raised to 30 per cent thus reserving 70 per cent of mill output of paper for Government use.

The production of coal in India reached the peak level of 26 million tons in 1940 but subsequently it came down and in 1943-44 it is estimated to amount to 22½ million tons which is the target fixed under the Colliery Control Order. The lower output of coal is partly explained by shortages of labour and coal-cutting machinery. And it is not so much the low production as the defective distribution of available supplies which is the chief



cause of trouble. A major part of the responsibility for this rests upon the shortage of transport caused by the short sighted policy of the Government in refusing to start a locomotive industry when there was still time.

The production of chemicals, iron and steel, and munitions has considerably increased. In 1943, we produced 73,500 tons of sulphuric acid as against an output of 26,000 tons in 1939. Before the war, we did not produce any alkalies at all but in 1944, the productive capacity is estimated to amount to 70,000 tons and we now manufacture, among others, caustic soda, soda ash, and bleaching powder. The production of dyes, colours, drugs and

medicines has also increased though exact figures are not available. The output of iron and steel now stands at a higher level and whereas in 1939 we produced one million tons of steel ingots and castings and nearly twice as much pig iron, the output of finished steel now is not less than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million tons per annum. It is not possible to estimate the extent of increase in the output of munitions and armaments but the number of workers employed in Ordnance factories has increased from 15,000 in 1939 to 1,30,000 in 1943. These factories, after the war, would partially be converted to peace time production and to that extent would help in further industrialization of India.

## The Problem of Minorities in India

BY PROF. R. VISWESWAR RAO

At a time when the problem of minorities has become the central problem of Indian Politics, and is engaging the anxious attention of all the well-wishers of the country, the suggestions of the present writer on this problem, we are sure, will be read with great interest by our readers—ED. *I.R.*

IF anyone were to put the question, as to what the central problem of Indian Politics is, one can really say that it is the problem of minorities. As the Simon Commission Report says "India is a land of minorities and the spirit of toleration is absent". The Commission, indeed, regretted the absence of settlement between the various communities, which is a stumbling block to the establishment of self-government in India.

The problem of minorities has been attracting the attention of the people and the Government since a decade. The important parties which are vitally

concerned with this problem are Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims, it is well known, differ from the Hindus both in race and religion. They number about 70 millions. The other minorities do not take much interest in this problem since they feel that it is better to throw in their lot with the majority community. It is well known that there is a sense of cultural and political inequality in the minds of the Muslims and there is also the fear that they may not get "fair deal" from the majority community.

In India, we have the existence of religious, racial, and linguistic minorities.

It is well known that the co operation of all these communities is *sine qua non* for the success of any form of democratic government in India. Till recently, the principle of separate electorates has been tried to solve the problem but instead of solving the problem, the grant of separate electorate has accentuated communal jealousies. The principle of separate electorates is fraught with disastrous consequences, as it divides the nation into watertight compartments. Many of the British statesmen, including Mr Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, referred to the absence of communal settlement which is a standing obstacle in the way of granting self government to India. But here one cannot feel sorry for the fact that the British should ever have granted separate electorates to any community and the problem of minorities really, arises from the date when Minto conceded the right of preferential treatment to the Muslims.

#### THE PIRPUR REPORT

Some time ago, the Muslim League appointed a committee to enquire into the dismemberment of India and all the efforts of the British for two centuries in the direction of establishment of political unity in India are intended to be frustrated by this move. If there is one lesson, which the present war has taught, it is the danger of the existence of small States. Small European States like Denmark, Poland, etc, fell before Hitler like a pack of cards.

#### SUGGESTIONS

In all solutions of the problem, one should never forget the fact that there is a distinct type of thought and life in

India which has been enduring through centuries and that has been the greatest contribution of India to the world. Indeed, several suggestions have been put forward for a new approach to national unity. We should never forget that we all belong to the land of India and that we should all contribute our quota to the greatness of India. We may belong to different races and religions but it is the land and our love towards it, that should bind us all together. Indeed, none of us should try to dismember India. It must be united and one.

Here, it may be stated that the object of the British policy should be to bring about political unity on a federal basis. It is only a federal Government that can harmonise the antagonistic forces of communalism, provincialism and autonomy of the Indian States. The British Government should declare in unequivocal terms that the problem of Indian constitution can be considered only on the basis of an undivided India.

The cultural autonomy of the minority may also be recognised. The minority should be given the right to the acquisition of the nationality, use their mother tongue and improve their culture and literature. The racial problem of Canada was solved only in this way and this method may be tried in India with advantage.

Fundamental rights guaranteeing elementary and common rights like the right to equality of treatment in the eye of law, to freedom of speech, etc, to all people should be incorporated in the constitution.

Even so far as the legislation is concerned, we can have an arrangement wherein matters of common concern will be decided by the general legislature and matters affecting the religion and culture of minorities may be left to the decision of members who belong to that particular minority.

#### PROVISION OF APPEALS

In the above cases, one objection may be raised and that is what the minorities should do if that they have a just grievance against the action of the majority. An arrangement can be made whereby minorities can prefer appeals to the judges and their decisions shall be final. The Supreme Court of the U.S.A did much to protect the rights of the individual and our federal court can be vested with powers to deal with such cases. Even appeals may be allowed to be sent to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If such a method is adopted, minorities cannot have any legitimate grievance. The independence of the judiciary is essential here.

The Governor's special responsibilities are to be continued. Till yesterday, many people used to condemn the Governor's special responsibilities. But it may be pointed out that it was the special power vested in the Governor of Ceylon, that saved our Indian Minority in Ceylon some time back when the legislature actually passed a measure with a view to drive the Indian Minority away from that island.

Indeed, it may be pointed out that, all the laws affect all the people alike and the

minorities should never fail to notice that the best safeguard on which they have to depend is the goodwill of the majority community. They must identify themselves with national aspirations. Principles of moderation and mutual confidence will have to prevail. Separate electorate can never protect the rights of the minorities. It is true, that they may secure "die hard" representatives of the communities on the legislature but, that retards the growth of democratic spirit in India.

The minorities, just as they have rights, have also some duties to perform. They should mix with the majority communities and identify themselves with the nationalistic ideas. The protection of their just rights, then, as the late Mr. M Briand said, becomes a "sacred duty". All possible means, on the lines suggested above, should be adopted for bringing about mutual goodwill amongst the various communities.

The dawn of responsible government is postponed on the plea of communal discord. It is hoped that the leaders of all minorities realise the gravity of the situation and contribute their share wholeheartedly to the common weal. It may not once again be mentioned, that it is the land of India that should bind us together as united we stand, divided we fall. India expects her sons and daughters to do their duty at this critical juncture in her history.

# JAIPUR UNDER SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

BY "HISTORICUS"

"THE world's destiny has been changed by five cities", said Philip Guedalla, the famous historian and biographer, in his last book—*The Liberators*, and enumerating his list, turns to Athens "where Greek hands forged the instrument of liberty which they have never lost", to Rome "where strong Latin minds enthroned law supreme in the ordering of life", to Jerusalem "where the mind of man groped towards something far above him", to Paris "where clear thought and high courage wrote the French Revolution into history and set free men the world over singing the *Marseillaise*" and to London "which has stood so often against abuses of authority, overcame a nightly siege in 1940 and changed the history of the world"

Men with a sense of history will ere long realise—some have already realised—that to day in India, the destiny of Rajputana is being changed by one city. That city is indisputably Jaipur, where under the benevolent auspices of a young and far sighted ruler and a statesman of eminence and vision, great things are happening. There is the eloquent tribute of Mr Herbert L Mathews of the *New York Times* that American visitors to India are going to find Jaipur "more thoroughly transformed and improved than New York after Robert Moses got through with it". Nor is it mere external appearance that is changing.

There is the unimpeachable testimony of Mr Ghanashyam Das Burla that during the short time he has been here, "Sir Mirza

has been able to achieve what was not achieved,"—really what was not even attempted—"during the last twenty years" or more. Of undoubted importance as it is from the administrative point of view, his work in and for Jaipur is of far greater significance from the larger historical viewpoint, due to its inevitable repercussions on the life and temper of the whole of Rajputana where ancient States call for modern rejuvenation.

Here, in this vast area, the largest continuous non-British territory in India, Nature and Man and Circumstance have long conspired to put out the lights of culture and freedom, and maintain an order where obscurantism and feudalism have done their worst. The din and roar of national upheavals which occasionally rent the skies everywhere else is, in these sandy and barren regions, but a far off echo. Here, power wherever it was exercised, was allied to intrigue, whispering galleries functioned best and low murmurs filled the air that men breathed, long sweep 'salaaming' was elevated to the level of a ritual. Rajputana, where chivalry and heroism once cast a spell, seemed to have struck "a pause in history". But luckily—thanks to the imagination and foresight of the Maharaja of Jaipur—there has arrived one who, while fighting a rearguard action against the forces of reaction, is definitely making headway as the man with a mission.

As a recent English visitor said in the journal of the United Service Institution of India "Sir Mirza is accomplishing wonders in Jaipur, commercially, industrially and

artistically. With vision and vigour he is developing the State's resources, and raising the standard of living of the people". There is no aspect of administration which has been neglected. Every department is overhauled and re equipped. Places cut off from each other are linked up by pucca roads; new industries are springing up at a rapid pace; mines in Khetri are being explored, irrigation projects are being speeded up so that, in the words of His Highness, "miles of sandy deserts will become smiling green fields with a happy and prosperous peasantry", efforts are being made to banish illiteracy from the State within twenty years, panchayats in villages and municipalities in towns are being established on progressive lines, and post-war reconstruction plans are being examined by experts.

Nor is this all. Among the outstanding achievements must be mentioned the codification of existing laws and the enactment of new ones, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, the raising of the Chief Court to the status of a High Court with the Hon'ble Sir Sarat Kumar Ghose, formerly of the Calcutta High Court, as the Chief Justice, the reorganisation of the postal system, the establishment of State insurance and co-operative societies, the opening of the Jaipur Bank (as a result of which, the resources of the big businessmen and commercial magnates of Jaipur who represent the industrial aristocracy of India, are for the first time harnessed to the advancement of the State); the division of the whole State into four units under Deputy Commissioners; and the scheme of higher

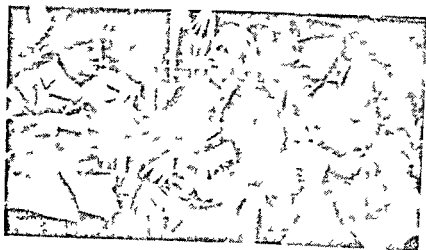
educational expansion in the wake of which a University—the first of its kind in Rajputana—will be established at Jaipur.

But by far the most important—and significant—development is the one which relates to the introduction of constitutional reforms. This act of bold statesmanship in a State, which has not so far had even an elected municipality, is of a far-reaching character. Shortly Jaipur will have a Legislative Council with full plenary powers and with an elected majority, and a Representative Assembly on the Mysore model. For the first time, the man in the street will have his voice heard, and what matters more, will have a hand in the shaping of things. For him, it is like "the fall of Bastille" in the feudal world in which he was born and bred. The emergence of the common man in Jaipur out of age-long shackles will inaugurate a new era in the whole of Rajputana; "the pink city" has already become its very hub; it is thus that Jaipur is entitled to the distinction of being *the* city which has changed the destiny of Rajputana. We have the enduring testimony of Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar that "Jaipur in this chaotic period of unsettlement and dislocation is doubly blessed in the personalities and ambitions of its Ruler and its Prime Minister. Both seem intent upon securing a better life for the population of the State and jointly they have set an example and given a welcome lead to this quarter of India known to history as Rajasthan". There is little doubt that the present Ruler of Jaipur and Sir Mirza Ismail will go down to history as the "Liberators" of Rajputana.

# WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY?

THE author of this book \* an American lawyer, adduces a great deal of historical evidence to prove that the responsibility for this war really rests with the German people 'Conditioned by centuries of false indoctrination the German people have ever been arch conspirators against civilization They have deliberately plotted to destroy it and subdue all mankind to serfdom They have ignored all civilized standards and restraints and have made barbarism an ideal They have distorted nationalism into a ritual of international murder This is the author's

German militarism (3) economic and financial policy of reconstruction (4) eradication by education of the poisonous doctrines of pan Germanism These remedies he suggests so that Germany may safely join the community of civilized nations Further he suggests that as soon as the Allies achieve victory they should occupy Germany and suspend its sovereignty The Peace Treaty must be suspended for ten or twenty years or perhaps more The people as a whole must be taken into 'protective custody', to use a German expression in its sincere



THE BIG THIRFE

indictment against the German people As the author is sure of the ultimate victory of the Allies, he deals with the problem of what to do with the German people He suggests (1) the punishment of the violators of international law at the dictates of humanity, (2) prophylactic precautions against the recurrence of

sense Their state, the corporate entity through which they have acted must be dissolved Their nationhood must be forfeited until such time as they demonstrate their reform by the acceptance of civilized standards In short the author advocates that German sovereignty must be suspended and the country must be completely occupied by the forces of the United Nations

He further makes an earnest plea for the mental disarmament of Germany

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY?—By Louis A. Har—  
Hamish Har—London (Thacker & Co., Ltd  
Bombay) Rs 7-14-0

According to him, the corruption of the German mind has been a continuous, consistent process for centuries. "The Nazi youth oozes racial hatreds and rides in superman complexes. To root out this poison, we cannot rely on German re education any more than on German self-imposed disarmament or German self-rule generally. We must unwind the German so that he will not sprint at us again". This task must be entrusted to an

international university. Such a university could truly represent the nations of the world and act for them without fear or political bias. Courses in humanities, modern civilization and philosophy could be mapped out by the authorities of the international university to meet the peculiar pre-disposition of the German youth. In short, all the forces of the arsenal for the invasion of the German mind must be employed in this noble task.

## A CHINAMAN WITHOUT RHYME

(BUT NOT WITHOUT REASON)

By MR BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

In bygone time there lived a man,  
A Mongol Tartar, Ghengis Khan,  
Who conquered, slaughtered, hacked his way,  
From blue Danube to far Cathay  
Cities he looked upon as filth,  
The festering sore of Greed and Guilt  
"Level them flat", he gave command,  
"And make them useful pasture land,  
So that a Horse might run over it  
Without tripping, and make them fit  
For noble Warriors such as we,  
Lords of the Earth, from sea to sea,  
Exterminate those people, who  
Live basely by the Hoe, and Plough  
A Warrior's Horse is worthier far,  
Than those base servile people are."

There was a man, unknown to fame,  
Yelutchensay (such was his name),  
Who said, "Most dread invincible lord,  
Not but a moment to the word  
Of a poor Chinese Mendicant,  
Homeless, and without land, or rest—  
Fetchi, Chantong, Leatong, Chamsi,  
You're doomed to death, yield annually  
Enough to keep both you and me:  
Five hundred thousand ounces pure

Of Silver, and, what is much more,  
Four hundred thousand Measures full  
Of Rice, clean garnered carded wool,  
Bales upon bales, as much as you please,  
Richer than Colchis' Golden Fleece,  
Eight hundred thousand robes of Silk,  
Yellow as cream, or white as Milk,  
Or gayest colours, rich and rare,  
Great lords like you are used to wear—  
Think twice, and stay your mighty hand,  
And spare this peaceful smiling land

Struck by these words, said Ghengis Khan,  
"There's something in that humble man.  
Let those fair smiling cities stand,  
I cancel now my dread command."

Thus 'twas, one man, unknown to fame,  
Of harsh unpronounceable name,  
Insinuated peacefully  
A sound, and rational policy  
Into the mind of Ghengis Khan,  
A barbarous, Mongol Tartar man,  
This happened in a bygone time—  
Alas! for that good Chinaman I cannot find  
[a rhyme.

# THE SIXTH WAR BUDGET

By MR V. G RAMAKRISHNAN, M A

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THE Sixth War Budget happens to be also Sir Jeremy Raisman's last War Budget

## TAXATION

### RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE (IN CRORES)

	1943-44 (Revised Estimates)	1944-45 (Budget Estimates)	1944-45 (Revised Estimates)	1945-46 (Budget Estimates)
Revenue	254.50	281.97	356.88	353.74
Expenditure	316.93	363.18	512.65	517.63
Deficit	-62.33	-78.21	-155.77	-163.89

It will be seen that the Budget reveals a prospective deficit of Rs 163.89 crores for 1945-46. The Budget for 1944-45 produced a deficit of Rs 189.79 crores due to an excess of defence expenditure amounting to about Rs 96 crores and this is attributed to the fact that much of the fighting against the Japanese took place inside instead of outside Indian frontiers. For 1944-45 the total revenue receipts is expected to be Rs 356.88 crores, an improvement of Rs 48.60 crores over the budget estimates against which expenditure is shown at Rs 512.65 crores to leave a deficit of Rs 155.77 crores, whilst a deficit of Rs 163.89 crores is anticipated in 1945-46 against which only minor changes in present taxation are proposed. The Finance Member has indicated that the whole of the gap might be filled by borrowing and the more important consideration was to equate rupee outgoings whether in India's account or on Allied account with total rupee incomings whether by taxation, sales of bullion and other devices for absorbing surplus purchasing power. In spite of the Financial Settlement on allocation of defence expenditure, India has paid a heavy price. There is a clear case for the United Nations to bear a portion of the actual cost incurred in defending India within the last twelve months from Japanese offensive, as the defence is as much the concern of the United Nations as it is of India.

The Budget reveals an estimated deficit of Rs 155.77 crores in the current year and a prospective deficit of Rs 163.89 crores for 1945-46. To meet Rs 8.60 crores of this deficit, the following additional taxation is to be levied.

- (1) An increase in surcharge on income tax by 3 paise in the rupee on slabs of income above Rs 15,000 and on incomes taxable at the maximum rate.
- (2) Rates on inland postal articles to be raised to a uniform 6 annas for every 40 tolas.
- (3) surcharge on telephone rentals to be raised, from one third to one half and on trunk call fees from 20 per cent to 40 per cent.
- (4) Surcharge on ordinary and express telegrams to be increased by one anna and two annas respectively.
- (5) Standard rate of duty on unmanufactured tobacco to be raised to Rs 7.80 with no surcharge, rates for related items namely, cigars, cigarettes and manufactured tobacco to be fixed to correspond.
- (6) The highest class of fine cured tobacco in the excise tariff is to be subdivided into three and subjected to a duty of Rs 7.80, Rs 5 and Rs 3.80 per lb respectively when used in the manufacture of cigarettes containing different percentages of imported tobacco.
- (7) CPT to be maintained at the present rate for another year and the compulsory deposit scheme to be continued.
- (8) Special depreciation allowances to be granted for new buildings erected for plant and machinery after 31st March 1945, in addition to normal depreciating allowance, the former not to be deducted in arriving at the written down value.

The scope for major charges in the sphere of central taxation is now so limited that the Finance Member has not introduced any but at the same time he has indicated the sources of additional revenue for the Provinces and at the same time emphasized the necessity for greater efforts to combat evasion of existing tax obligations. It will be difficult to subscribe to the view of the Finance Member that 'it will be necessary in the post war years to impose taxation of a magnitude comparable with that existing at the present time'. Taxes on non agricultural income can hardly be expected to continue to play the overwhelming part in the scheme of national



# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Lord Wavell's Mission

THE Viceroy's visit to London for personal consultations with H M Government has naturally aroused great expectations Lord Wavell has been Viceroy for some 18 months and if by the visit he means to make a genuine attempt to resolve the deadlock, His Excellency would have deserved well of this country The main reason for the consultations is doubtless the inexorable march of events connected with the war As the struggle is coming to a close in Europe, there must follow an intensification of the war with Japan, and India's importance as the vital base of operations will be increasingly realised The Soldier Viceroy cannot be oblivious of the importance, nay the wisdom, of having behind him the united and enthusiastic support of the whole nation in the great task that is impending And what could secure such enthusiastic co operation but a truly national government, enjoying the complete confidence of the people! Unfortunately, though everyone is convinced that the Cripps offer will no more hold good, Mr Amery is harping on the old formula

that the policy announced by H M G in the draft declaration of March, 1942—the Cripps offer—still holds the field

But the Viceroy must know better In the face of 11 successive defeats in the Assembly and the criticisms levelled against his government in Britain and USA and the recent pronouncements of official representatives, he knows where the shoe pinches and how it must be rectified If the Viceroy and the British Cabinet could hit upon a bold and imaginative policy that will enthuse Indians, the long looked for settlement would have been achieved Merely to insist on agreement among all the parties as a pre requisite for a new declaration is to play with words Why, as Professor Edward Thompson shrewdly points out in the *Times*,

If Britain were occupied by a conqueror who offered her self government on condition of an agreement between the Catholics and Protestants Britain would have never won freedom except by a successful rebellion

## Congress Ministry in the Frontier

The Congress has returned to office in the North West Frontier Province—the pivot of Mr Jinnah's Pakistan with a hundred per cent Muslim population—after a lapse of nearly six years Congress decision to accept office in one Province is welcomed in all quarters as a momentous gesture which will have a wholesome reaction in other Provinces where Section 93 is still operative It must gladden the heart of C R whose move in this direction is thus bearing fruit Congress acceptance of office, will, it is hoped, mark the beginning of the end of the deadlock

It will be recalled that the Muslim League took advantage of the enforced absence of Congress leaders to step into the breach But the League Ministry has never been popular The moment the released Congressmen took their seats in the Frontier Assembly, the days of the League Ministry had to be numbered And Sirdar Aurangzib Khan's Ministry was trounced by 24 votes to 18 on a direct vote of no confidence, and not merely on a cut motion as in other Assemblies So there was no alternative for the Sirdar but to quit and give place to Dr Khan Saheb The Governor acted wisely and promptly in calling on the Congress leader to take charge Evidently with Mr Gandhi's approval, Dr Khan Saheb has shouldered the responsibility Dr Khan Saheb's first act on resuming charge was, as might be expected, the release of the interned leaders and it is just like the Frontier Gandhi to declare that he would not come out of the prison if his colleagues had not been released as well And so with a fine contingent of patriotic men, the Frontier has taken the lead in an attempt to resolve the deadlock which must have far reaching effect on other Provinces

### Coalition Ministry for Assam

League Ministries everywhere are having a bad time. They never had much public favour anywhere, and the way they have been managing their affairs has lent support to charges of corruption and incompetence. The Saadulla Ministry in Assam has fared no better. Only on March 17 the Ministry was saved from censure by the casting vote of the chair.

In fact the Ministry had always been in a precarious position. But the situation in Assam politics took a dramatic turn when the ministerialist party in the Assembly formally accepted the Congress proposal for a coalition Cabinet in which the Congress would not accept office but would give moral and active support on certain specific conditions. The main terms of the agreement signed by Sir M. Saadulla, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi and Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, representing the principal parties in the Assembly, include the restoration of civil liberties, release of political prisoners, reorganisation of the Supply Department and reshuffling of the Cabinet. This broad agreement on general policy and co-operation of parties in actual Government, will, it is hoped—usher in a better era for Assam. Apart from everything else, this genuine attempt to convert the Ministry into one that would be broad-based on popular support is a welcome experiment in solving many problems—including the problem of minorities—that must have wholesome reaction in other Provinces as well. It is a pleasing gesture that Mahatma Gandhi has shown in welcoming this attempt in Assam. Gandhi gave a free hand to Mr. Gopinath as he gave perfect freedom to Dr. Khan Sahab in the Frontier. In a letter to Mr. Gopinath, Gandhi wrote:

Do what is best, cost what it may. Kill corruption. Adopt that alternative which is the best under the circumstances. I know that the difficulties will be many but we have to cut our way through.

### Budget and the Finance Bill

As we go to press the Central Assembly has rejected the Finance Bill even in its recommended form. The result was foreseen. The Council of State has passed the Bill but the Assembly may stick to its verdict; and then it will have to be certified! It is a repetition of the old, old story. Under any other democratic constitution this absurd farce of debate, defeat and certification would be unthinkable. During the Budget debate no less than 11 cut motions were carried against the government, and every department came in for downright censure. The speeches on the Finance Bill likewise showed that, Congress or League, everyone was equally critical of government actions. Members of the Executive put up a feeble defence and they knew—none better—that they cannot count on people's confidence or support. And yet, under the Government of India Act, they could remain where they are. Speaking on the Finance Bill, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party, put the case trenchantly when he said that the issue on which he asked the vote on this occasion was the issue of India's freedom. He referred to the San Francisco Conference and said:

If any genuine friend of ours, any genuine representative of ours went to that conference, the first and foremost thing that he will do there will be that he will first demand that he will not remain there unless and until India was recognised and declared by Britain by her own free will as an independent country.

### The Bengal Ministry

It is an ironic commentary on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan speech that Bengal too has followed quickly on the heels of Assam and Sind in carrying a cut motion against the Nazimuddin Ministry by 106 votes to 97. But like the school master in *The Deserted Village* "even though vanquished he could argue still." Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues wanted to sit tight and carry on. But the speaker rightly ruled that the adverse vote was an unmistakable censure and that the House could not function unless a new Ministry was formed!

And so, for the moment, Bengal comes under the rule of the Governor.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Late Earl Lloyd George

**E**ARL LLOYD GEORGE, the veteran statesman who led Britain to victory in the last world war, died at Criccieth aged 82.

He will go down in history as the "Man who won the war", even as Mr Churchill will be remembered for his part in the present war.

Lloyd George, always known as the Father of the House having been member of the Commons for 54 years first took office in Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's administration as President of the Board of Trade. His settlement of the railway dispute in 1906 marked him out for higher powers and responsibilities. And under Asquith, he was elevated to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

The 'Munitions scandal' of 1915 induced Lloyd George to accept the Ministry of Munitions. But his faith in Asquith as a war leader grew dim and in December 1916 he formed a national government of his own supplanting his Chief by methods only justified by his victory in the war. His main idea of an unified Allied command was secured in 1917 when Marshal Foch was appointed to that post. Speaking at the Mansion House on November 9, 1918, the Premier was enabled to say, 'Germany is doomed'.

The organisation of peace proved as difficult as winning the war. The famous "coupon election" of December 1918 confirmed his position at Versailles where all the world assembled to make peace.

His Ministry itself fell in 1922. He never returned to office. Though he was the leader of the Opposition in the later years he preferred to write history instead of making it. The volumes of his 'War Memoirs' gave rise to unexampled controversy, the echoes of which died only at the onset of this war.

Nazi Retreat

The whole German western defence line has been eliminated and Kesselring's armies are, at the time of writing, (29 March) in a general retreat. In some areas east of the Rhine it is a rout, and it is now extremely doubtful whether the Germans can recover even temporarily their ability to offer even token organised resistance.

On northern sector of the West front, British armoured columns drove to within one and a half miles of Borken over 20 miles east of the Rhine only slight resistance being met, says *Reuter's* special correspondent with the British Second Army.

At the other end of Field Marshal Montgomery's front, the Ninth United States Army pushing in all directions, is virtually in the outskirts of the great Rhine part of Duisburg.

The general advance east of the Rhine is progressing. The five Allied armies have combined into two major groups. The Second British and the Ninth Armies have linked up and the First, Third and the Seventh American armies had joined on a 200 mile front. All reports speak of the progressive deterioration of German forces.

General Eisenhower, Allied Supreme Commander on the western front, announced that the German defence line had broken and they had no strength to make a future stand.

Russian Drive to Austria

Marshal Stalin, in an Order of the Day, dated 27 March announced that Marshal Koniev's forces have captured Strehlen, south of Breslau. The Order says 'Troops of the First Ukrainian Command, continuing their offensive captured in Silesia the towns of Strehlen and Rybnik, large road junctions and powerful strong points in German defences'.

Russian troops have now reached the Austrian border.



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**A TREATY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM** By Sir Sultan Ahmed. Kitabistan, Ailahabad. Rs. 2 4

Yet another attempt to settle the deadlock and solve the communal tangle is made by Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information and Broadcast, in a thoughtful brochure, which, we understand, has also been presented to the Sapru Committee.

In the first part of the book Sir Sultan puts forward the novel and interesting suggestion of a treaty between India and Britain together with the conditions under which the treaty should be signed

He believes that if the Cripps proposal had been accepted it would have helped India to attain independence. But he does not absolve Britain of any further responsibility and wants that Britain should make another gesture to India

He agrees with Sir Walter Layten that without an Indian settlement, the task of building up a permanent world order will be much more difficult, if not impossible.

Sir Sultan's solution for the communal settlement may not be endorsed by all, but everyone will agree that he has approached the subject with an unbiassed mind and made an earnest effort to solve an admittedly difficult problem. He envisages an union of several units as so many sovereign federated states with a strong centre

The centre to have power and authority over defence, foreign relations, currency, customs, etc.

The federal assembly to be composed of 40 per cent. Muslims, 40 per cent. Hindus, 10 per cent. Depressed classes, and 10 per cent. the remaining minorities

The Cabinet to have the same communal ratio as the Assembly.

The army to have 50 per cent. Muslims and 50 per cent. Hindus.

The author does not claim that his solution is either perfect or complete.

**THE BRITISH COLONIES.** By Vincent Hoslow. No. 68. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs. Oxford University Press, Madras and Bombay. As. 6.

To-day the Colonial Empire of Britain comprises diverse association of communities. The diversity of races and peoples who compose the Empire has created complex problems regarding the life and welfare of colonials and Britain's attitude towards them. The author of the pamphlet describes some of the problems confronting Britain, like the idea of Self-Government in colonies, the question of liberty, and building of communities and points out the responsibilities under which Britain has accepted trusteeship of the Empire.

**THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC.** By C. R. Srinivisan, Editor, *The Swadeshamitran*. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastru and Introduction by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. University of Travancore, Trivandram.

The four lectures on journalism delivered under the auspices of the Travancore University by this doyen of the Vernacular Press in South India cover a wide field—dealing with the development of the periodical press in India, the profession, the place of news and comments, circulation and advertisement as well as organisation and control—in fact the entire relation of the press to the public is general. Mr. Srinivasan is an old and experienced journalist and he presents in a small compass, with consummate ease and elegance, the history of the trials and the perils no less than the achievements and prospects of the Indian Press.

**THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET**—The Admiralty account of Naval Operations—April, 1941 to January, 1943, Mac Millan & Co, Ltd, Mount Road, Madras Rs 1-8

This book, which is beautifully got up and profusely illustrated, contains a lucid account of the operations of the Royal Navy from the time when the Italian fleet was greatly weakened by the losses inflicted at Taranto and Matapan, and the German attempt to capture the Suez and dominate the entire Mediterranean was made and successfully frustrated by the Allies which enabled them ultimately to take the initiative and begin the advance that eventually drove the enemy from Africa. The story concludes in January, 1943, when Tripoly fell into our hands and the Navy again assumed command of the great supply routes of the Mediterranean.

**SIMONE** By Lion Feuchtwanger Thacker & Co, Ltd, Rampart Row, Bombay. Rs 6 14

Here is an extremely interesting story of the fall of France by one of Europe's most famous authors, Mr Lion Feuchtwanger. Inspired by the life of Joan of Arc and the memories of her radical father, Simone, an obscure Burgundian girl, revolts against the passive acceptance of the German occupations, destroys the stock of petrol of her wealthy uncle and attempts to rally the people of her town to resist the mechanised hordes of Germans. Like St Joan, Simone is betrayed by her own people—by her family and is condemned to the Grey House. In this poignant tale full of passion and heroism, we note the struggle between the selfish Frenchmen who carried on their business as usual and others to whom the Nazi occupation never meant a conquest of mind.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

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**CONQUEST OF SELF** By M K Gandhi Being (Gleanings from his writings and speeches compiled by R K Prabhu and U R Rao, Thacker & Co Ltd, Bombay

**THE GLORY THAT WAS GUJARADESA** Part III. The Imperial Gurjaras By K M Munshi Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay Rs 15

**THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE INFORMATION SERIES** (1) Government Congress League Declarations (2) Fundamental Rights 7, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi

**MEN I HAVE MET** By K R R Sastri Allahabad University, Allahabad

**A SECULAR STATE FOR INDIA** By Lanka Sundaram Rajkamal Publications, Delhi

**GREAT REBELS** Studies in Life and Letters Edited by Saroj Acharya Book Forum, 72 Harrison Road, Calcutta

**CHINA HANDBOOK, 1937-1944** A comprehensive survey of major developments in China in seven years of war Chinese Ministry of Information, Chungking

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**THE MILLET AND THE MISSION** By C Rahmat Ali,

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- March 1. Mr. Churchill gets unanimous vote of confidence *re* Yalta decisions.  
—Indian Budget proposals published.
- March 2. India invited for Empire talks prior to San Francisco Conference  
—Sir Stafford Cripps re-admitted to Labour Party.
- March 3. Constitution of Arab League signed at Cairo.
- March 4. Finland declares war on Germany.  
—British and American troops reach Rhine
- March 5. Budget session opens in the Central Assembly
- March 6. American troops break into Cologne.
- March 7. Lord Dawson of Penn, King's physician, is dead
- March 8. Mr. Amery rejects proposal for fresh approach *re* Indian question
- March 9. Japs occupy Indo China  
—Mandalay Hill captured by 14th Army.
- March 10. Government suffers two defeats in the Assembly
- March 11. Hitler urges Germans to fight frantically  
—Adjournment motion *re* delegation to San Francisco ruled out in Central Assembly.
- March 12. Aurangzib Khan Ministry in the Frontier resigns as a sequel to no confidence motion  
—Sind Cabinet resigns.
- March 13. Order on Bihar leaders revoked.  
—European group's cut motion passed in Assembly
- March 14. Dr. Khan Saheb forms Cabinet in N.W.F.  
—Sind Cabinet reformed.
- March 15. Mr. Churchill addresses Party Conference on prospects of general election.
- March 16. New Frontier Ministry take oath of office.  
—Frontier Congress leaders released,
- March 17. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri presides over the Silver Jubilee session of the Liberal Federation at Lahore.
- March 18. Heavy raid on Berlin.  
—Raids on Japan.  
—Mr. William Phillips resigns his post as a personal envoy.
- March 19. Debate on Finance Bill in the Assembly.  
—Select Committee reports on Income-tax Bill.
- March 20. Surplus Budget for Madras.  
—Mandalay falls.
- March 21. Lord Wavell flies to London.  
—Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, to act in his absence.
- March 22. Soviet gives notice of termination of Soviet-Turkish treaty.
- March 23. All-parties Ministry formed in Assam.
- March 24. Allied forces cross the Rhine.  
—Death is reported of Kallenbach, friend of Gandhi, in South Africa.
- March 25. Sind Muslim League rejects Congress move to Coalition Cabinet.
- March 26. Earl Lloyd George is dead.  
—Sir Shadi Lal is dead.
- March 27. Assembly rejects the Finance Bill by 58 votes against 50.  
—Allies enter Frankfurt.
- March 28. Recommended Finance Bill thrown out.  
—Gen. Eisenhower announces that German front line is broken.  
—Bengal Ministry defeated by 106 to 97 votes.
- March 29. Mr. Nausher Ali, Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, rules that after the adverse vote the Nazimuddin Ministry cannot continue to function.
- March 30. Reich Government quits Berlin  
—Naval battle off Okinawa
- March 31. Section 93 invoked in Bengal and Governor takes over administration.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## SOCIAL SECURITY FOR INDIA

We hear nowadays a great deal about post-war, political and economic planning, but very little about social security that we need for our peasants and workers.

Time is perhaps not yet ripe in India to step at once to the ideal of security for all without distinction. But a beginning may be made immediately. Without such a beginning, post war industrial progress would become meaningless

Given industrial and agricultural development, India would be able to afford a new social plan provided every one pulled his weight and awoke to a sense of social responsibility, says Mr. N. C. Bhattacharya in *India*:

Sir William Jowett, the Minister designate of the new Ministry of Social Insurance, described the British social insurance plan as an act of supreme faith in the future of Britain. He also said that, if the Government had not felt satisfied that the challenge would be answered by a fresh outburst of creative energy such as had marked Britain's history in the past, the Government would not have made these proposals. In India, too, we must act with faith in the future. The distinguished framers of the Bombay Plan have truly remarked that the real capital of a country consists of its resources in material and man power, money is simply a means of mobilising these resources and canalising them into specific forms of activity. Lord Wavell in the course of a speech delivered at the Pilgrim's Luncheon in London, shortly before his departure for India, spoke as follows: "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for war, but that no nation has ever yet produced money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace—poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill health. When we are prepared to spend our money and our efforts as freely and with the same spirit as against Hitler, . . . we shall really be making progress."

We, in India, are up against the quadruple alliance of slavery, hunger, disease and ignorance. A scheme of social security for India would be the surest bulwark against these enemies.

## DANGEROUS DRIFTS IN EUROPE

Mr. William C. Bullitt, former American Ambassador to Russia and France, has written an article in the *Life* magazine after a visit to Rome. In it, he attempts to see "the world from Rome." Here are a few points:

"In the Italian view (Mr. Bullitt reports), Great Britain will emerge from this war a very tired victor—and then who will stem the Communist tide in Europe? All men throughout Italy ask, whether this war will result in the subjugation of Europe by Moscow instead of by Berlin. . . . The Romans expect Soviet Russia to dominate the whole of Eastern Europe from Finland and East Prussia to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Being of the same race as Machiavelli, the Italians cannot conceal their admiration for the skill of Soviet Imperialism. But no hope whatever is held in Italy that Rumania will remain an independent State. The Romans believe that Hungary will be occupied by the Red Army. Russia endeavours to set up a Communist Government in Yugoslavia. They fear that even Austria may fall under the control of Moscow. This prospect terrifies them. Bolshevism on the Brenner would, they fear, mean Stalinism soon in Lombardy. In any event, they hope that the British Army will reach Austria before the Red Army and will install there a democratic government under a monarchy. . . . In Rome it is hoped that the United States will support Great Britain in her next anti Russian deal."

This is a dangerous drift, says *Free India*, and if these views of the ex-Ambassador are really shared by intelligent Americans also, sensational events would seem to be in store for the world.

## THE TWO-NATION THEORY

Professor D. N. Banerjee, writing in the *Modern Review* for March, analyses Mr. Jinnah's contention of the two-nation theory and refutes his arguments *seriatim*. He examines their "history and tradition", their "names and nomenclatures", their "laws and customs" and finds nothing to justify Muslim pretensions to separate nationality. Finally he observes:

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community. India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary to day, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to intercommunal bitterness and ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot like repetition of an irrational view or slogan ad nauseam will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befoul all the people all the time.

Apart from this, insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves.

Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India—and therefore, form a part of the Indian people—or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part, while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India—at best *domestic aliens*, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separatists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another *alien* rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect it.

We have already in India many absurdities, says Mr. Banerjee.

We should not multiply them and make ourselves a laughing stock of the whole civilized world, by creating a Hindu National State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc.,

## INDIA'S STERLING ASSETS

One of the major economic consequences of the present war is the change in the position of India in the field of International finance. She has long been a debtor country and the foreign debt of the Government of India was over Rs. 400 crores before the present War, and every year she had to pay about £30,000,000 to Britain in addition to what the British investors in private enterprises in India were earning in the way of profits. During the present War, the Government has been able to liquidate most of the foreign liabilities, and the Reserve Bank of India has accumulated sterling assets worth about Rs 1,200 crores.

Writing on this subject in the latest issue of *Trieni*, Dr. V. S. Krishna Rao says that the question of the liquidation of the sterling assets of India is to be decided by negotiation between India and Britain.

Britain would naturally press for the acceptance of goods spread over a large number of years, while the interest of India requires the conversion of at least a part of the balance into other currencies. As Britain is indebted in a similar way to several other countries, it is not possible for her to concede this to all her creditors but it should be emphasised that the case of India is a special one. Accumulation of sterling assets by countries like Australia and Canada did not involve so much suffering as in the case of India. The accumulated balances do not represent the voluntary savings of the Indian people and they are due to the encroachment on the consumption of the people which is already low. The only way in which this could be made good is by helping India to have an economic organisation that would ensure adequate living standards.

A satisfactory solution of the question depends on the co-operation of not only India and Britain but also the assistance of other countries like the U.S.A. The writer concludes:

The United Nations have decided, rightly or wrongly, that different international economic problems should be dealt with by different bodies after the War. They have agreed to have one body for Rehabilitation, another for monetary problems arising out of current trade transactions and a third for long term lending. The settlement of war time balances is one of the essential conditions for reconstructing world economy after the War, and so another international agreement is necessary on this question.



## GOVERNMENT AND THE DEADLOCK

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, in an article in the *Spectator*, enlarges on the suggestion he recently put forward, that the British Government should make an announcement that they would be prepared to implement any agreed settlement that might be put up on behalf of India within a period of one year from the cessation of hostilities against Japan, but that, failing such a settlement within that period, His Majesty's Government would themselves place before Parliament proposals concerning the future constitution of India which would secure for India the position of equality with the Dominions.

Sir Zafrullah Khan, after stating that the British Government could not be acquitted of all responsibility for the Indian political deadlock, says

It has been suggested that the period of one year within which the Indian parties would be asked to come to an agreement, is too short for the purpose. This overlooks the fact that the period is to run from the cessation of hostilities against Japan and if an announcement of the kind suggested by me is made immediately, that would give at least two years to the parties in India to come to a settlement. The exact length of the period, however, is not material. What is desired is that the period should be definite and not too long. A period ending with December 31, 1947, would serve the purpose just as well.

## Sir Muhammad adds

Once India is placed in the same position as the Dominions it should have the right of amending its own constitution in accordance with the procedure that might be laid down in the constitution itself. The object of this procedure should be to secure that an amendment should take place only with the consent of the various parties and interests concerned. All the necessary fact finding has already been done and a good deal of the labour spent upon framing the Government of India Act 1935 could be drawn on in framing the new constitution. The Sapru Committee is also sitting and its report may help to clarify the latest position taken up by the political parties in India.

Sir Muhammad goes on to add that the new constitution must leave the door open to Indian States to come into the picture if they so desire, but should not make the coming into force of the constitution conditional upon their consent or accession.

Again safeguards for the protection of minorities, with regard to religion, culture,

education and language must be so framed as to be capable of judicial determination, so that any breach or contravention of them may be set right by judicial action. There should be no room in the new constitution for Special Responsibilities of Governors and the Governor General.

"It might be asked", Sir Muhammad says,

whether any constitution framed by Parliament to which the principal parties in India were not consenting parties would have a fair chance of smooth working. Such a constitution would fail to give complete satisfaction, as the claims of every one of the parties would have to be subjected to a good deal of pruning to make them fit into any workable constitutional pattern. As the constitution would vest the power of amendment in the legislature set up by it, that should be an inducement to the political parties to start working it so that in due course they might be able to give it the shape that they might agree upon among themselves. Nevertheless there would be a certain amount of risk that some parties might not be willing to co-operate in working the new constitution. That consideration must be kept in mind by those who are actually engaged in framing the constitution, and it would no doubt, result in the constitution being moulded into a pattern which might enable it to function even if some parties did hold aloof.

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## AMERICAN EXPOSURE OF BRITISH PROPAGANDA

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons arranged by the American Forum of the Air on "What's holding back India's Freedom?" has appeared in the press in India. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialists. There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs to the British Embassy; Mr. Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader; Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick boiled down his question to this:

Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve.

Mr Thomas followed him and said

In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people.

The third man to speak was Mr Ahmad who spoke like a Muslim League propagandist and said:

The Muslims, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India.

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said.

Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for

keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee landlord sends its overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgeable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged.

## RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA

An editorial in a student publication at Williamsburg in U.S.A. with the title "Lincoln's job half done", declares that Negroes differ from whites only "in surface characteristics" and should be permitted to "join the same clubs and marry among us." It adds "Of course, this cannot be done to-day or to-morrow, but perhaps the next day . . . Neither they nor we are ready for it yet."

"Only chaos (such as the southern States experienced during the reconstruction) would result if such a plan were initiated before the Negroes and others were educated for it. . . . The myth of white supremacy is exactly the same as Hitler's contention of nordic supremacy—nonsense."

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

SOME ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PAKISTAN. By Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. [The Hindustan, Vol. I, No. IV]

THE GANDHIAN PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By R. Verdon. [The New Review, March 1945]

AMERICANS LOOK TO INDIA. By Elizabeth Davidson. [Prabuddha Bharata, March 1945]

INDIA AND POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION. By K. N. Katju. [The XX Century, February 1945]

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Professor Amarnath Gupta. [The Hindustan Review, November-January]

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BEYOGAL AND CHINA. By S. Mukhopadhyaya and Hsiao Ling Wu. [The Modern Review, March 1945]

TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO EAST AND WEST. By Lawrence E. Moore. [The Arjun Path, March 1945]

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT. [The Voice of India, February 1945]

# INDIAN STATES

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## Hyderabad

### THE TUNGABHADRA PROJECT

His Highness the Prince of Berar unveiled a pylon to commemorate the inauguration of the Tungabhadra Project on the Hyderabad side

Replying to an address presented on the occasion His Highness said that with the inauguration of the Tungabhadra Project, the harnessing of the waters of this river together with the completion of other similar schemes would usher in 'an era charged with great possibilities of agricultural and industrial development in His Exalted Highness' Dominions Areas irrigated by rivers have often been the cradles of human culture by reason of the prosperity accruing from the benefits of nature's bounty and there is every reason to hope that the waters of the Tungabhadra, spreading prosperity and navigation facilities and conveying light and power to town and country will bring a new culture and a new standard of living to these lands in which conditions of chronic scarcity have hitherto caused much anxiety'

His Highness was glad that after negotiations lasting many years difficulties were solved with a friendly exchange of views

### AMENDING ACTS

An amendment to the Hyderabad Legal Practitioners Act seeking to discourage legal practitioners of British India from practising in the Hyderabad High Court has been referred to a select committee by the Hyderabad Legislative Council

Another amendment which has been referred to the Secretary of the Judicial Department for report stressed that retired judges of the Hyderabad High Court should not be permitted to practise as legal practitioners after their retirement from office, except before the judicial committee

## Mysore

### MYSORE DPI FOR REORGANIZATION

Total expenditure on public instruction in Mysore State for the year ending June, 1944, according to the Government review of the report of the Department of Public Instruction, amounted to Rs 897,200 as against Rs 807,900 in the previous year

In the course of his report, the Director of Public Instruction has stressed the need for the reorganization of the studies in high schools so as to provide such variety as would suit the main types of abilities and aptitudes of pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their after school life on the other hand and for the necessity of trained teachers in the department for all grades of education The Government say that these will be considered when proposals in the matter are submitted to them

Referring to adult education in the State, the Government say that during the year under review a special grant of Rs 80,000 was sanctioned to the Mysore State Literacy Council besides the continuance of the usual lump sum grant of Rs 20,000 for carrying on the work of adult literacy in connection with the rural reconstruction drive in the selected hoblis (groups of villages) in the State 1,133 adult literacy classes and 318 libraries were opened by the Literacy Council during the year

### EDUCATION & MEDICAL RESEARCH

In a Lashmipathi (of Madras) President of the National Council of Rural Reconstruction and Indo Ceylon Goodwill Mission, will shortly be settling down to Bangalore as head of the Research Department of the Ayurvedic units to be run by the Government of Mysore with Bangalore as their headquarters

## Baroda

### BARODA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The first session of the Baroda State Women's Conference was inaugurated at Baroda, on March 10, by Her Highness Maharani Shanta Devi Gaekwad, Mrs. Hansa Mehta presiding.

Her Highness, in her address, welcomed the idea of all women's institutions in the State amalgamating and becoming a branch of the All-India Women's Conference. She referred to the proud record of Baroda of half a century of reform for the uplift of women's status and its readiness for further progress whenever needed. She emphasised the important role of the home in life and observed, "one good mother is worth a thousand schoolmasters". The present war, she said, had proved that women could do men's task bravely and creditably over and above their own.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta as an old Barodate, spoke of the good work done in the State for the uplift of women and appealed to the audience to convey to every door the message of the All-India Women's Conference, namely, equal rights. She advised them to develop a sense of individuality and be economically self-reliant. Reminding them of the various problems of life such as food-supply, education, practical knowledge, etc., she emphasised that women should evince ever greater interest in the solution of these problems, so that women as a class might achieve real progress.

Mrs. Chanchalben Parikh, welcoming the delegates, read out messages of good wishes received from many.

## Kashmir

### KASHMIR INFANTRY IN BURMA

News has reached this country of the glorious part played by the 4th Jammu and Kashmir Infantry on the Burma Front. Leading the attacks on Vital Corner, Kennedy Peak and Fort White, this Infantry, now serving with the 5th Indian Division, also participated in the famous advance from Tiddim, which resulted in the final link-up with the East Africans near Kelemyo.

This battalion joined the division just before the capture of Tiddim. Shortly afterwards it became the spearhead of the division's advance and though ground and fighting conditions were entirely new to the men, they acquitted themselves with great credit.

At Kennedy Peak one company of the battalion captured a Japanese 75 mm gun and considerable quantities of ammunition and stores. Another company pushed forward seven miles the same day to a feature known as Elephant, where Jap resistance stiffened and three attacks had to be put in before the enemy were routed.

The battalion did not give the Japs any rest, and through their efforts the enemy were forced to evacuate Fort White, leaving behind quantities of stores and two anti-aircraft guns undamaged.

### KASHMIR CONSTITUTION ACT

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has amended the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act. By virtue of this amendment, both the popular Ministers, Mr. Mha Beg and Wazir Ganga Ram, recently appointed from amongst the members of the Praja Sabha, will retain their seats in the State Assembly.

## Travancore

### TRAVANCORE CATTLE

An encouraging account of what is being done in Travancore to improve the quality of its cattle appears in the current edition of the *Travancore Information and Listener*

Experiments have been carried out to discover the best type of bulls to raise the quality of the local stock. Bulls from adjoining Provinces and States were not wholly satisfactory, so the Travancore Agricultural Department went further afield until it discovered a type of Sindhi bull which, crossed with the local cattle, has sired very healthy calves. Now a stud bull farm has been opened for the breeding of pure Sindhi bull calves.

An interesting development in Travancore has been the adoption of a milk recording scheme as sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Cows which conform to the standard aimed at are registered and the milk yield recorded under the direction of the Imperial Council.

### CONTRIBUTION TO WAR FUND

The Maharaja has donated a sum of Rs 2 lakhs to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund on the occasion of the visit of Lord and Lady Wavell to the State.

Another sum of Rs 1 lakh was donated by Her Highness the Maharani for the same object and a cheque for this was handed over to Her Excellency Lady Wavell.

## Kathiawar

### FOOD PROBLEM IN KATHIAWAR

Kathiawar, the land of small States, has in recent months experienced acute food shortage and thanks to the recent decision of the Government to supply food grains to Kathiawar the food crisis has been averted. The problems of growing more food crops and equitable distribution of food grains are naturally the most important problems

to be tackled and Rajkot State, the nerve centre of Kathiawar, has given a lead in the matter as can be seen from the following paragraphs.

Immediately after rice imports were stopped and the State could not get sufficient supplies, the cultivators were asked to grow more paddy and a crop of 46,092 maunds was produced in 1944 as compared to 15,842 maunds in the previous year. Rajkot requires about 1½ lakh of maunds per year and it is hoped to make the State self-sufficient in a few years.

Cultivators have been discouraged from growing commercial crops like groundnut and those who brought waste lands under cultivation of food crops, are exempted from irrigation charges. Facilities for credit in the form of loans are given by the Agricultural Bank of the State. The State has also agreed to purchase surplus crops from cultivators. Difficulties of marketing and the unsocial activities of middlemen have been reduced to the minimum.

## Indore

### INDORE TENT WORKERS

The workers in tent factories at Indore, who were on strike in October and December, 1944, for about three weeks altogether, will get an increase in their wages.

In this war industry labourers are not directly employed by Government contractors. They are engaged by sub-contractors and that too on piece work basis. The matter was, however, sympathetically taken up by the Commerce Department of the State and settlement has been arrived at whereby the workers will receive an increase of 18¾ per cent in their wages with retrospective effect from November 1, 1944. This is the second conciliation of its kind in Indore by mutual agreement, the first being one regarding compensation for involuntary unemployment in mills due to coal shortage.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN S AFRICA

The Liberal Federation, which met at Lahore in the third week of last month, passed a resolution demanding for Indians in S Africa full citizenship rights. Deploing the failure of the Government of the Union of S Africa to abolish the Peggung Act, the resolution stated in part:

In view of the uncompromising attitude of the Government of S Africa towards the legitimate demands of India, the Federation feels that it was a mistake on the part of the Government of India to have sent the High Commissioner to S Africa and it urges the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner forthwith and to adopt all fiscal and commercial sanctions against S Africa until the Peggung Act is abolished.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir moving the resolution, said India was unanimously agreed on this question. The new High Commissioner should never have been sent to S Africa. It was unfortunate that the Government of India should not have seen their way to accepting this unanimous proposal. This was a gesture which could not have harmed anyone. Government should have bowed to the public opinion.

Urging economic sanctions against S. Africa Sir Cowasji said their countrymen in S Africa were prepared to undergo the hardships and losses following the application of such a measure against the S. African Government. As a matter of fact, they themselves had suggested this. A certain amount of inconvenience might be caused to some industries in this country in regard to imports of certain things from S. Africa but this was a question of the honour of their country, and no small considerations should come in their way. The Government of India must respect the wishes of the people of India in this matter, and apply economic sanctions against S Africa.

The debate in the Assembly and the strong words used against Dr. Khare, the Commonwealth Member by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and others reveal the strength of feeling on the subject in India.

## U.S.A.,

### U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

The text of President Roosevelt's letter sent to Mr Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of the House of Representatives Immigration Committee, which is studying the legislation on Indian immigration, reads:

I regard this legislation as important and desirable and I believe that its enactments will help us to win the war and establish a secure peace.

I am sure your committee is aware of the great services which India has rendered to United Nations in the war against the Axis. The Indian Army, raised entirely by voluntary enlistments, has fought with skill and courage in Europe, Africa and Asia. India has also furnished and will continue to furnish a substantial amount of raw materials and manufactured products of great assistance in prosecuting the war.

The present statutory provisions that discriminate against persons of East Indian descent provoke ill feeling, now serve no useful purpose and are inconsistent with the dignity of both our peoples.

East Indian persons would be approximately 100 immigrants yearly. There can be no real danger that this small number of immigrants will cause unemployment or provide competition in search for jobs.

It is my hope that Congress will take steps to remove the present provisions of our immigration and naturalisation laws that discriminate against persons of East Indian descent.

Testifying before the House Immigration and Naturalisation Committee, Representative Celler, co-author of the Bill with representative Luce affirmed the need for quick passage of the Bill.

As we go to press, we learn that the House Immigration Committee voted by ten votes to six to postpone consideration indefinitely of the Indian Immigration Bill.

Unexpectedly strong opposition was encountered in the executive session of the Committee from the Republican members who held that Indian immigration and naturalisation would provide too much cheap labour in the United States.

It is understood, however, that the Democratic Representative, Mr. Emmanuel Celler and other supporters of his Bill will continue to present various alternatives and will try to get positive action as soon as possible.



# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### SETTLEMENT IN INDIA

The present Indian deadlock is "a disaster even from the Imperial standpoint", says one of Britain's leading experts on India, Mr. Edward Thompson, in a letter to the *Times*, of March 20

He adds:

In the post war world, unless we enter it with a willingly united community of people, it will be only by courtesy that we shall rank as equals in strength and authority with the U S S R and the United States. We cannot afford to go forward with India resentful. It is a mistake to imagine that only Congress leaders are estranged from us

In its leader on the subject, the *Times*, summarising the correspondence that has appeared in its columns, makes these two points:

(1) Britain must bear the responsibility of taking such action as may be necessary to secure effective execution of her declared policy towards India. (2) the present reliance upon the Crippa offer in its "take it or leave it" spirit no longer suffice.

The *Times* comments:

This is, in fact, fraught with peril to Indo British co operation both during and after the war. There is a general conviction that it is for this country to take the political initiative

The *Times* continues:

The suggestions for positive action appear to fall under two main headings. First, it is proposed that Britain should now begin a gradual remodelling of the structure, staffing and procedure of the Governmental machine in preparation for a complete transfer of power to Indian hands, and secondly, that Britain should approach the communal problem from a new angle, namely, that the persistence of antagonisms now underling the parties and interests of India constitutes a reproach to British as well as to Indian statesmanship—a reproach which both countries must co operate in removing as an essential preliminary to India's assumption of her new position in the world. Britain, in pursuance of her declared policy, must work to this end no less zealously than India

### CENSURE ON VICEROY'S COUNCIL

By 61 votes to 53, the Central Assembly, on March 9, passed the Congress Party's cut motion to censure the Viceroy's Executive Council by reducing the demand under "Executive Council" to one rupee.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, ridiculed the claims of Indian Members of the Council that they had acted patriotically and asserted that they had acted in a manner that was a standing disgrace. The confidence of the people was the real measure of patriotism and none of the Indian Members had this: indeed, said Mr Desai amidst laughter, in the case of one or two of them, their own families did not agree with them!

To what purpose were the two and a half million Indian troops being used, asked Mr Desai.

For whose democracy were they shedding their blood? We are willing to undertake the responsibility for fighting if only we are fighting for our freedom along with the freedom of others.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, criticising the present Government, said:

Give up this pretence... The world knows that the Government of India has neither the backing nor the goodwill nor the co operation of the people

### INDIA AND WORLD SECURITY

An official report issued after twelve days' private meeting of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference declared that Members of the Commonwealth should "re-examine their own attitude on racial questions and treatment of dependent peoples." The report said, this was essential because of "our challenge to the doctrine of master race and our espousal of the cause of humanity regardless of race or creed."

The Conference also recognised the vitally important role that India plays in Commonwealth communications and strategy.

# Utterances of the Day

## MR. T. R. V. SASTRI'S PLEA

Presiding over the Silver Jubilee Session of the Liberal Federation at Lahore, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri asked for an immediate declaration by the British Government granting the status of Dominion Status to India and urged the release of political prisoners and Congress detenus to facilitate a solution of the political deadlock in India. He said:

The Government must immediately declare that India shall have the status of a Dominion at the end of the war. The Cripps offer contained that declaration, and the answers of Sir Stafford Cripps to questions put to him, made it clear that the status of India shall be the same as that of the other dominions, and that India shall have the same right, either to remain within the Commonwealth or leave it.

That declaration must be made forthwith, and implemented so far as possible by the British Government now. The intricacy of the problems in other countries did not bar them from taking steps when the war is on, and the Indian problem presents no features more difficult to resolve than the problems they are solving now elsewhere.

The Governor General should have released political prisoners and Congress detenus long ago. As soon as it was reasonably clear that public security no longer demanded their detention, they should have been released. Neither the public peace nor the safety of the State any longer requires their detention.

For a solution of the deadlock, mutual consultations between the members of the Working Committee of the Congress is necessary, and their continuance in goal and the refusal of the Government to allow mutual consultation only adds to the difficulties in the way of finding a solution.

### Mr. Sastriar concluded:

As for Britain's attitude to the future of India, words promise but action denies. Words uttered in adversity are forgotten on the turn of the wheel of fortune. Conduct seems to reinforce the assertion: 'what we have we hold.' But, some leaders of thought in England have deplored this attitude, and have urged the need to give independence to India. An independent India will be an asset even in the present war against Japan.

Everything plainly indicates the need for unity and the united effort of all parties in India. None but the wilfully blind can fail to see it.

## PROF. RUSSELL ON INDIA POLICY

Bertram Russell, addressing the Cambridge University India Mijles, said:

I hope there will then be a new departure of British policy in India. We are all agreed. It is impossible to keep up our position in India; even if it is possible, it is neither justified nor desirable. Of course, in the war, people have to surrender their liberties as we have done in this country. That also applies to India. But as soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness we can demand we want a change for the better of India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of *Dominion Status* as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what does the Indian want? At any rate, it is felt by the vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the U.S., that our promise is not honest, that we do not mean to keep our undertaking. Indians and many people in the U.S. want unequivocal, definite and unambiguous declaration for India. Therefore, if I were a part of the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date, say, 12 months after the end of the Japanese war, we, British, shall wash our hands of India. I should announce that now, so that Indians may have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together.

What kind of Government for India? I do not think we should be too much hampered by the differences in India. After all, they are there everywhere, as they are among our own people. But, because we have differences, nobody here wants the foreigners to settle our differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war, we shall abandon our responsibilities for India.

I do not think we ought to insist on the Dominion Status idea. That India should become a Dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical necessity. Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and won't belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries, her history and culture are contrary to ours. Moreover, it is a pity to ignore one of the most important factors. It is that this Dominion Status gives the right to secede and everyone knows Indians will exercise it and use it to quit from the empire. Make no mistake about it. So, why should we have this futile process when we know fully well that India will get out of empire? At least you will get a situation similar to that of Southern Ireland. The Irish have been given nominally Dominion Status. Though for all practical purposes this has done no good to anybody, the Irishmen are outside the empire except for their passports only, which facilitate their coming to Britain.

## PROF ABDUL MAJID'S HOPE

Prof Abdul Majid Khan, in a statement to the Press on the defeat of the Frontier Ministry on the no confidence motion, says

The liberty loving Pathans of the Frontier Province have done well in censuring and throwing out the Muslim League Ministry, which has all along been a minority Ministry. The defeat of the Pakistani Ministry is a clear vindication of the fact that the Frontier Province is solidly behind the Congress, that the little finger of the Mahatma is the mightiest force indeed and that in a predominantly Muslim Province the feeble voice of Gandhiji still drowns the strident bugle of the vivisectionists, who in reality are out and out reactionaries. The protagonists of Pakistan are now realising that it is utterly impossible to keep the people off the right for a long time simply by stunts and slogans. The brave Pathans know that who only the Congress and no other party left the Congress has struggled ceaselessly for the emancipation of India and that the Muslim League is simply out to strengthen the foundation of British Imperialism, by widening the gulf between the two major communities of this country. It is being increasingly felt that the fissures in the Pakistan fortress have become irreparable and that ere long the communal castle will completely collapse.

## THE BIHAR INTERNEES

The home internment orders issued by the Government of Bihar on five members of the Congress, Mr Sri Krishna Sinha ex Premier Mr Anugraha Narayan Sinha, former Finance Minister, Professor Abdul Bari, Deputy Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, Mr Murl Manohar Prasad, Editor of the *Searchlight* and Pandit P Mista were withdrawn on March 13

The Government's decision to withdraw the internment order on the five Congressmen followed an interview, Mr Anugraha Narayan Sinha had with Mr R E Russell, Adviser to the Governor and the Chief Secretary at which Mr Sinha clarified certain points sought by the Government

The Provincial Government have issued a *communiqué* announcing their decision to cancel the internment order and publishing the correspondence that passed between them and the interned leaders

## CONGRESS & CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

"Congressmen, whose only calling is service of the people, will serve mutely and without caring for the consequences that may befall them by reason of their service. That is the true meaning of do or die," Mahatma Gandhi observed in a Press statement regarding the ban on constructive workers of Akola and elsewhere

Mahatma Gandhi says

A Conference of Congress workers, limited in numbers and by special invitation, was recently banned in Akola by the District Magistrate. The order is reported to say that discussion will take place among other subjects on the work and programme of the Congress, particularly in villages

It passes comprehension how a Conference, where only discussion could take place, can hamper the prosecution of the war or how the constructive programme no matter how influentially worked, can hamper the prosecution of the war

## REPEAL THE ORDINANCES

Speaking during the debate on the Finance Bill in the Assembly, Mr T. T. Krishnamachari stated that it was made clear from answers to questions in the House that certain ordinances would remain part of the permanent structure of law in this country

He added that a Committee should be appointed to investigate whether it was still necessary for all the ordinances to stand, or whether some of them could be repealed. They could, for instance, repeal the ordinances of August 15 1942, which empowered members of the Allied forces to put civilians to death under certain circumstances

## NATIONAL WAR FRONT

The Central Assembly passed a resolution by 55 votes to 43 asking for the abolition of the National War Front. The Government announced a new scheme in which emphasis would be shifted to Informative and Factual Propaganda regarding nation building activities. The administrative control of the new organisation would be under Provincial Governments

## BETTERING THE LOT OF TEACHERS

"If we desire to have an organised system of education in this country, we ought to have 22 lakhs of teachers, whereas at present we have, in British India, only 521,000 teachers of all grades", said Mr M. S. Sundaram, who is shortly proceeding to America as the Educational Liaison Officer to the Government of India in the U.S.A. addressing a meeting of teachers, at Madras.

Mr. Sundaram said that the teacher was as much a professional man as a lawyer, a doctor or an engineer, and the belief that any man who knew anything could become a teacher, was as absurd as saying that anyone who knew anything about hygiene or physiology or blood circulation could treat patients. They, in this country, were not lacking in man-power or in woman-power but one would like to ask what prevented them from being attracted to the teaching profession. He would say that so long as teachers were not regarded as highly respected members of society but remained as under-dogs, and teaching was looked upon, as the last of the professions which mattered, no one would be attracted to it voluntarily.

## MOTHER TONGUE AS MEDIUM

"I have no doubt whatsoever that if those who have the education of the youth in their hands will but make up their minds, they will discover that the mother tongue is as natural for the development of the man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body," writes Mahatma Gandhi in a foreword to a revised brochure, entitled "The Medium of Instruction," brought out by Principal S. N. Aggarwal.

"How can it be otherwise?" asks Mahatma Gandhi. "The babe takes its first lesson from its mother. I, therefore, regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their mental development."

## TECHNICAL TRAINING FOR INDIANS

The first batch of students was expected to go abroad for technical education in the early autumn this year, said Mr. J. D. Tyson in reply to Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar in the Central Assembly on March 13.

So far as students sent abroad in 1945-46 for technical courses were concerned, the Central Government would meet the entire cost in respect of those who were sent with a view to meeting the requirements of the Centrally-administered areas. They would meet half the cost in respect of students sent on behalf of Provincial Governments.

The number of students to be sent under these different categories would be decided after the requirements of all the Provincial Governments and departments of the Central Government had been ascertained.

The selection would be made by a special Board which would be appointed by the Government of India for this purpose.

## SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Sir S. Radhakrishnan will resume his duties as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions at Oxford and proceed to Oxford at the end of April for a three months' stay in Britain. He has been exempted from residence for the duration of the war, and will continue as Vice-Chancellor of Benares University.

## TECHNICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The Bengal Government have appointed a committee, with the Director of Public Instruction as chairman, to consider and make proposals for the development of higher engineering and technical education in the Province, with special reference to the expansion of facilities now provided.

## AGRICULTURISTS' DEBT RELIEF ACT

A full Bench of the Madras High Court consisting of their Lordships, the Hon Sir Lionel Leach, Chief Justice, Mr Justice Wadsworth and Mr Lakshmana Rao, answered a reference which related to the question whether the Madras Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act (Act IV of 1939) could cover promissory notes debts within the Negotiable Instruments Act

Their Lordships, after hearing the reference, observed that if Sections 7, 8, 9 and 13 of the Madras Act IV offended against Sections 32, 78 and 90 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 'we must in view of judgment of the Federal Court hold that the Act was ultra vires to that extent. It is obvious that these sections of the Madras Act do run counter to sections of the Negotiable Instruments Act enumerated and therefore we feel constrained to hold that the latest decisions of the Federal Court governs the matter. That is the answer we give to the question referred'

## PLEA FOR COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE

Mr G A Natesan, Editor of the *Indian Review*, Mr K Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu* and Mr C R Srinivasan, Editor, *Suadesantran*, have sent a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy pleading for the commutation of the death penalty awarded to the accused in the Kulasekhara patnam Rioting case

A telegram to H E Viceroy "praying for the commutation of the death penalty of Kasinathan and Rajagopalan, prisoners in Kulasekharapatnam Case" has been sent also by the President of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation

## SIR S VARADACHARIAR

Sir S Varadachariar, Judge of the Federal Court of India has been elected an Honorary Master of the Bench of the Inner Temple. This is stated to be a unique distinction for a Judge in India

## DR SAPRU ON THE SINGLE BAR

In the course of an address to the Madras Advocates' Association on March 13, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru stressed the need for a single Bar. He said that they should try to evolve an All India constitution for the bar. If the members of the Bar were an evil they were an indispensable and inevitable evil to be put up with. In nearly every country, where the liberty of the people was concerned, the leaders had always been drawn from the legal profession.

Paying a tribute to the Madras Bar, the speaker said, 'I recognise in the Madras Bar, a senior Bar of India. Madras has been in several branches our educator'

## JUDGE'S CONSCIENCE ACQUITS

Mr Uttam Chand Kaka, a prominent Congressman who was being tried in the court of the Sub Judge, Mr Ghaznavi, for having read the Independence Pledge on January 26 has been acquitted. The magistrate told Mr Uttam Chand, 'The Crown counsel has urged three years' rigorous imprisonment for you, but my conscience feels that you are not guilty, hence I acquit you'

Reading of the Pledge had been prohibited by the Government of Sind by an order passed under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules banning meetings and processions on January 26

## MR N P ENGINEER

The appointment of Mr Engineer, Advocate General of Bombay, to be the Advocate General of India, comes as the climax of a very distinguished legal career

Mr Engineer started as a solicitor in Bombay about 35 years ago, like the late Right Hon Sir Dinshaw Mulla, and, like him, some years later was admitted as an advocate of the High Court, where he soon established a commanding and lucrative practice. In 1936 he was appointed an additional judge of the Bombay High Court, and in 1942 he was appointed Advocate General of Bombay

## OVER-ALL COST OF INSURANCE

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, in a statement on the limitation of over-all cost proposed by the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly for Life and General Insurance Companies working in India, says.

"In view of the difficult problems the Indian Insurance business is facing and is likely to face in future, it is imperative that a reasonable form of limitation is imposed statutorily, providing the limits beyond which the expenses of insurers should not exceed. The position at present of Indian life insurance is weak. Of the 159 offices whose valuations have been recorded in the Insurance Year Book, 31 offices showed a deficit, 56 offices showed a nominal valuation surplus, and 22 offices showed a surplus. It is well known that 90 per cent. of the business is on a participating basis, for which privilege the insured pays substantially higher premium than is justified for his basic contract. It is correct therefore to say that of the 159 offices, as many as 137 offices showed an actual or a *de facto* deficit.

This is due to the following two factors, *viz.*, (1) net interest earning capacity of insurance offices being sharply reduced and (2) expenses of management of most of the offices being far in excess of the provisions included in the premium rates. Unless the position is radically readjusted, it is apprehended that not only will most of the offices who have shown real or *de facto* deficit continue to do so but many of the 22 offices who showed, at their preceding valuation, a surplus, will either show a real or *de facto* deficit. This is a very grave position, and if the life offices who are trustees of the policy-holders are anxious to fulfil their obligations, it is imperative that the whole business must be rationalised, and expenses reduced to the level implied in the premium rates. This can only be done by fixing a statutory maximum, keeping in view the

size of offices, beyond which insurers should not spend. In this process of readjustment, the insurers should set aside their domestic differences of opinion and adjust the cost between the various interests, concerned, *viz.*, the agents, chief agents and the management. General insurance business is a powerful arm of the national economy of every industrialised country. India has been an importer of insurance, and this has resulted in an unfavourable balance of payment to the extent of about a crore of rupees every year. To correct the position from this point of view, it is necessary that India should have a well organised indigenous insurance market conducted on sound financial principles, which will offer an unquestionable security to the insuring public and which will command the respect of the international insurance market. In the present conditions under which the business is conducted, this is not possible.

## INSURANCE POLICY COMMITTEE

The Government of India has summoned meetings of the Post-war Insurance Policy Committee in Bombay and will deal with the proposal for post-war reconstruction.

Interest to the controversy regarding limitation of over-all expenditure has been added by the decisions of the seventeenth annual session of Indian Life Assurance Offices' Association held in New Delhi on March 6 and 7. It is learnt that the Conference by a big majority adopted a resolution welcoming the principle of limitation of over-all expenditure for betterment of Indian insurance. Suggestions were made for the limitation of chief agent's commission and were adopted. Regarding licensed agents, the Conference was unanimous that renewal commission should not be reduced and that the existing percentage should be continued.

Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan, Superintendent of Insurance, Central Government, will preside.

## INDIAN DELEGATION AT CANBERRA

The Indian Industrial Delegation reached Canberra on March 11

The delegation leader, Mr Datar Singh told the Australian Cabinet at a luncheon in Parliament House that India felt she was in a position to supply Australia's textile requirements replacing Japan during post war years

Indian textiles should be given the same preference as other British countries. Closer economic co operation was necessary. Mr Datar Singh said he was convinced that there were great trade increase possibilities

The mission had for its main objective:

Firstly to determine how far Australia could provide India with capital and consumer goods immediately and in the post war period but immediate action was necessary

Secondly to discuss the possibilities of a trade pact between Australia and India similar to that with New Zealand and Canada

Thirdly to explore the establishment of direct shipping lines between the two countries,

Fourthly, development of textile trade replacing Japan with preference given to India the same as other countries of the British Commonwealth,

Fifthly to arrange for the exchange of technicians and students

Premier Curtin said that the possibility of trade development between the two countries was great. He hoped that the mission's efforts would be successful. "Australia," he said, "regards India as a brother in the welfare of the British Commonwealth and anything we can do will be done willingly"

## INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

Sir Cyril Jones, Finance Secretary announced in reply to Raja Yuvraj Dutta Singh that the Government of India contemplated sending a delegation from India at a suitable time to discuss with His Majesty's Government the problem of the liquidation of the Sterling Balances

## THE MADRAS BUDGET

As the Legislature is not functioning, the budget of the Government of Madras for 1945-46 has been issued to the public in the form of a press communique

The budget estimate for all the standing activities of the Government in the coming year shows a total revenue of Rs 41 25 29 lakhs and a total expenditure of Rs 40 45 14 lakhs, leaving a net surplus of Rs 80,15 lakhs

The communique states that the Government have made a much larger provision for new schemes of expenditure in 1945-46 than they have done in previous years during the war. A sum of Rs 55 43 lakhs is provided for the introduction of free compulsory elementary education in selected areas in each district. Provision is also made for additional grants to local bodies amounting to Rs 133 59 lakhs

The provision made in the budget for capital expenditure (excluding the net outlay on State Trading Schemes) is Rs 175 62 lakhs, of which Rs 172 22 lakhs represents remunerative expenditure. It includes Rs 62 50 lakhs for the Tungabhadra Project and Rs 37 lakhs for electricity schemes

## "BUY BRITISH" PROPAGANDA

"Buy British" will soon be heard again in 26 countries outside the European battle area. Thus did the British Government reply to month old complaints, mainly by the London *Daily Mail* that it was letting United States business men get the jump in capturing export markets disrupted by the war, states a report

Travelling under expedited passports, hundreds of salesmen and other trade representatives have already left England, so Under Secretary for Overseas Trade Harcourt Johnstone disclosed. They will prepare the ground for the day when British goods become available for export

## WOMEN IN COAL MINES

Mrs. Renuka Ray moved in the Assembly a cut to discuss the need for the immediate re-imposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines

She said that there had been consistent and insistent protest throughout the country. Last year, when the question was raised in the House, Government gave the assurance that it was only a temporary measure and that the ban would be re-imposed, but it appeared the Government had no such intention

Dr. Ambedkar said that he felt very unhappy in taking the decision to employ women underground, but circumstances were such that it was impossible to take any other action. He referred to the situation arising from the fall in coal production since 1941 and said that in our own country women did work in mines as early as 1937. The Government of India had taken steps from 1929 to close the employment of women underground and had prescribed how each year the number of women employed should be reduced. According to that programme no women would work underground after 1977. This decision was taken long before the international labour convention was passed.

The All India Women's Council, at its meeting in December 1934, dealt with the disadvantages of Government's proposals for the restriction of women labour in mines and came to the conclusion that if the women were removed from underground work, the conditions of distress would be so great in the miner's homes that it would far outweigh the advantages. The A-IWC, however, decided to support the international convention, notwithstanding the fact that they saw grave objection to the course pursued by the Government of India.

The cut motion was carried without a division

## GIRLS IN CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

There are 304 more women students studying in the colleges than there were in 1942, says the *N C. C. Review*. There are 101 more Christian women studying in the colleges than there were in that year. The only colleges that have no women students are St. Paul's, St. Columba's, St. John's, Palamcotah.

There are 12 colleges that have women students which provide no hostel accommodation for them. But in every case the number of women in these colleges is still quite small. When the numbers, especially of Christian girls, increase, colleges provide hostel accommodation and supervision by a qualified women member of the staff. Wilson College, which has a far larger number of women students than any other college, 340, has a hostel in which 33 students can stay; of them 11 are Christians and 22 non-Christians. The women students have separate facilities for badminton and tennis, and they have a physical training instructress. Similarly, the Scottish Church College has 156 women students, and of these 45 are in hostels with suitable facilities and supervision. In the *Andhra* Christian College, out of 97 women students 43 are in residence and of them 45 are Christians. There are 112 women students in Kottayam College; of these 101 are Christians and 54 are in hostels.

## A BHARATPUR NOTIFICATION

In Bharatpur State old widowers will not be allowed to marry young girls. It is understood that the Bharatpur State has issued a notification which says that no Hindu widowers above 50 will be allowed to marry a woman below 25. The notification also bans dowry, and announces that defaulters will be sentenced to two years' imprisonment or a fine up to Rs. 1,000 or both.



## LIBRARIES IN LIBERATED AREAS

An organisation has been set up in the USA to provide books for devastated libraries in the liberated areas. The Germans have destroyed priceless volumes but fortunately copies of many exist. Every effort is being made to supply these books without delay.

While in the USA educational foundations, libraries and cultural societies have united to supply books to liberated areas little has been done in other Allied countries. It is suggested that similar attempts be made to find books for devastated libraries and for areas which are short of books.

In fact what is needed to-day is an exchange between nations of books which represent their culture and tradition. This would pave the way for international understanding.

## HINDI IN THE ASSEMBLY

Mr Rajmal referring to Sir Cowasji Jehangir's remark in connection with his Hindi speech in the Assembly said it was strange that in the Assembly in his own country he was not allowed to speak his own language.

Sir Cowasji intervening explained that he had not objected to the Hindi speech but there was no arrangement for recording it.

The President Sir Abdur Rahim speaking in Hindustani pointed out that no objection had been raised to his speaking in Hindi.

## LORD ALFRED DOUGLAS

Lord Alfred Douglas scholar and poet, died last month in London at the age of 74. He was the eldest surviving son of the eighth Marquis of Queensberry. He figured in several law suits and in 1923 was sentenced to six months imprisonment for a criminal libel on Mr Churchill.

A poet of both light and serious works Lord Douglas has been described as the greatest master of his age of English sonnet. He wrote a large number of works and was a close friend of Bernard Shaw.

## LORD WAVEILL AND SIR JOHN COLVILLE

His Majesty's Government have invited His Excellency Field Marshal Viscount Wavell, Viceroy and Governor General of India to come to London by air for personal consultations. His Excellency left for London on March 21.

His Majesty the King has approved that during His Excellency's absence His Excellency the Rt Hon Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay who is the senior Privy Councillor among the Presidency Governors should act as Governor General and Crown Representative and that Sir Henry Knight should act as Governor of Bombay during the absence of Sir John Colville.

## INDIAN DELEGATION TO SAN FRANCISCO

The Government of India have been invited to take part in the Conference to be held shortly in London and San Francisco on the world security organisation says a *communiqué*.

The Governor General in Council has selected the Honble Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and the Honble Sir Feroz Khan Noon as two of India's representatives and at the invitation of His Excellency the Crown representative Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has agreed to serve as the third. The Honble Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar will lead the delegation.

The Honble Mr K. P. S. Menon the Agent General for India in Chungking who is now on leave in India will be the head of the Secretariat attached to the delegation.

## WILLIAM PHILIPS

Mr William Philips has resigned as the President's Personal Representative with the Indian Government with the personal rank of Ambassador. Mr Philips' resignation it is said was due to the illness of his wife. He will continue to work with the State Department in connection with important matters in relation to the Department and Foreign service.

## OPHTHALMOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

The Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, inaugurated the Eighth Conference of the All-India Ophthalmological Society at Hyderabad (Deccan) on March 8

The Nawab said that the science they practised was comparatively young and had still great potentialities. He advised them to realise the vastness of the task confronting them, for its magnitude was such that their best endeavours could but touch the fringe of the problem. He realised that they were working against heavy odds with the prevailing dearth of specialised practitioners and well-equipped eye hospitals, and trusted that co-ordination of the labours of individual workers would help in combating the existing obstacles. The Nawab of Chhatari hoped that the conference would prove to be the best means of effecting such co-ordination.

The Nawab of Chhatari assured the conference of every help from H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in furthering the task of the Society.

An appeal in the name of the Society to the public, rich and poor alike, to wail away their eyes on death for the purpose of transplantation, was made by Dr. E. V. Srinivasan, presiding over the conference. Dr. Srinivasan said that if there was a response to the appeal, it will become "an easy matter for choosing a great number of blind persons and making attempts to restore their vision."

## THE PASSING OF LORD DAWSON

Lord Dawson of Penn, the King's personal Physician, died in London on March 7.

Lord Dawson, who was 79, had been physician to more Royal personages than any other man. He attended on Edward VII in 1907 and continued his duties to George V, Edward VIII, when he was Prince of Wales, and the present King, George VI. He attended on Queen Alexandra, Princess Victoria, Princess Arthur of Connaught, Queen Maud of Norway and the Princess Royal.

## MILK DIET FOR CHILDREN

What is more suited to children's diet, buffalo milk or skimmed milk powder? Buffalo's milk has a high fat content, while skimmed milk is rich in mineral content and protein.

Dr. R. Naidu, head of the Radium and Research Department, Tata Memorial Hospital, maintains that a mixture of equal quantities of buffalo milk and skimmed milk powder is not only ideal for a child's milk diet but is also cheap. Compared with the practice of adding water to reduce the high fat content of buffalo's milk, this is a better method.

Dr. B. C. Das Gupta, Executive Health Officer, Bombay Municipality, holds the view that infants up to the age of one require fat content in their milk but those going to school could easily do with skimmed milk. From this it appears that Dr. Naidu's suggestion should be implemented.

If a mixture of buffalo's milk and skimmed milk powder could have been used to implement the cheap milk scheme for children, then many will feel that the municipality might have done better on this issue. If such a mixture had been used from the start, much of the present troubles over Bombay's milk supply might have been avoided.

## HEALTH INSURANCE FOR PUNJAB WORKERS

The Speaker of the Punjab Assembly has admitted the notice of a Bill for the coming session of the Legislature, providing for a scheme of voluntary and compulsory health insurance of workers of the age of 16 and above, receiving wages less than Rs. 100 per mensem.

The Bill seeks to give to workers medical treatment allowances and payments to their wives at the rate of Rs. 15 for every confinement. Women will be entitled to maternity benefits six weeks before and after, in addition.

## BANKING COMPANIES BILL

In communicating their views to the Government on the Banking Companies Bill the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, while welcoming the need for separate legislation, has pointed out the inadvisability of sponsoring such a legislation in the absence of thorough investigation of the conditions of banking in this country. In between the period of 15 years since the Central Banking Committee made the investigation, the country has witnessed cataclysmic changes in its economic conditions. During this interval, there have been extreme inflation and deflation, low prices and high prices, slump prosperity, constitutional autonomy and irresponsible Government. The period witnessed a wave of bank failures. The Reserve Bank of India was ushered in.

In the opinion of the Chamber, the Bill appears to be directed against small banks who played an important part in the credit structure of the country. In the post war years, when there is a crying need for increasing production and distribution in rural areas these small banks that are bound to play an important part ought to have received recognition from the Government.

Inasmuch as there is the Reserve Bank to discharge the functions of the Central Bank there is no need any longer for a separate charter for one single joint stock bank.

## RUPEE NOTES AND COINS

The number of rupee notes and coins in circulation was almost equal at present said the Finance Member in reply to Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar in the Assembly recently. The average cost of paper and printing of a rupee note was two thirds of a pice. Under present conditions it was difficult to estimate the average life of one five and ten rupee notes. The average life of a rupee coin was estimated at 50 years.

## U.S. GOLD DOLLAR FOR CHINA

Solid Gold Dollars minted in the United States of America have been in circulation in Chungking for sometime now. They bear the portraits of Marshal Chiang kai shek and weigh one ounce each.

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Sir Edward Benthall, Transport Member, declaring open the Indian Railways Exhibition at New Delhi on March 10, said "India's life line—her Railways—has done its job".

The performance of the Indian Railways did not compare badly with the Railways in the United Kingdom, he said. With the same tract mileage, 40 per cent of the number of engines, half the number of carriages and one fifth of the wagon capacity, the Indian Railways lifted proportionately more tonnage, ran more miles and carried more passengers than the English Railways. The Indian Railways had to make considerable strides in its speed of running and providing amenities for passengers of all classes before it could catch up with the Railways of the other countries.

Sir Edward said that he could visualise a time in the not far distant future when the Toofan Express would run down to Calcutta in 18 hours, with an average speed of 50 miles per hour with all carriages and all classes air conditioned in one form or another.

## B AND A RAILWAY

Mr. Justice Sen of the Calcutta High Court has awarded Rs. 36,400 as damages in favour of the plaintiff, Shrimati Kalyani Basu, her three minor sons, a minor daughter and her mother in law against the defendant the Governor General in Council as the owner of the B and A Railway (formerly EBR) in connection with the death of Mr. Bhupendra Kishore Basu an advocate as a result of the Dacca Mail accident on August 5, 1940.

The plaintiff's case was that Mr. Basu was a passenger and as a result of the derailment, he sustained serious injuries and died the same evening in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. S. M. Kalyani Basu was the widow of the deceased.

## V-4 THAT CAN HIT NEW YORK

The V 4, the new super flying bombs which, the Germans claim can hit New York, are now ready for launching according to a German engineer who, until recently, was at one of the V Bomb experimental stations. He, however decided to come to Sweden where he has been interned but granted special conditions because his knowledge is useful to the Swedish General Staff. He said that the V 4 weighs 15 tons, travels 18 miles per second and attains a height of 120 miles. Its great disadvantage is that it is difficult to make by mass production, the Germans therefore could not send enough against New York to undermine morale.

## BRITISH SCIENTISTS FOR INDIA

At a special meeting of the Governing Council of the Indian Institute of Science, held in Bombay, it was decided to accept the offer of the British Government to loan the services of 3 senior scientists for appointment as professors in the Indian Institute of Science for 3 years. These professors will be in charge of Metallurgy, Applied Science with special reference to internal combustion engines and Aeronautical Engineering.

## MANUFACTURE OF PENICILLIN

A committee is to be appointed to advise the Government of India on the steps to be taken to establish the manufacture of Penicillin. This was one of the decisions made at the eighth meeting of the Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research held in New Delhi on March 13 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Ardeshr Dalal Member of the Planning and Development.

## TELEVISION WITH COLOUR EFFECTS

An Improved Television System having a standard of definition approaching that of cinema and possibly incorporating colour and stereoscopic effects is proposed by Lord Hankey's Television Committee in a report published last month.

## WALT DISNEY'S PLANS AFTER VICTORY

Mickey Mouse, who was banned in Germany by orders of Hitler, is now making preparations to go back to Germany.

His creator, Walt Disney, revealed in New York that he has dubbed the sound tracks of several of Mickey's pictures into German, in readiness for the day when American films will again be allowed in Germany. He will probably be the first film star to crash the German post war market.

"Dubbing these pictures into German has given me more pleasure than anything I've done in a long line," said Disney.

'Several years before the war, Hitler banned all Mickey's pictures and all his likenesses in story books and toys, because he said that German children must not learn to love a rodent. Mickey was not compatible with Nazi ideas of a master race. Well Mickey's going to be in Berlin long after Hitler's gone.

## GOING MY WAY 'BEST PICTURE' OF 1944

The film *Going My Way* has won the title of the outstanding picture of 1944 in the Academy Motion Pictures' arts and sciences awards. Bing Crosby has won the award for the best male performance of the year for his work in *Going My Way*. Ingrid Bergman won the Women's award for her performance in *Gaslight*.

Leo McCarey won the Directors title and also the award for writing the best original motion picture of the year *'Going My Way'*. This is the first time in 17 years that an Academy winner has captured two titles.

## FILM BOSS'S INCOME

Metro Goldwyn Mayer chief Louis B. Mayer received during the last financial year a salary of 949,764 dollars (£237,441) largest earned by anyone in the United States. After paying taxes he had 132,800 dollars (\$33,200) left.

## INDIAN PAPER INDUSTRY

Mr. R. W. Mellor, Chairman of the Indian Paper-Makers' Association, which has entered on its fiftieth year, at its annual meeting at Calcutta on March 9, expressed the hope that India would be in a position after the war to supply its own full requirements of paper, except only a few specialities and those mechanical newsprint qualities which were made extremely cheaply and economically in countries abroad.

Mr. Mellor said that it was difficult to plan ahead for the pulp and paper industry in India on a realistic basis until they had an opportunity of considering how the present very much increased production of paper was likely to fit into the national peace time economy.

When the unusual Government and Army demands would begin to decline, more paper, he thought, would be available for civil consumption.

## U.S. HELP FOR POST-WAR INDUSTRIES

Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani, in an article published in the *Asia and America* entitled, "You can do business with India," advocates American industrial assistance in building India's post-war industries in exchange for a market in India for American goods. He says that India is laying plans to move up to "the third rung from the sixth on the international industrial step-ladder" and wants the United States and the United Kingdom to supply India with machinery, equipment and technical knowledge.

## INDIA TEA INDUSTRY

Mr. H. C. Bannerman, Chairman of the Indian Tea Association, addressing its annual general meeting at Calcutta, on March 9, said that the two 'most important problems of the tea industry were the development of markets and the welfare of labour. The first was in the hands of the International and Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, and so far as the second was concerned, they were all agreed that the welfare of labour must continue to receive their most careful attention.

## AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

Sir Norman Strathie, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras in charge of Finance, replying to press criticisms on his Budget proposals in respect of agricultural income-tax, observed at a press conference in Madras, that it was the net profits that are assessable. No income less than Rs. 1,500 a year would be taxed. The rate of taxation for incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3,500 will be nine pies in the rupee, between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 5,000 one anna in the rupee, between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 one anna six pies, between 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 two annas and above Rs. 15,000 two and a half annas. Companies will be taxed at a flat rate of two annas in the rupee.

Different slab rates are provided for taxing the agricultural income of an undivided Hindu joint family. While an individual with an income of Rs. 6,500 will be taxed Rs. 226, an undivided Hindu joint family of two brothers and a son by a deceased brother, with an income of Rs. 6,000, will be taxed only at four pies in a rupee on a third of the income, viz., Rs. 125.

Sir Norman said that the new taxation will come into force in 1945-46 and that the assessment will be on the income for 1944-45. He mentioned that the Board of Revenue estimated a total revenue of about Rs. 40 lakhs a year from this source.

## REGIONALISING IN INDIA ON SOIL BASIS

Regionalisation of agriculture and animal husbandry in India and expansion of the activities of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research were the most important items discussed at the meetings of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, held at New Delhi on March 6, 7 and 8. The Vice-Chairman of the Council presided.

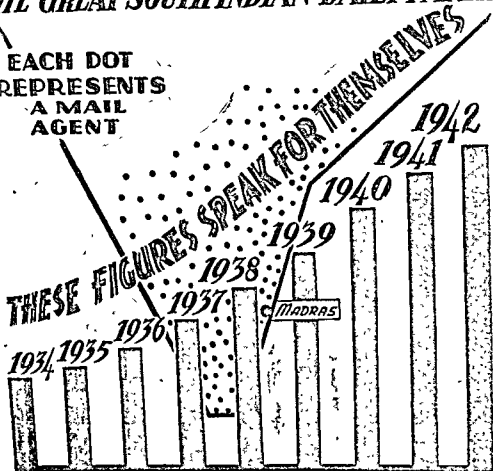
The proposed regionalisation scheme divides India into three regions on the basis of their soil, rainfall and main agricultural product.

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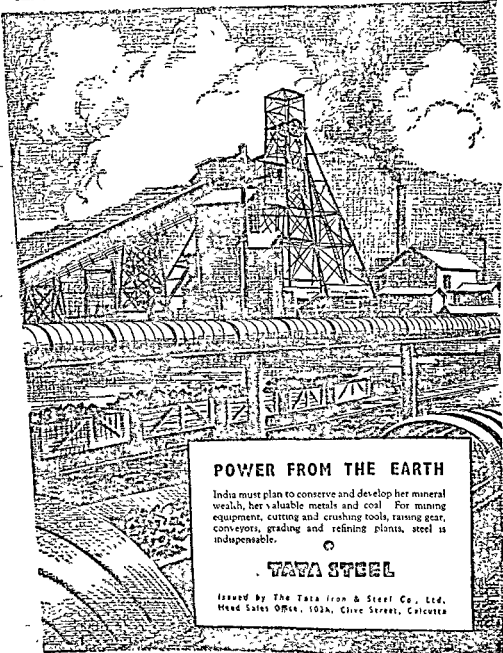
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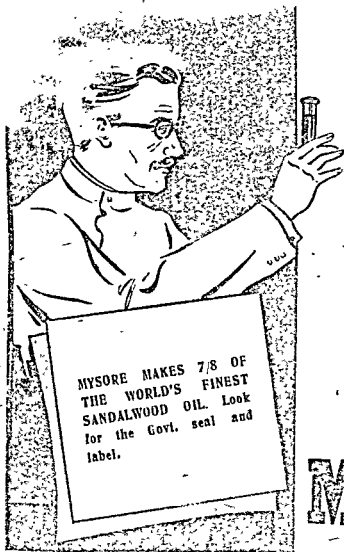
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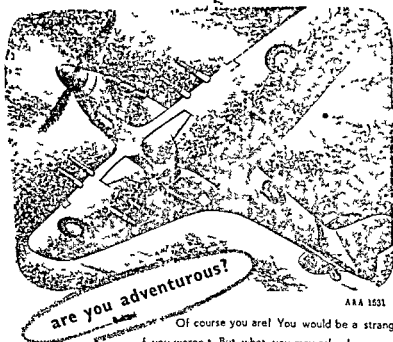
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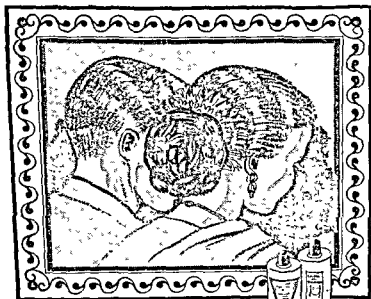
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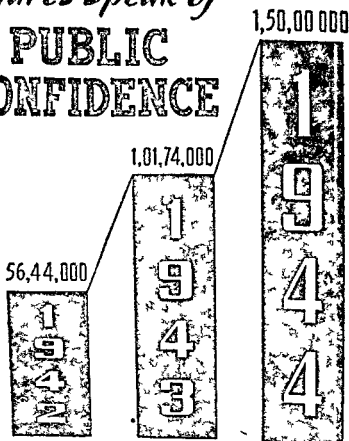
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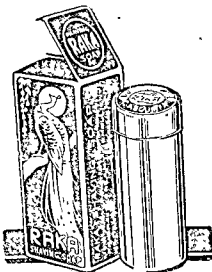
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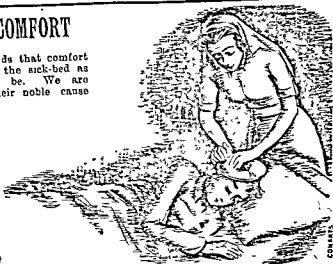
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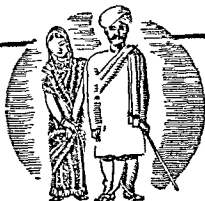
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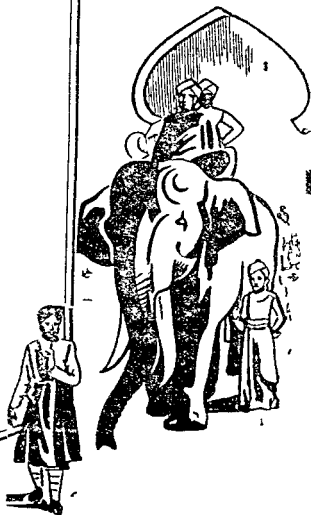
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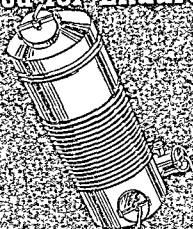
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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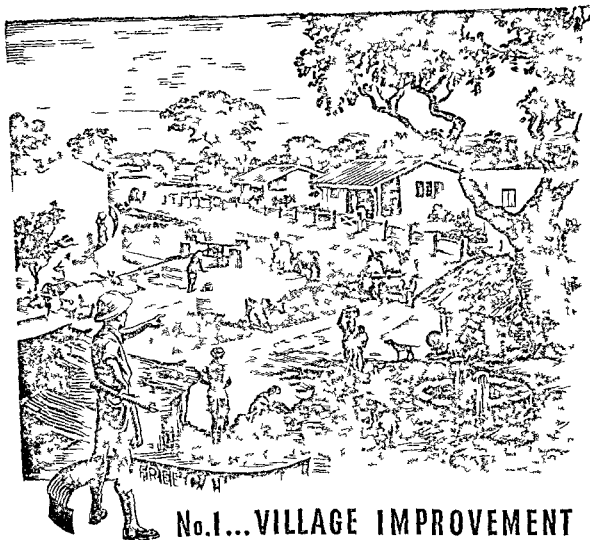
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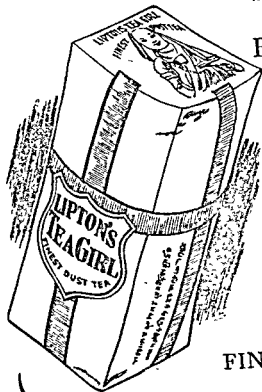
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.]

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[No. 5.]

## CURRENCY UNITS

BY DR GILBERT J FOWLER, DSc, FRIC, FRSanI, FNI

THERE is a tiny island in the Pacific, which, until it was brought into prominence by the war with Japan, can have been known to very few. It lies on the steamer track some 1,600 miles from Hongkong and is so small that it is hardly visible on an ordinary table atlas since it occupies scarcely more space than the "a" in its little name of Yap. Little though it is both in name and extent it is likely to have a name in history quite unconnected with the Japanese occupation. For there is another island even more minute among the Palau group 400 miles to the west. This island is composed of volcanic rock of no particular value in itself but which became of importance since cut and measured pieces of it were used by the Yap islanders as a basis for barter and eventually as the standard for all business and trade transactions. If men returned from this volcanic island to Yap having lost their stone, they were on good evidence of original possession credited with it. The value was in the effort to obtain the stone not in the stone itself.

These old Palau stones are still to be seen on Yap although no more are being quarried. Nevertheless the record of the stones and the lost stones are kept and the credit continues good.

The bearing of these interesting customs on modern ideas of economics is of unusual interest.

It is, indeed, possible that it was a knowledge of these facts which led Ruskin to devise the illustration which has been defined as one of the simplest and truest definitions of money.

Money itself, he says, is only a transferable document giving claim at sight to some definite benefit or advantage. Thus if a dozen men cast ashore on a desert island pick up a number of stones, put a red spot on each stone and pass a law that every stone marked with a red spot shall give claim to a peck of wheat—so long as no wheat exists or can exist on the island the stones are not money. But the moment as much wheat exists as shall render it possible for the society always to give a peck for every spotted stone the spotted stones would become money and might be exchanged by their possessors for whatever commodity they chose to the value of a peck of wheat which the stone represented.

The spotted stone would be a unit of accountancy, a *currency unit*. In itself it would have no intrinsic value in that way differing essentially from *gold* which having a value of its own confuses the issue and consequently, has been the cause of infinite trouble.

Recently rumours may have reached us of the great danger of a return to the "*Gold Standard*", but it is doubtful whether very many of the general public really know what the gold standard is and why it should be so dangerous to return to it.

The *gold standard* was originally established with the object of ensuring the stability of the Bank of England. According to the Act of 1844, confirmed in May, 1925, the price of gold, *i.e.*, its value in monetary units, is fixed by law and the Bank of England is obliged to buy gold at £3 17-9 a standard ounce. This is the so-called *gold standard*. In practice, however, it was found that to make all business transactions depend on the value of a single commodity, itself varying according to the conditions both of its production, and of its hoarding by various countries, resulted in price fluctuations and consequent widespread unemployment and misery. In September, 1931, the gold standard collapsed.

In place of the "gold standard" alternative *currency units* have therefore been devised by monetary reformers, or old ones have come again under consideration. A brief account of these may be of interest and also may lead to a clearer conception of what currency really is and in what way it affects the daily life of all of us.

Gold has still continued to exercise its curious mesmerism. An attempt to escape from the actual use of gold coins was proposed by J. F. Darling in a unit to be called the REX to be current throughout the British Empire. It was not to be composed of precious metal at all but would be simple money of account in which a super bank of the Empire would keep its accounts. One REX would represent 113 grains of fine gold, *i.e.*, the gold content of the old sovereign. Gold could be *exchanged* for an equivalent in REX. It was claimed that the REX and not the gold would be the basis of the currencies of the Empire. Thus we can

see that it is dimly becoming apparent that the whole matter is simply a question of accounting which does not require a unit of any intrinsic value at all. All that is needed is a *measuring rod* which will *remain constant* like a yard or a pint. The REX is still tied to gold which must, of necessity, *fluctuate* in value seeing that its quantity is variable depending solely on fortunate discoveries or intensive mining industry. In the case, *e.g.*, of starving labourers in time of famine gold is of no moment when *work* has to be done since the *labourers cannot eat gold*. Without work no adequate supply of food or clothing can be forthcoming.

Thus it is easy to see that the thoughts of money reformers turned to a *food currency* making food a standard of value. In his paper on *A Currency for India*, Maurice Frydman would propose to make *rice* the standard of value for India as indeed it practically was at one time. Instead of asking so many measures of rice for a rupee, the villager would enquire how many rupees for a measure of rice. Rice would be constant, the rupee would vary. Thus the ryot would control his own market. The staple food of the country would be the standard of value, the real *currency unit*. Thus every village plot becomes a gold mine, every villager a gold digger. The food rupee would be an internal currency. International trade would be looked after by a special bank dealing in foreign currencies, with which to smooth out differences between imports and exports. Here again we come back to some kind of metal medium. It is supposed that any excess of grain could be disposed of to chemical industry.

## CURRENCY UNITS

MAY 1945]

Another form of food currency is the *Wheat* note, a food voucher to be the equivalent of the £ note and inscribed—

*Deliver to the bearer on demand 120 lbs of wheat or the equivalent value of any other food*

This is similar to the "corn money" issued on one occasion by a body of farmers in Iowa, USA. This was issued in the form of 25 cent notes based on a sale of 12 900 bushels of corn to the local Merchants' Association at 25 cents a bushel, the money to be spent in the local shops by the following night. It was reported that one note changed hands 22 times within 3 hours of its issue. This brings to mind the results achieved by the "negative interest" of Silvio Gesell. He pointed out that while gold was practically indestructible the goods purchased by gold suffered deterioration in course of time. Thus "money value expressed in gold did not keep step with the real value of commodities. Let money depreciate *part passu* with commodities and there would be no inducement to hoard rather than to spend. Thus would result what is practically "free money".

All these are consciously or unconsciously based on the old gold unit. Thus Irving Fisher in his "*compensated dollar*" seeks to vary the mint price of gold as general prices rose or fell. The *Uniate* system proposed by Kersey would convert every nation's money into "uniates" on the basis of a multiple ratio table. Thus the basic unit would be the "Une" 2½ British and ½ dollar USA. The *Une* would be divisible into cents or 100 *cetmunes*. He proposes a new paper currency the "*Lex*" written £ and equivalent to 10 unes

There would be a metallic currency of 4 silver and 2 copper coins. The *Une* = 100 cents, the *Sem* 50 cents, together with 25 or 20 cent pieces and the *Dece* 10 cents.

It is clear that these units of currency do not need to have any intrinsic value in themselves. They merely *represent* the value of so many goods and services. The old puzzle of the "dud" note thus finds its explanation. The story goes that a traveller called at his hotel and handed the hotel cashier a note for, say, 100 rupees for safe keeping while he went out into the town on his "lawful occasions". The cashier put it into the hotel safe. Meanwhile the hotel butcher happened to call and presented his bill for the meat supplied during a given period. As the bill came to Rs 100, the cashier handed over the note given him by the traveller. The butcher used it in similar fashion to pay his doctor who as a resident in the hotel used it to pay his board and lodging and so the note went back into the hotel safe. Eventually the traveller came back and asked for his note which after it was handed to him, he tore up remarking with a smile that it was a "dud". Nevertheless, every one had been paid although only a worthless bit of paper had circulated. What mattered was that the hotel keeper had his meat, the butcher had the services of the doctor, while the doctor had his board and lodging at the Hotel. Thus we have a fair exchange of *goods and services*. It is clear therefore that business reward depends on goods supplied or services rendered, not on "money" which is only the *token* of such services. It is immaterial

whether such tokens or counters are in the shape of bits of metal or wood or paper so long as each is a definite "promise to pay." The simple fact is that with the coming of the cheque system the need for gold or any kind of token of intrinsic value became obsolete.

Whether due to fundamental disbelief in the honesty of the ordinary man, or from ingrained materialism of outlook, some form of token was still demanded which, if not of actual value in itself, could be seen and handled, or at least visualised materially. Thus we hear of notes stamped in real buck skin, whence the term "bucks" for dollars. The semi-mythical "Learned Elders of Zion" spoke of wooden tokens in which to reckon up the available assets of a community.

The Gold obsession continues even in high quarters which perhaps is not surprising having regard to the immense vested interests represented by the Kentucky gold-hoard of the U.S.A. and the gold-mining companies of the Rand, not to mention minor centres such as Kolar. Lord Keynes has done his best to avert complete subjection to the dominance of gold, such as would result from a definite return to the Gold Standard, by the invention of a new unit, the *Bancor*, representing as its name indicates a compromise between the banking and the gold-holding interests. According to the Keynes plan, there will be an international clearing house which will provide machinery for clearing balances of international payments and for meeting deficiencies. All currencies will be related to the *Bancor*, though parties will not be

permanent or fixed. Debtor countries will be entitled to tender gold in settlement of their international debts but creditor countries will not be entitled to insist on payment in gold. The quantity of international money will no longer be dependent on gold production. By the Keynes plan the clearing house would keep its accounts in *Bancors*. Its actual assets would comprise claims expressed in the currencies of deficit countries.

Unfortunately the U.S. plan supported by Mr. Morgenthau virtually involves a return to the gold standard since there is no provision in the plan to take payments in goods and services. A new unit is proposed called the *Unitas* weighing 137.14 grains of fine gold equal to 10 dollars which will be freely convertible into gold. The value of each member currency will be fixed by the fund in terms of gold, of *Unitas*.

It remains to be seen whether the American plan or the Keynes plan or some other is finally accepted. There is a strong body of opinion among thoughtful people that any linkage with gold must lead to the restrictions and consequent miseries of the old gold standard.

Is it not possible then to demonetise gold altogether and by a change in view-point to obtain freedom, so that in the prophetic words of Lincoln, money should be the servant of man and not man the servant of money?

Here, in India, there have been voices crying in the wilderness. Sir Montagu Webb wrote of "India's Plight" urging an increase in money tokens, through the remonetisation of silver which would supplement the inadequate gold supply. From his famous colony

at Gosaba in the Sunderbunds Sir Daniel Hamilton spoke of the "*Man* standard"

The following incident was mentioned in a letter to Sir Basil Blackett in the early days of the 'New Economics' to illustrate the value of *man* as compared to *money*. Some jewellery, including a fine ruby ring, was taken to a firm of silversmiths to be valued. They were pronounced to be unsaleable and practically valueless although the same firm had ten years previously stated them to be worth Rs 500. The demand was uncertain and the admittedly fine ruby might not attract a customer for an indefinite period.

Just previous to this conversation the head of the firm in question had been talking to an "out of work," to all appearances a down at heel "derelict." He had sent the man off to dig potatoes at a wage of 8 annas per day. Thus at 5 years purchase the man was worth Rs 1000 but the jewels were worth nothing. For the man could *work* the jewels were dead.

I remember when I first met Sir Daniel Hamilton, he brought out his copy of Adam Smith and drew my attention to the lines

Labour alone therefore never varying in its own value is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price money is their nominal price only

While there may be some confusion here as between prices and value still we see the beginning of what is now familiar as the "Man hour", as a *measure* in some degree of value. Almost at the same time when I was discussing these matters with my business and financial friends Hitler was screaming 'So long as the German people *work*, I am not afraid. The unorthodoxy of his economics does not necessarily make

them erroneous, any more than his conception of modern warfare, the use of the tank and the aeroplane were ill conceived, though in advance of older schools of military thought. A wicked use of a method does not affect the correctness of the principle involved. It is possible that the financial pandits of the City and of Wall Street were as slow minded as the War Office authorities who turned down the ideas of de Gaulle.

In any event it was clear that the mesmerism of *gold* was lifting and some other *standard* began to be talked about and others besides Sir Daniel Hamilton spoke of the *man* standard. The word *standard* was derived obviously from the old gold standard but, in itself, is an unfortunate expression. As I had found, value is variable, and therefore a *standard value* is impossible. What is really desirable and no doubt is meant to be implied in the term *standard of value* is a fixed *measure* of value, a unit of accountancy from which values can be computed. Consequently the *man standard* becomes the *man hour* by which the cost and consequent value of a commodity at any period may be estimated. Thus we were getting away from the thought of money as a *commodity* and its true function was becoming more apparent, *viz.*, as a medium of exchange, a *token* representing a *claim* to goods and services, resulting from former services already rendered.

On December 13th, 1938 a speech was delivered in London by Mr Glyn Thomas, which was afterwards published in a pamphlet entitled 'The Pound Foolish and the Hour Sterling'. In this attention was drawn to the fact that Germany and Italy had proclaimed as their

monetary policy that the issue of money should be directly related to the production of goods and services. This course has been advocated and explained by the writer in his publications as far back as 1933. The quality of the "hour-sterhog" as a unit consisted in the fact of its being a universal measure, the factor of time instead of space being employed as a measure. These ideas found their more general expression later in the term "Man-hour."

The "Man hour" unit is now receiving very general attention, e.g., in the writings of Sir Richard Acland and other modern economists. The Technocrats defined the Man-hour by the following illustration: 2 men working 8 hours a day take 3 days to build a piece of stone wall, i.e., to say, the work represents 48 Man hours. This definition, however, has its obvious limitations. We need to know what kind of a man is employed and what is his hourly remuneration. It is true, as the old saying goes and as Ruskin has more recently urged, "time is money", but it would surely seem that there are other factors which have to be considered in any satisfactory currency unit. The man can be replaced by the machine and you get the machine-hour. So we have time, man-hour and machine-hour, all factors of cost.

The above considerations lead to a still more inclusive conception, i.e., the *Electrical Dollar* of Dr. John Pease Norton of the Technocracy Movement. At the opening of the ninety-first meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and its 41 affiliated societies as reported in the *New York Herald Tribune*

in its issue of December 27, 1932, Dr. Norton urges that America should go off the gold standard and adopt electrical energy in the form of kilowatt hours as its currency. He claimed the advantage of absolute stability and reduction of one-fourth of the national debt. At start legislation would be needed to define the standard value within the U.S.A. as the *electrical dollar*, to be legal tender for all transactions and contracts for less than 5 years. The electrical dollar might be defined as 40 kilowatt hours. The k.w.h., he contended, was pretty much the same in quantity and quality everywhere and does not vary much in the cost of large-scale production.

Without any knowledge of these American proposals, the present writer published in the well-known Calcutta business paper *Capital* in its issue of 3rd March, 1932, a concept which went somewhat further since it included *energy* in general as measured by a *food constant* and its corresponding energy value. This currency unit was termed the ERN—the term being derived from the *Erg*, the unit of energy and *nitrogen*, the most constant element in human nutrition. The whole question is discussed in some detail in the booklet "Energy and Economics" originally published in *Current Science* for May, 1935, and reprinted with an Introduction and Appendices in 1941.

Some explanation of the chemical and physical principles involved may perhaps be useful at this point.

Among the many irreparable losses occurring during the "blitz" in England, two stand out which were suffered by the

City of Manchester when the headquarters of the famous Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society at 36, George Street, was destroyed and with it the experimental apparatus originally used by the two great Manchester philosophers, John Dalton and James Prescott Joule. Sad that just prior to the centenary of John Dalton, these precious and carefully preserved relics were reduced to molten and splintered fragments.

To Dalton we owe quantitative chemistry through his discovery that chemical combination takes place in definite proportions that, *e.g.*, only two parts of hydrogen would combine with one part of oxygen to form ordinary water as represented by the symbol  $H_2O$ , any excess of either element remaining uncombined. Dalton showed that this principle governed all chemical combinations so that quantitative exactitude became possible in dealing with chemical changes, even, as later demonstrated, in those taking place within the human body in the ordinary processes of what is known as *metabolism*, *i.e.*, changes accompanying the ordinary intake and consumption of food.

In the domain of physics Joule some 30 years after Dalton brought similar quantitative concepts to the attention of the members of the Literary and Philosophical Society. He caused a paddle wheel to rotate in a given volume of water and by connecting it with the controlled falling of a known weight he was able to show that energy developed by the fall of a given weight would raise the temperature of a given volume of water so many degrees and no more. This is what is known as the *mechanical equivalent of heat*. By

similar methods it may be shown that quantitative relations exist between all different forms of energy, thus so many units of mechanical energy are equivalent to so many heat units, and vice versa so many heat units are convertible into so many mechanical units, etc. In general terms all the changes are comprised in what is known as the *law of the conservation of energy*.

So fundamental is this law and so profound has been its influence on the progress of civilization during the century since Dalton and Joule, that it seems sad that it should not be familiar to every truly educated person, certainly to those in high places who largely are called upon to control the destinies of the human race. Thus although most people are sware that only a certain mileage can be expected from a gallon of petrol in a given type of motor car the idea of using *energy* as a measure instead of petrol seems difficult to comprehend.

The following may perhaps be a rather simpler illustration. Energy is defined scientifically as the power of doing work. The higher you lift the weight of a grand father's clock, the longer the time during which it will function. Apropos of this definition and as a light relief, the following famous verses may be quoted.

There was a man who had a clock,  
His name was Mr Mears  
He wound it regular every night  
For five and forty years  
And when that ancient time piece proved  
An eight day clock to be  
A madder man than Mr Mears  
You would not wish to see

Mr Mears evidently had wasted a good deal of *time* in his little nightly walks to and from the clock!



It may be that the idea of *nitrogen* and its function in the food ration is less familiar even than the idea of *energy*. Nitrogen is probably best known as a harmless gas comprising four-fifths of the air we breathe and serving to dilute the more vigorous gas oxygen, the need for which is generally recognised. Nitrogen itself is merely breathed in and out of the lungs without appreciable change. Oxygen begins to start a process essentially as much a process of combustion as the consumption of the petrol in the motor car cylinder. The lungs may be considered as the cylinders of the body. Where then it may be asked, does the nitrogen come in? As it exists as a gentle restrainer of oxygen in the lungs, it has no further part to play, but it finds its way into the body by a circuitous route. Through the activities of sundry lowly organisms occurring in fertile soil, but only visible under the microscope, the nitrogen of the air is induced to combine with certain elements in such a way as to be assimilated by plants through which it finds its way into the bodies of animals and men, in what is known as the *food cycle*. Among nitrogenous foods are meat of various kinds, fish and eggs, peas and beans, milk and cheese. Nitrogen is present in these foods in all manner of different combinations all coming under the general name of *protein*, but the actual daily necessary weight of the element nitrogen has been found to be constant, *viz.*, for an adult 10 grams. When this is burnt in the bodily engine, it gives out 300 units of heat known as *calories*. Thus we have a constant unit of *energy* and a constant equivalent unit of *food*. This is the idea which bases the ERN.

The ERN is really a unit of wealth. It is the unit of energy equivalent to a standard daily ration of nitrogen. The latter may be taken within reasonable limits as 10 grams, the equivalent energy being 300 calories;

In the Cauvery Falls the Mysore Government has an unfailing source of energy units, every 300 calories of which is equal to 1 ERN. In its fields is produced so much protein nitrogen, every 10 grams of which is equal to 1 ERN. We have, therefore, in the ERN a means of assessing accurately the wealth of an agricultural country on the one hand and of a manufacturing country on the other. Quite recently, Prof. Saha has introduced the concept of, "*Energy Index*", which means the energy available from all sources per head of the population.

It will thus be seen that in the ERN we have a currency backed not by a limited and fluctuating material metal such as either gold or gold plus silver as advocated by the bi-metallists, but ultimately an inexhaustible backing, since hydro-electric energy depends on rain, raised from the sea by the sun's rays, and nitrogen also depends on the vitalising energy of the sun applied to the growing plant and to the biological factors concerned with nitrogen fixation.

I was interested in looking up my press-cutting books to find that Father Basenach, of Madras, well known as an economist, and with whom I had a friendly discussion before the Madras Rotary Club in 1932, in a long article on Post-War Economics mentions the ERN and the "Bancor" of Lord Keynes as being equally available as currency units, but it must be remembered that whereas the ERN is simply a measure like a yard or a pint pot, gold is a commodity of which there is a definite and finite supply and which consequently cannot be properly used as a unit since it alters in value *itself*, and is in fact a false measure. Gold, indeed, may be considered as an "India-rubber inch."

The present age is surely the age of *energy*, of movement, of *kinetic* rather than of static conception. For such an age may not the ERN be the long sought after International Unit?

# INDIA AND CHINA

BY PROF A R WADIA, M A

A book from the fertile pen of Sir S Radhakrishnan is always welcome, and a book by him which aims at contributing "a little to the revival of cultural understanding between China and India" is doubly welcome

Though China and India have been next door neighbours, the intercourse between the two has always been something of an event, for the snow capped heights of the Himalayas have served to divide more than to unite. When an intrepid seeker after truth like Huan tsang faced as far back as the seventh century untold dangers to be in the spots hallowed by Buddha, and took years over his adventure one can appreciate the change of times when an Indian thinker in the twentieth century just took a few hours to fly over the same high mountains, made Chungking his home for a fortnight spoke to various leaders and addressed several meetings, took his measure of things Chinese and was back again in India to tell his countrymen about the wisdom and culture of old China and the passionate patriotism of new China, India and China, both conscious of their ancient cultures, both fallen on evil days yet both proud and keen on their own resurrection and struggling to play their part in the future making of Asia and of the world, seek each other's aid in realising their aspirations. The visit of Sir Sarvapalli even though so brief, is symbolic of the mutual respect and admiration that these two ancient

countries bear to each other, and it was in the fitness of things that the leading thinker of India should be specifically invited to carry a message of hope and strength to war torn China

One might expect that the Indian visitor to China would enlighten China about things Indian, just as much as a Chinese visitor to India would be expected to enlighten India about things Chinese. Sir Sarvapalli has done that but oddly enough he has chosen to speak to Chinese audiences on their philosophers and teachers, noting points of similarity between the teachings of the Chinese sages and the Indian seers. And so the book under review may well be taken as a brief introduction to the Chinese thought from the earliest centuries.

In the Introduction the visitor has noted the peculiar cheerfulness of the Chinese temperament. "To day a great shadow hangs broad and heavy over their lives. The war and the consequent misery have deprived them of their joy and freedom, and yet you rarely see a sad face". This is truly a high compliment and bears out Pearl Buck's analysis of Chinese character, rooted in good earth and keenly sensitive to beauty of every type. But one is forced to differ from the learned author when he seeks to emphasise 'a common cultural and spiritual background of the two countries and 'similar ideals of life and fellowship'. He misses here the genuine democratic greatness of China, whereas India even to day remains caste ridden, and the shadow of untouchability

has not disappeared simply because the victims of it are given a new name and called Harijans. This also explains the political difference between the two countries, for China has been able to put up a heroic defence against heavy odds, and developed a unity of purpose even as between the Kuomintang and the communists, while India has remained divided, even though a goodly measure of independence can be achieved for mere asking and without fighting, if only her children will trust one another, for mutual trust is the basis of unity and without unity no country has ever achieved real political independence. That is why there is hope for China, and the success of China, let us hope, will not fail to have repercussions on India, and Indians too may drop their religion of caste and make it possible for a real democracy to emerge out of the dust and ashes of centuries.

As compared with the influence of Confucius on Chinese life, the influence of Buddha in Chinese history has perhaps been exaggerated, but if "a return to the historical Buddha" is essential for China, as Sir Sarvapalli would have it, such a return is far more necessary for India. One can but trust that the political leaders of India would learn the simple truth that their endeavours are bound to be futile, unless they reorganise the social foundations of their society. Other oriental countries, both Muslim and Buddhist and Shintoist, have learned this lesson. India has yet to learn it, and only then can she hope to hold up her head in pride and command the ears of the world.

The address on *War and World Security* has a topical interest, and couched as it is in the usual bright and crisp phraseology of Sir Sarvapalli, it must have had a deep impression on the people that heard it, as it has on those who read it. There may be nothing new or original in it, but the old thoughts have been freshly and vigorously put and he looks forward to a new world where men will look to men as equals and nations will live in harmony with nations. He cautions the world against the war-victorious pride of the conquerors and against a second Versailles. The voice of China and India may not go far in the immediate future, but in the years to come, once they have set their own houses in order, they can hope to have an influence in the councils of the world, commensurate with their millions of inhabitants, no more dumb through the palsy of age, but self-conscious and vocal and vibrant through the sap of rejuvenated youth. That is the hope that the book leaves on the mind of the reader.

General Lu Chao, Military Commander of the National Government of China, toasted Sir Radhakrishnan with simple tea instead of the more fashionable wine. Perhaps this too is symptomatic of the new age, when the flavour of a good cup of tea will drive out of existence the intoxicating alcohol of the West, and let the curse of drunkenness, whether individual or political and social, be just a memory of the past.

Mr Y H. Ku of the Ministry of Education, Chungking, aptly sums up in the traditional simplicity of Chinese poetry the meaning of Sir Sarvapalli's visit to China, and the reviewer cannot do better than end with it:

Once he came to China.  
Those he had not met  
Put the mark of friendship on his forehead  
Calling him their own.  
He felt the Chinese heart, knew the Chinese mind.  
Thus he said to his friend:  
Wherever saints and sages are, culture is born  
anew.

# ABROAD IN WARTIME

BY MISS MURIEL LESTER

TODAY, six years ago, I was in Madras Mrs Subbarayan, a perfect hostess, was bringing into my room late on Christmas Eve a little brass lamp to help me keep our festival. A week later I had arrived at Sevagram with an international party of African Chinese Japanese, Welsh, Canadian American and English friends from the Tambaram Oecumenical Conference. After the four o'clock prayers next morning Gandhiji asked his visitors to contribute anything we liked to New Year's Day. There was a pause as we racked our brains finding nothing. Then the gentle rich voice of the African woman Mina Soga, rose up into the quiet air. The unfamiliar rhythm and beautiful cadences held us all. She was asked to translate the hymn for us. It seemed to initiate a good New Year. But it was 1939 and its heritage of tragedy soon became obvious.

I was on a long speaking tour in the United States when war was declared. It was necessary for me to work out a pattern of behaviour for a 'Non Violence person from a belligerent nation staying in a neutral country. Being one of a team of twenty speakers under the direction of the National Council of Churches, I often had to speak three or four times a day and the evening meetings were attended by thousands of people. I wrote straight off to the British Ambassador in Washington, Lord Lothian telling him where I was and declaring my pacifism. I thought he would be within his rights to intern me at once. Instead we had some interesting correspondence and, later on, talks over the tea table at the Embassy.

I was proud of the quality of British democracy that left me free to continue for 18 months to address meetings literally all over the States. Then came an invitation from Latin America, a strange and surprising opportunity. In a slum Sunday school in Montevideo some years before the children had had a lesson about the East End of London and boys and girls use of Bow about their own place called 'Children's House' about the mothers and fathers and friends who had built up the work there and in Kingsley Hall about the great Mr Gandhi who had stayed for ten weeks with them when he was King George the fifth's guest in London at the Round Table Conference in 1931.

After the lesson, one of the boys had said, 'Can't we ask the lady who runs Kingsley Hall to come and tell us more about it?'

This request was translated from Spanish into English and despatched to New York City. It failed to reach me, but a couple of years later it was sent again just when I was there and wondering where to go next. So with the lecture fees I had earned in America I bought a return ocean ticket to take me through the Panama Canal, down to Peru Chile, the Argentine, Uruguay and up again via Brazil to New York City.

It was a difficult job to get visas in war time from the Consulates of so many different countries. Each seemed afraid of trouble coming through travellers but my agent managed it at last with the help of the British Embassy.

In Lima I was introduced to the old Inca civilization by the Curator of the Indian Museum, himself a descendant of those wonderful exponents of Non-Violence who were massacred by the invading Conquistadores, themselves tragic victims of European pride and gold lust.

Unfortunately ten days were not long enough to get into touch with Haya de la Torre, the champion of truth and the common man, whose name is one to conjure with throughout the great southern continent. He was always in hiding or in prison but his trusty devotees could have arranged an interview if time had permitted. No public meetings were arranged for me in Peru but in the other countries I spoke a good deal, especially in Uruguay, in city and village, in church and college, over the radio and to tiny groups.

Then trouble began. The United States withheld my permit to return, then promised me one for two months' stay. The British Consulate at Buenos Aires refused to endorse my visa unless I promised not to speak about the war. I refused to give the promise but eventually my papers were put in order and I flew to Rio de Janeiro to catch up the liner which had left during these protracted conversations.

I felt very happy as I climbed the gangway of the great ship in Rio's spectacular harbour and we set off for the North. There was a two months' speaking programme awaiting me in New York and then I was to set off from the Pacific Coast for Asia once more.

The news of the signing of the Atlantic Charter reached us just before we anchored

off the island of Trinidad. Then a British Officer came aboard, questioned me for an hour or two, took me ashore with him, and had me locked into an Internment Camp.

Staying there for ten weeks was a valuable experience. We had brown-skinned police guarding the gate and standing at each corner of the camp with fixed bayonets. All our warders and wardresses except one were island folk. There was some splendid human material in that camp, people from France and Germany, Italy and Poland, Russia and Czechoslovakia, Ireland and Switzerland. Most of us deteriorated as a result of being in the absolute power of the people instead of having to make our own choices, earn our own bread, exert our own wills. We had plenty of food, excellent medical and dental attention, unlimited leisure. This became a curse to many, self-pity, resentment, cynicism, boredom, self-disgust and bitterness drove some to the verge of breakdown. There were fights, furies and fears. One went mad but most possessed their souls in patience. Some were saviours of the rest. Many are there still.

We used to rig up a light outside our hut, close to the barbed wire fence that separated us, Aryans, at night from our friends, the Jews, and after supper we would sit on each side of the silly, prickly barrier, each with our Shakespeare, and read plays together. We would get up before sunrise for an hour's prayer and reading of Scripture. We tried to make music from bamboo pipes and combs covered with paper.

Then one day a question was asked in Parliament and I was brought home, a free woman once more. I arrived in Scotland in mid-November, 1941.

24th December 1944.

# Thoughts on Post-War Reconstruction

By MR EDDY ASIRVATHAM, M A

“POST WAR reconstruction” is an over worked subject. But the mere fact that it is over worked is not an excuse for ignoring it. When a war is on, our thoughts invariably turn to the possibility of a better order of things after the war is over, but even before it is quite over we make a hasty retreat to the old order of things, making the minimum changes possible in order to save our faces. Sir S Radhakrishnan is right when he observes “While fighting, we talk of the emergence of a new world and when the fighting is over, we strive to restore the old order. If this process is repeated this war is a waste and all our sacrifices are a mockery”.

If reconstruction means constructing or restoring something which had fallen down where it was and exactly as it was it is not a proper kind of reconstruction. To give an illustration, as a result of unprecedented floods in Madras in October, 1943, a great many huts came tumbling down. Reconstruction does not mean the restoring of these huts exactly as they were and where they were. The right kind of reconstruction calls for something which will be in keeping with the needs of the time. In some situations destruction may have to precede reconstruction even as the Great Fire of London in 1666 was a godsend in giving Sir Christopher Wren the opportunity to build a new and better London. If the old foundations are sound, they may be allowed to remain and a new superstructure built on them. But if they are not sound, there

should be no hesitation in clearing them out of the way. There is no *a priori* answer to the question whether changes should be evolutionary or revolutionary. It all depends on the seriousness of the malady. Where a major surgical operation is required, it is foolish to administer a palliative. In certain situations, revolution may very well be a part of evolution, as it illustrated by the law of mutation in biology.

## FORMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

1 *Freedom from fear*—Roosevelt rightly places freedom from fear and insecurity in the forefront of his four freedoms. If this freedom is to be secured, we need an effective world organisation. The League of Nations was, no doubt, conceived in good faith, but it was “a forum for debate rather than an instrument of action”. As a contemporary puts it, the League could fire only blank cartridges. In post war years we should have a World Court whose decisions will be backed up by an International Police or Peace Force. In the years immediately following the war, it may be necessary to disarm Germany, Japan, and Italy, but the final solution is to renounce all national armaments in favour of an international force. We do not want the policing of one half of the world by another half. It should be “the policing of the world by the world and for the world”. We have no enthusiasm for the idea which is gaining ground to day that the world should be divided into three or four ‘Security Zones’ with one or other of the United Nations in charge of it. A

world federation of some sort is the only right solution. But if such an ideal is difficult of realisation at the present stage of human development, we might at least take certain preliminary steps in that direction. Instead of having absolute sovereign national States in all matters, we might have a world government in the field of high politics, a regional government in the field of economics, and a national government in the field of education and culture.

2 *The Orderly Liquidation of Imperialism*—Whatever virtues imperialists might see in the colonial system, those who are under its heel have a different story to tell. The evils far outweigh the good, and without a liberation of all colonial countries there can be no new order worthy of the name. This does not mean that when the war is over, the colonial possessions could be set free with a wave of the hand. It may be necessary to have an international supervision of backward areas, but this should be for a specific purpose or purposes and for a limited period. There is no justification for using colonies for national exploitation. If India is to continue to be a part of the British Commonwealth, it should in fact as well as in name be a free association of free nations. "The British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations" ought not to become a pseudonym for "The British Empire for the sake of the Commonwealth of Nations".

3. *Constructive Economic Planning for the Whole World* For this purpose also we require an effective world organisation; or, at least, a series of regional organisations. The Atlantic Charter promises, within

broad limits, equal access to all nations (including the vanquished), to the raw materials and trade of the world. But there are already clear indications that attempts will be made to keep certain countries predominantly agricultural in order that highly industrialised countries may prosper. According to Mr. Morgenthau, post-war Germany is to be made an agricultural country in order that she might not use her industrial plant for war purposes at a moment's notice.

There is enough wisdom in the world so to pool the resources of the world that every nation will be a gainer and none a loser. But fear of the unknown makes people cling to the evil past. The years following the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 showed clearly that a ring fence empire is no solution to our economic problems. *The Times* writes "In the seven years between Ottawa and the outbreak of war, Great Britain and the Dominions simultaneously learned that their most obstinate economic problems, and the hopes of solving them turned on their trade relations not with one another, but with the rest of the world".

Each considerable area, comprising one or more countries, should aim at a balanced economy, without necessarily having recourse to the discredited doctrine of autocracy.

4. *Improved Economic Standards for Individuals.* The wealth of a country is to be measured not by its credit balance or favourable trade, but by the contentment of its people. It is of no avail to have a prosperous country if the common people do not have all their reasonable

MAY 1945]

## THOUGHTS ON POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

civic needs adequately met Our emphasis in the future should be more upon distribution and consumption than upon production The consumer rather than the producer, should be made the starting point of policy While no particular form of socialism or communism is a panacea for all our economic ills we must recognise the fact that nobody is an absolute owner of his wealth The State must control wealth in the interest of welfare England is already more than half socialistic and her present day schemes of social security take her still nearer the socialistic goal Our economic life should be so well organised that unemployment and poverty will become things of the past By an extension of the insurance principle the government the employer and the employee should be enabled to work out an elaborate scheme of social security in order that nobody may be in want Sickness untimely death of the wage earner accident, old age and the like should not drive anybody to the wall The social services of the State should be extended and strengthened in such a manner that a small wage ought to be enough for most people in inducing them to bring out their hidden capacities There should be equal opportunity for everybody to equip himself with the necessary arms for the battle of life Talent should not be allowed to perish for want of opportunity

5 *A Free and United India*—So far as India is concerned without political freedom there can be no true reconstruction To argue that what India immediately needs is economic regeneration, rather than

political freedom is to shut one's eyes to facts Has any one ever heard of a country being able to order her economic life the way she thinks best without political freedom as a pre requisite? The reported statement of Mr Amery that Indian soldiers in Italy were "cheerfully indifferent and rather contemptuous of politics comes with ill grace from one who is himself an arch politician Continued bondage in one form or another can only perpetuate slave virtues Freedom is essential for our self respect, if not for our very existence

Freedom is likely to be a mixed blessing if India cannot remain united Even if Partition is conceded because of the strongly held views of a certain section of the nation there should be inviolable treaties (say, for 50 years) between the new States guaranteeing common action in such matters as defence foreign policy, communications customs and currency While the need of the hour is to form larger and larger areas of co operation, it is suicidal to divide and sub divide our selves till we become completely pulverised

6 *An Educated India*—It is not a matter for pride that after two centuries of British rule the percentage of literacy in India is as low as 15 Travancore, we are told has a literacy percentage of 80 The Sargent scheme seeks to provide free compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (not free in the case of High School children) at a cost of 312 crores of rupees per year when the scheme is in full swing It does not say where the money is to come from or the huge army of teachers necessary to



put the scheme through. Yet it is a step in the right direction. It renders lip service to the Wardha principle of education centering in a craft, but does not develop it fully. What free India should do is to effect a workable compromise between the Sargent and Wardha schemes, secure universal literacy within a measurable length of time, and free education from the requirements of officialdom for a multitude of docile clerks. True education should give a person knowledge and the capacity to utilise that knowledge as well as individual satisfaction and contentment.

7 *An Industrialised India*—The Bombay Plan is holding the ground in this field of our national activity. It contemplates three five year plans costing something like 10,000 crores of rupees. It aims at universal employment, increased wages, and a higher living standard all round. A criticism levelled against it is that the scales are weighted too much in favour of Big Business. Whether this is true or not, India urgently needs a plan for building up her industrial life. India should produce her own industrial requirements and not merely be a dependency of Britain or an assembler of parts produced abroad. She should build her own ships and aeroplanes with State subsidy, if necessary. Railways, mines, and, perhaps, even land might be nationalised. India should produce her own tools, and for this purpose there should be a strong bias in favour of technical education.

8 *Improved conditions of agriculture*—The yield per acre is less than in some advanced countries or even less than what it was in India sometime ago. According

to Mr. Amery's own confession, the production of foodstuff per head in India has declined in 30 years by more than one quarter.

Some of the agricultural needs of India are the education of the cultivator, collective farming where possible, new forest laws and model farms, artificial manures, basic industries producing large tractors and small agricultural implements, more land brought under cultivation, greater irrigation facilities, metalled roads connecting villages, elimination of the middlemen as far as that is possible, development of co-operation, more food crops than cash crops, better cattle, and more cattle fodder.

9. *A Healthy India*—National health is the greatest asset which any country can have and no government worthy of its name can neglect this need. While the average span of life is 62 in England, it is as low as 26 in India (according to Prof A. V Hill). Deficiency diseases are on the increase. Between 100 and 200 millions suffer from malaria yearly. The mortality rate is four to eight times that of Britain.

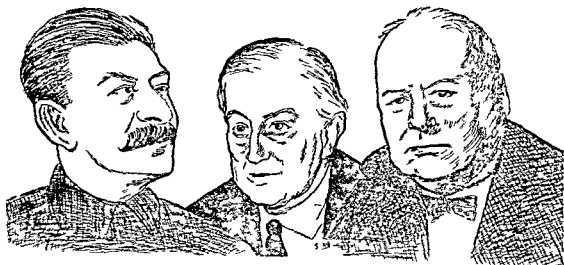
The resisting power of the people is very low either because they are underfed or improperly fed. The improvement in our national diet is a trying need of the hour. The typical diet of the poor class South Indian is something on which even a rat cannot thrive. A balanced and nutritive diet should be within the easy reach of all. Millions of children do not get even a cup of milk a day. There is need for a greater use of buttermilk, skimmed milk, fresh fruits, greens whole wheat, etc. Vegetables are often cooked beyond

recognition Government can do much in making proper foodstuff available But it cannot change our food habits In a matter like this, people should help themselves If Government should interfere there is likely to be a revolution, for a great many people love their stomachs and their palates more than they care for their self respect A hungry stomach and radiant health are a contradiction in terms

10 *Production of Strong, Vigorous Personalities*—The family, the church, the school and the university should make concerted efforts to build in youth such active qualities of character as truthfulness, straightforwardness, manliness and courage consideration for the feelings and

conveniences of others, and co-operation Excellence in the realm of passive qualities alone—hospitality, forbearance, etc—is not enough Youth should be imbued with the service ideal and the spirit of constructive citizenship It should be trained to subordinate self, caste, and community to the needs of the country It is regrettable that on account of perverted notions of religion, community, and culture even educated people think more of their individual and group needs than of the national needs

The sure foundation of a better world order in the social economic and political fields is the production of better men and women everywhere



THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WITH STALIN AND CHURCHILL

# FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

—(o)—

[The sudden death of President Roosevelt has deprived the U.S.A. of one of its greatest citizens who guided the nation for twelve long years through the storm and stress of many a crisis in her history. The United Nations have lost in him a powerful ally and farsighted leader whose indomitable will and perseverance made such a dramatic change in the fortunes of war. Liberal causes all the world over have lost in him a bulwark of strength and an inspiring leader. It is sad to think that Roosevelt has not lived to witness the fruition of his own labours, and to shape the peace to come for which he laboured so strenuously through all the years of war to victory. It is felt that Roosevelt will leave a memory as great and illustrious as either Lincoln or Washington. The following accounts prepared by the U.S.O.W.I. are of timely interest.—ED. I.R.]

THE name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt achieved a world-wide significance unique among American statesmen.

To the oppressed peoples of Europe and Asia he was a symbol of deliverance from German and Japanese savagery, the leader who forged the productive might and fighting skill of the United States into an invincible weapon of liberation.

To the republics of Central and South America he was the creator and sponsor of the good neighbor policy which ushered in a new era of hemispheric co-operation.

To the people of the United States he was the man who stood for fair play, who sponsored and secured the passage of more social legislation than any other American—the man who told America during the depth of the great economic depression that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Thirty-second President of the United States, Roosevelt was the first man to be elected three times to that office, being elected subsequently for a fourth time in 1944.

This major departure from American tradition was largely the result of the recurring crises of the past 16 years.

Bitter controversy marked his third campaign for the Presidency in 1940. His victory in that election, in the face of the traditional American aversion for the prolonged vesting of power in one man, reflected the nation's growing awareness of its impending involvement in global war, and its faith in a man who had shown a realistic understanding of the threat to all democratic peoples in German and Japanese aggression.

§ Roosevelt early recognized the danger signals in Europe and the Far East, warned of the need for adequate military and naval preparations and succeeded as early as 1933 in persuading the U.S. Congress to increase naval and military appropriations. In 1937 he called for a "quarantine" against aggressor nations.

It was not, however, until the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, that the United States became in fact the arsenal of democracy, producing and shipping to the beleaguered people of Britain, Russia and China, the weapons which America's industry had begun to produce on a gigantic scale.

In 1940, with the passage of the Selective Service Act, the United States

began the mobilization of its manpower into a modern army

Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park, in New York State's Hudson River Valley, on January 30, 1882. His father, James, was a landowner, his mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, the daughter of a New York shipping merchant. Theodore Roosevelt, the 26th US President, and a Republican, was his fifth cousin.

He was married in New York City on March 17, 1905, to Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, niece of the then President, Theodore Roosevelt. Their children are James, now a colonel in the Marine Corps, Elliott, now a brigadier general in the Army Air Forces, Franklin D., Jr., lieutenant commander in the Navy, John, a lieutenant in the Navy and Anna Eleanor, married to Major John Bootbitor.

#### EARLY LIFE

Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was to become the world's foremost leader in reforms for the benefit of the average man, was born and reared in a prosperous family. He attended Groton preparatory school in New England and there won a Latin prize but did not particularly distinguish himself as a scholar or an athlete. From Groton he went to Harvard, where he became editor and president of the university's daily newspaper. He was graduated in the class of 1904 with the degree of bachelor of arts, stayed another year for graduate work, then entered the Columbia University law school where he studied for three years. He was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1907. For three

years he was managing Clerk with a New York law firm, then became a junior member of another.

#### ELECTED TO STATE SENATE

In 1910 the Democratic party leaders of Dutchess County, New York—at that time a Republican stronghold—saw in young Roosevelt a promising candidate for the state senate. Roosevelt, after a vigorous campaign, edged out a victory and became the first Democrat elected to the state senate from that district in 28 years. He was not yet 30 years old.

At Albany, the state capital, he made a mark by leading a small bloc of Democrats in a successful move to defeat the leading candidate of the party for the US Senate. Roosevelt charged the candidate's record disqualified him, and he managed to force the substitution of another. It was a victory over a political machine and marked him as a leader with independence and ability.

The following year, 1911, he helped to organize a New York State campaign for Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic candidate for President and in 1912 was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Wilson.

When Wilson was elected he made Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This gave full rein to his enthusiasm for ships. He converted useless yards into naval supply plants, started the building of a naval reserve by training civilian units, and helped break up a coalition of armor plate manufacturers. He was soon recognized as a strong Navy man. After three

United States entered the first World War in 1917, the young Assistant Secretary was largely responsible for the placing of a mine barrage across the North Sea, from Norway to the Orkneys, and for the building of swift submarine chasers. In the summer of 1918 he inspected U.S. warcraft in European waters and after the armistice he supervised the demobilization of U.S. Navy stations and bases. In February 1919, he returned to the United States with President Wilson and began speaking in favor of the League of Nations.

#### NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1920

In 1920 he was the Democratic Party's nominee for vice-president, the running mate of James M. Cox of Ohio. He resigned his Navy post and in the ensuing campaign made 800 speeches. The election resulted in a Republican victory, and Roosevelt returned to private life and the practice of law.

In 1921, while on vacation at the family's summer home at Campobello Island, off New Brunswick, he was stricken with infantile paralysis. For a time his life was in danger, then he recovered but had partially lost the use of his legs. He went to Warm Springs, in the southern state of Georgia, where he was helped by the healing natural waters, and after a time was able to walk with the use of canes and leg braces.

For a time his infirmity was naturally discouraging, but he soon found new interest and purpose in life. He resumed the practice of law in New York in 1924 and took on a number of other jobs. In that year Alfred E. Smith, Governor of

New York, sought the Democratic nomination for President. The Democratic Party's convention was held in New York. Roosevelt went to the platform to make an appeal for Smith's nomination and he received an ovation.

Four years later Roosevelt again presented Governor Smith's name to the convention, calling him "the happy warrior," an allusion to Wordsworth's poem. Smith was nominated. At Smith's insistence Roosevelt was drafted as the Democratic nominee for Governor of New York. This office Roosevelt won by the narrow margin of 25,000 votes, but in 1930 he was re-elected by the unprecedented plurality of 750,000 votes.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

The New York legislature was predominantly Republican, but cordial relations prevailed between it and the governor. Roosevelt's administration was marked by the passage of a number of social welfare laws, tax relief for farmers, and a constructive conservation program, including the reforestation of denuded areas. In 1931 the economic depression had brought widespread unemployment, and Roosevelt invited other state Governors to Albany to discuss measures to meet the situation. New York was the first state to appropriate funds for unemployment relief.

In 1932, he was nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic Party. He flew to Chicago to accept, and pledged a "new deal" for the American people. He was elected by majorities in 42 of the 48 states and took office at a time

when the nation was at the bottom of the worst financial depression in its history. The stock market collapse of 1929 had been followed by business and industrial paralysis, with an estimated 12 000 000 persons unemployed. He declared a bank holiday to give the harried institutions a chance to catch their breath. On the day after his inauguration he summoned an extraordinary session of Congress to meet March 9.

The President already had called to his aid authorities on economics, finance, the social sciences, law and government—many of these experts were from the universities. Their function was to bring forward plans for recovery that would fit into the frame work of the American Government. With the support of men and women of all political affiliations in Congress a program of social and economic reform was enacted.

The first measure was an emergency banking act, ordering the surrender of all gold to the government and providing for the assistance of embarrassed institutions. Other acts to ensure depositors' funds and facilitate the flow of money were passed. There followed measures in many fields: the Agricultural Adjustment Act (stabilizing farm income), the Home Owners Loan Corporation (protecting householders from mortgage foreclosure), the Federal Securities Act (putting operations in the stock market under regulation), the Tennessee Valley Authority (a federal power and conservation project with a wide area of service), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Emergency Transportation Act, the Public Works Administration,

the Works Progress Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the National Recovery Act.

#### SOUGHT TO ENLARGE SUPREME COURT

When this last measure (NRA) was nullified by the US Supreme Court which found it unconstitutional, Roosevelt sought authority in 1937 to enlarge the court. This provoked a storm of controversy. His proposal was forced into discard by his legislative opponents less than a year after he had been elected by the greatest plurality in the history of America's Presidential elections. The public reaction was that the Supreme Court was not to be tampered with. Yet his popular strength was not impaired.

Roosevelt early recognized danger signals in Europe and the Far East. He warned that war anywhere would endanger the peace of the Western Hemisphere. He fostered a Good Neighbor Policy which drew the nations of North and South America into a closer fraternity. He recalled Ambassador Hugh Wilson for consultation, a move interpreted widely as a protest against Nazi persecution of minorities. In July 1939 he asked Congress to repeal the arms embargo of the Neutrality Act. This Congress did not do but in November he effected his purpose by obtaining the cash and carry act under which belligerents might purchase supplies in America and carry them away in any but American ships. Axis nations howled that this aided the nations they had marked for doom.

After Germany invaded Denmark and Norway, Roosevelt ordered US protection.

extended to Greenland and Iceland. When in June 1940, Mussolini ordered Italy's attack on France, the President, in a commencement address at the University of Virginia, said: "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor."

Roosevelt's politics brought criticism from some quarters of America, and rage from the Axis, but by 1940 the plans of the aggressor nations were plain to most Americans. Few were surprised when the Democrats named Roosevelt for their candidate a third time. Again he was elected with an impressive majority of the electoral vote (carrying 33 of the 48 states) but a smaller plurality of the popular vote, which proved the biggest in U.S. history. When the election was over, partisan disputes were laid aside and ranks closed again.

Roosevelt had appointed two Republicans to key posts in his Cabinet. Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War, and the late Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy. A few months later the President outlined America's role as "the arsenal of democracy." Under lend-lease, munitions were supplied to Britain, China, Russia and other nations fighting against the Axis.

In 1941 he declared a state of national emergency, to replace the limited emergency declared in 1939, and Americans began building greater industries for defence—and after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941—for war. He had sought to prevent this by a direct appeal and warning to Emperor Hirohito over the heads of the Japanese administra-

tion, as he earlier had made appeals and warnings to Hitler and Mussolini.

After America's entry into the war, Mr. Roosevelt as President and Commander-in-Chief took the leadership in mobilizing the manpower and physical resources of the nation, creating war agencies under his emergency powers and proposing much legislation for the consideration of Congress. In pursuance of the higher strategic and political objectives of the war he played a leading part in enhancing Allied solidarity by conferences with leaders of the United Nations—at Casablanca in January 1943, at Quebec in August 1943, at Cairo and Teheran in November of the same year, and at Yalta last February, besides the frequent visits of Allied leaders to Washington.

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# HARRY S. TRUMAN THE NEW PRESIDENT

Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, a name that reminds one of the "Pilgrims Progress" in his first speech to the US Congress on April 10, said that the grand strategy of the United Nations in the war "must and will remain unchanged and unhampered" "Our demand has been and it remains unconditional surrender So that there can be no possible misunderstanding both Germany and Japan can be certain beyond any shadow of doubt that we Americans, will continue the fight for freedom until no vestige of their resistance remains"—ED IR

**H**ARRY S TRUMAN who now becomes President of the United States, was elected Vice President on November 7, 1944 He was sworn into office on January 20 1945, as the third Vice President to serve under Franklin D Roosevelt

A native of the middle western state of Missouri, Truman served ten years in the United States Senate, and at the time of his election to the vice presidency, was head of an important Senate Committee investigating the defence and war programs

The so called "Truman Committee" was established at his suggestion in March 1941, in an effort to prevent waste of manpower, money and materials in the war industry expansion program The committee of 10 Senators through investigations and constructive criticism brought about consolidation of conflicting agencies into the War Production Board

The committee investigated such varied war problems as rationing, priorities, corporate cartels and war building and construction costs

Truman was a National Guard private who rose to the rank of Captain and fought at St Mihiel and the Argonne in the last war He volunteered his services as a reserve officer at the outbreak of the current war only to be told by Army

authorities that he could make a greater contribution by remaining in the Senate

## BORN IN MISSOURI

President Truman will be 61 on May 8 He was born on a farm near Lamar Missouri He was married in 1919 to Bess Wallace, his childhood sweetheart, and they have one daughter, Mary Margaret Truman

Truman was nominated by the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last July on the second ballot to run as vice-presidential candidate beside President Roosevelt He succeeded Henry Wallace, who failed to be re-nominated

When Truman was first elected to the upper house of the US Congress in 1934, he described himself as "just a farmer who happens to be in the Senate" He further distinguished himself for modesty by writing, for the *Congressional Directory* a biography of himself that made three lazes of fine print

Truman was not conspicuous in his first term He worked hard at his job and left speech making to more prominent personalities He gave no hint that he was destined to become the "watch dog" of America's industrial mobilization for war

Truman foresaw the war and knew America could not avoid it by any pretence of isolation. He has long urged that



America play a leading role in securing a lasting peace in the post-war world.

#### STARTED PUBLIC LIFE AS JUDGE

He started his first job at 3 dollars per week when ten years old. By 1903 he was doing considerably better as an employee of a bank, but when his father asked him to return as partner, to the family farm, he did so in 1906 and still says the next ten years were the happiest of his life.

But the world war came and Truman, a member of the National Guard of Missouri, went first to Camp Doniphan, and then to artillery school at Fox Sill, Oklahoma, and then was assigned as captain commanding, Battery D, 129 Field Artillery, July 11, 1918. He did well enough, in the military sense, to be given a majority and later, a colonelcy in the Reserve.

Married in 1919 to Bess Wallace, his childhood sweetheart Captain Truman did not return to the farm. In 1922 he was elected judge of the Jackson County Court in Missouri, a position for which, under Missouri law, no knowledge of law was required. Feeling, however, that such knowledge "would assist him in his judicial career," the judge studied two years at the Kansas City Law School—only to fail of re-election in 1924. In 1926, however, the constituency made amends by electing him presiding judge, and re-elected him in 1930. Immediately after his second term expired, on November 6, 1934, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and November 5, 1940, was re-elected for a term to expire on January 3, 1947.

#### ORIGIN OF TRUMAN COMMITTEE

It was in February, 1941, that a letter from his home state brought Truman of

Missouri into his own. A constituent wrote to him about waste of manpower, money and materials in the construction of a Missouri Army camp. After investigation, covering 30,000 miles and nearly all the construction of camps in the United States, the Senator arose with an array of facts which demanded no less than an investigation of the entire defence effort. The charges he made were so sweeping as to seem fantastic. The Senate, discounting them, gave Truman only \$15,000 of the \$25,000 he had asked for his committee; but they assigned him seven Senators as committeemen—five Democrats like himself, two Republicans, six of them newcomers to the Senate—and by Senate Resolution 71 authorized him to proceed.

This was in March, 1941. By May the Committee had issued its first 98-page report, one section of which, according to General Brehon Somervell of the Army Services of Supply, saved the country \$250,000,000.

Up to the middle of 1944 the Truman Committee—officially the Senate Committee Investigating the National Defence Program—had been allotted, by degrees, \$400,000, of which nearly \$100,000 was still unspent. It never employed more than 15 investigators and 18 typists; the bulk of the work was done by the Senators, their counsel, Hugh A. Fulton, and innumerable plain Americans. Most of the raw material which the Committee processed into reforms and savings was provided by citizens who wrote letters. Once on a trail, the Committee could subpoena witnesses and, though it had no power to punish wrong-doing, could bring not only

wrong doers but also bunglers to the public attention. It was public opinion, roused by the Truman Committee which caused a man who wanted \$1,500,000 for his interest in a concern the government was taking over, to settle for \$175,000, and a public prosecutor—working on Truman evidence—who sent certain dishonest contractors to jail.

The Committee's purview extended from the design of landing craft to the fruit juice situation—it caused 30,000,000 cans of grape fruit juice to be released to a thirsty public—and was busy with problems so diverse as lodgings for service families

lend lease, the seaworthiness of Liberty ships, foreign air bases and post war re conversion of industry—in addition to its perennial work on the re pricing of war contracts. Of these last, Truman and his committee took a reasonable view, saying that when contractors, strange to the products demanded, had no idea of costs, they necessarily fixed prices high, but that with standards fixed, contracts could now be revised downward. He agreed that profits are essential, but he said his committee existed to ensure that nobody shall profit inordinately on the blood of those boys in the foxholes."

## AERODYNAMICS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By MR A C BANERJEE

THE knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a *sine qua non* for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the resistance of air while flying. In fact, every step in the rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimizing loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending

storms floods etc. The United States Weather Bureau has done signal service by predicting times of occurrences of devastating floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadful American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological Department has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy, there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics to collate the observational data to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in post war India. A band of fully trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Departments. So, Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper place for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

# THE SAPRU PLAN

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[We publish below the text of the Resolution, which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, cabled to Lord Wavell in London on April 1. The Resolution suggests the formation of a National Government at the Centre and the restoration of autonomy in all Provinces. The Sapru Committee's Proposals for the Future Constitution of India were issued on April 8. They indicate the outlines which the Committee feels would suit the conditions in India. The recommendations, they say, do not constitute a full blue print for the future constitution. They are essentially suggestions made for the constitution of the country at large.—ED. I.R.]

## 1 CABLE TO LORD WAVELL

IN view of the internal situation, particularly relating to the economic life of the people and in view of the rapid pace at which international events are marching and in view of the necessity of India being represented in her own right and by her own representatives at all international conferences and peace conferences, if any, this Committee strongly recommends that the following steps be taken at once—

(1) All political prisoners and detainees be released immediately.

(2) India should, by a Royal Proclamation, be declared—an independent State and treated as a Dominion equal and in no way inferior to any other Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, even though, pending the framing and coming into force of a new constitution, the Government of India may have to be conducted in conformity with the provisions of the Act of 1935 subject to the minimum necessary modifications;

(3) (A) The proclamations issued in several Provinces under Section 93 of the Act should be withdrawn forthwith and the Legislatures allowed to resume their normal activities; (B) Popular Ministries should be re-established in these Provinces and allowed to function under the provisions of the Act (C) in the formation of such Ministries, the Prime Minister representing the largest single party in the Legislature should be required, as far as possible to include in the Ministry persons

commanding the confidence of other parties in the Legislature;

(4) In addition to the restoration of autonomy in all the Provinces of British India, a National Government should replace the present Executive Council at the centre.

For this purpose the Committee would recommend for consideration the following two alternatives:—

## AMEND 1935 ACT

*The First Alternative:* (A) Section 5 of the Government of India Act, 1935, should be so amended as to provide for the issue of a proclamation by His Majesty bringing into being forthwith a federation of India without insisting on the entry of Indian States as a condition precedent as provided in sub-section (2) of the said section, Indian States being at liberty to accede to the Federation in accordance with the terms of Section 6 of the Act.

## ALL-PARTY MINISTRIES IN PROVINCES

(B) Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, with the proposed amendments should be brought into force and steps taken immediately to hold elections to the two Houses of the Federation Legislature and to appoint a Council of Ministers in accordance with the provisions contained in that part.

Provided, however, that in the formation of such a Ministry the Prime Minister, representing the largest single party in the Legislature shall, as far as possible, include in the Ministry persons commanding the confidence of other important parties in the Legislature.

## INDIANISATION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

*The Second Alternative* Schedule IX of the Act may be continued in force but should be so amended as to provide for altering the constitution and functioning of the Governor General in Council for the following lines —

(a) Except for the Commander in Chief who may continue to be ex officio member of the Executive Council in charge of war operations and matters ancillary thereto the entire Executive Council should consist of Indians commanding the confidence of the parties in the Central Legislature the provision in sub section (3) of Section 36 which requires that three at least of the members should be persons who have been in the service of the Crown in India for a period of at least 10 years being repealed

(b) No officials belonging to the permanent services shall be nominated to either House of the Central Legislature. The nominated block in each of the 2 Houses shall consist entirely of non officials nominated by the Governor General in Council

(c) In the 9th Schedule of the Act the provisions excluding from the control of the Legislature expenditure under heads Ecclesiastical External affairs defence tribal areas and other items incurred by the Governor General in his direction shall be repealed

## POLITICAL ADVISER SHOULD BE INDIAN

(d) The Political Adviser to the Crown Representative should be an Indian with the rank and status of an Executive Councillor though he may not be a member of the Executive Council

(e) The decision as to when the general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures should take place should be left to the National Government at the centre and the popular Governments in the provinces

2 The Committee greatly appreciates your initiative in proceeding to London for the purpose as it believes of ending the present political deadlock in the country and trusts that the suggestions that it is now making will be of assistance to you and His Majesty's Government in solving the problem that faces you. The Committee is continuing its work

## II THE RECOMMENDATIONS

These proposals are confined to British India only. When the Indian States decide to come into the Union as the Committee hopes they will it is obvious that arrangements will have to be made in consultation with them for necessary adjustments and additions

The recommendations of the Sub Committees on Scheduled Castes and aboriginal tribes and on Minorities adopted by the Committee will soon be published separately

## THE CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY

The constitution making body shall be constituted in the manner prescribed in Clause D of the draft resolution of His Majesty's Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps subject to the following modifications

(1) The total strength of the body shall be 160 distributed as follows: Special Interests 10, Commerce and Industry 10, Land holders 10, Universities 10, Labour and Women 16, Hindus excluding Scheduled Castes 51, Muslims 51, Scheduled Castes 20, Indian Christians 7, Sikhs 8, Backward Areas and Tribes 3, Anglo Indians 2, Europeans 1, Others 1

(2) It is because Clause D of H M G's declaration provides for election by a joint electorate composed of members of all the Provincial Legislatures under the system of proportional representation that the Committee has decided to recommend that in spite of the disparity in the population strengths between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes the Hindu community

(G) For the special interests, there shall be special *constituencies*. There shall be direct election to the Union Assembly. As for election to the Council of State, the question shall be decided by the Constitution making body.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Lists of the matters, in respect of which the power of making laws for peace, order and good Government and the functions pertaining to the administration of those laws shall fall within the spheres respectively of the Centre and the units, shall be embodied in the Constitution Act.

The detailed drawing up of these lists should be left to the Constitution-making body. The Committee, however, would recommend that the following principles, among others, should guide the Constitution-making body in the distribution of powers and functions between the Centre and the units —

(A) The powers and functions assigned to the Centre should be as small in number as possible, provided that they shall in any case include (i) matters of common interest to India, as a whole, such as foreign affairs, defence, relations with Indian States, inter-unit communications, commerce, customs, currency posts and telegraphs (ii) Settlement of inter-unit disputes; (iii) Co-ordination where necessary of the legislation and administration of different units, (iv) Such other matters or action as may be required for ensuring the safety and tranquillity of India or any part thereof or for the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India or for dealing with any emergencies.

(B) While all matters not assigned to the centre exclusively or concurrently must be declared to fall within the sphere of the units, a list of these should, for greater certainty, be given in the Constitution Act with the rider that all residuary powers—those not included in either of the two lists—shall vest in the units.

(C) All customs barriers between one unit and another shall be abolished and there shall be free trade within the Union, provided that, where the abolition of existing customs barriers affects prejudicially the finances of a unit, it shall be entitled to adequate compensation out of the revenues of the Union.

#### UNION EXECUTIVE

(A) Subject to the provisions of Clause (B), the Executive of the Union shall be a Composite Cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it, *viz.* (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes, (ii) Muslims, (iii) Scheduled Castes, (iv) Sikhs, (v) Indian Christians, (vi) Anglo-Indians.

(B) The representation of these communities in the Executive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the Legislature

(C) The Cabinet shall be deemed to be duly constituted notwithstanding the absence from it temporarily of representatives of any of the communities mentioned in Clause (A) where on account of a whole community refusing to join or remain in a Cabinet, that community goes without representation therein, the vacancies may, pending the availability of members of that community, be filled by appointment of members of other communities and the Cabinet commence or continues to function, provided it commands a majority in the Legislature

(D) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Legislature.

(E) The Cabinet shall be led, guided and held together by a Prime Minister who shall ordinarily be the leader of a party which by itself or in combination with other parties is able to command a stable majority in the Legislature. A convention should be created that the offices of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister should not be monopolized by any one community.

## DEFENCE

The Committee strongly recommends that under the new constitution, there should be a portfolio of defence which should be held by a Minister responsible to the Legislature and that the actual control and discipline of the army should be placed in the hands of a Commander-in-Chief under the new Government

The Committee further recommends that a National Army should be created and developed as rapidly as possible

It is unable to suggest at this stage what the strength of this Army should be as this will depend, apart from the vital question of finance on a number of other factors, such as, the nature of the post war world settlement and the efficacy of the international organization for the maintenance of world peace

Among the measures which should be adopted for the creation of such an Army, the Committee recommends the following —

(1) (a) Such British units as temporarily may be required for the efficient defence of India and such officers as may be needed for officering the National Army until an adequate number of Indian officers becomes available shall be obtained by a treaty or agreement entered into by the Union Government and His Majesty's Government, specifying, among other things, the terms and conditions of their re-employment by the Union.

(b) As soon as the war is over, all direct recruitment of British officers to the Indian forces should cease. Such British officers as do not belong to the Indian Army and are not required for specific appointments should be reverted to the British Army establishment.

(2) An institution should be established for the training in sufficient numbers of officers of all the three arms—air, land and sea—and all defects existing in the present system which prevent rapid Indianisation or the creation of Indian officers capable

of assuming leadership should be forthwith removed.

(c) If it is found that the present educational system does not produce a sufficient number of young men suitable in every respect for a military career, steps should be taken at once to remove this defect.

(4) University Officers Training Corps should be established where they do not exist and largely expanded and measures taken not only for ensuring supply of officers to fill vacancies in peace-time, but for the rapid expansion of the cadre in the event of a military threat to India. Such measures should aim at creating a reserve of young men with service training who can be rapidly absorbed as officers when expansion takes place.

(5) The Committee would emphasize that the maintenance of law and order is essentially the responsibility of the Unit Governments and that they should, if necessary by increasing the strength of their police forces, equip themselves adequately for the discharge of the responsibility.

The Committee would, however, make it clear that the services of troops on the Union Army establishment should be available for being requisitioned only when the civil power finds itself unable to cope with any particular situation.

The Committee further recommends that a balance should be maintained between the respective arms and that special attention should be paid to Navy, Airforce, mechanised units and such other branches as may from time to time be developed.

The Committee recommends that steps should be taken, even before the coming into being of the new constitution to adopt and give effect to the measures as far as practicable

## REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES

(3) The orders now in force at the Centre regarding the representation of the communities in public services may continue

Commission before the Legislature with a full statement of the action taken or proposed to be taken in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission.

In case any of the recommendations are not accepted wholly or in part, the statement should also contain full explanations of the decisions taken by the Government. Facilities shall be provided to the Legislature for a discussion of the report and the decisions of the Government thereon.

#### MINORITIES IN THE PUNJAB

The Committee recommends that the case of the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Indian Christians relating to their representation in the Punjab Legislature should be examined with the utmost care by the Constitution making body.

#### AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The intention to make a motion in the Union Legislature for an amendment of the Constitution shall be notified to the public and such motion shall not be taken up for consideration by the Legislature until the expiry of at least six months from the date of such notification.

It shall not be deemed to have been approved by the Union Legislature unless it has secured the support in each of the two Chambers of a majority of not less than two-thirds of its sanctioned strength.

Further such amendment shall not have effect unless it is also approved by the Legislatures of not less than two-thirds of the Units provided that no amendments shall be made at all for a period of five years from the coming into force of the new constitution in respect of vital provisions of the constitution which should be listed in a schedule to the Constitution Act.

Amendments of a purely formal character may be decided through the ordinary process of Union Legislation.

#### APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

The Committee recommends that the principles here enunciated constitute a fair and effective basis for political settlement in India.

It strongly recommends to all communities and parties to accept them, and in particular to the majority parties in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 to assume constitutional responsibility.

In the event of these proposals being unacceptable to the various communities and parties and their failure to reach an agreement on any other basis, His Majesty's Government should set up an interim Government in India and proceed to establish machinery for drafting the new constitution generally on the basis of the principles underlying these proposals, enact it in Parliament and put it into operation at the earliest possible date.



GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON

Gen. Patton, famed for his lightning advance following the Normandy break-through, watches his armoured vehicles roll through Germany.

way and only pointed to the C-in-C's concern in the matter as evinced by the facilities afforded to the Press representatives! Is that enough? The War Secretary promised to note the suggestions but added it would take time to implement them. With a suavity that must have completely disarmed the apologists of Government Mr. Krishnamachari told the House.

"It looks as if, in order to enable Mr. Trivedi (War Secretary) to implement the recommendations made by the House, the war must continue for 2½ years more!"

The effect of the retort was devastating and the House voted for the adjournment without a division.

#### Commercial Safeguards

The eleven clauses in the Government India Act 1935 compendiously known as the commercial safeguards, have been repeatedly assailed by every section of the Indian public. At the Round Table Conference Gandhi urged that such safeguards if any, should be 'in the interests of India.' Sir Samuel Hoare tried to placate Indian opinion by describing them as 'framed in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom.' But no amount of casuistry could take the sting out of these "safeguards", and when Mr. Manu Subedar brought in the other day a resolution in the Central Assembly recommending their removal from the Act of 1935, the House voted without a division. Much play has been made by the European opposition on the score of reciprocity. Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas exposed the fallacy underlying the argument on the principle of reciprocity.

I want to point out that so far as trade with Great Britain is concerned the effects of reciprocity will be of little or no value to India. It has to be noted that in spite of the relations between Great Britain and India during the last hundred years, there is no Indian House or firm established there which does commercial business with India on a scale which can be computed in any reasonable proportion to what is being done by British Houses. If after a hundred years, the enterprise of Indians in London is at such a low ebb as this, I only wish to point out that reciprocity cannot mean much to us for a long time.

#### Indian Delegation to San Francisco

Protests against Government nominations to the Frisco Conference have poured in from all quarters since the announcement of the Indian delegation. Government have, no doubt, ignored these protests but there can be no two opinions on the strength of public feeling on the subject. Strangely enough, the members of the delegation seem pleased with the status assigned to them. Sir Feroz Khan Noon has even thought fit to claim a standing for the delegation altogether imaginary. He assured a London audience that India was practically a Dominion and that

His Majesty's Government do not know that under their very noses India has grown practically to Dominion Status without their knowing it.

He declared that the Indian delegation to San Francisco was an independent delegation and had "full freedom to do what we consider best in the interest of the country and the Government." The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri has pricked this bubble about the illusory independence claimed for the delegation; while Sir Chimanlal. Setalvad poured scorn on their claim to represent a "sovereign nation."

*Sovereign nation indeed!* When the salaries of these so-called representatives as well as the salaries of the whole Executive Council of the Governor General were refused by the Central Legislative Assembly only a few days ago and still in spite of that vote, the Members of the Council defying the vote of the Assembly are still holding offices and claim to represent India at San Francisco.

As a matter of fact, they can represent none but their British employers. Sir Mahomed Habibullah who represented this country at the League of Nations in Geneva in 1928 confessed that the delegates had first to gather at the India Office to take their tips. That is exactly what the present delegation had been doing in London, prior to their departure to U.S.A. Why, Sir B. L. Mitter, as Law Member, explained the position in the Council of State, in words that cannot be mistaken.

I wish this House to remember that the Indian delegation receives its instructions from the Secretary of State who has the constitutional right of supervision over the delegation.





# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**BEGGAR MY NEIGHBOUR** The Case for India By Lionel Fielden, International Book House Ltd., Bombay

Business took Mr Fielden to India. He took with him the pomp and glory of the west, its latest discoveries and modern conveniences. His stay in India disillusioned him. What profits it if the west has won the world but lost her soul. And keeping a nation in bondage is a sure sign of a lost soul. What justification is there for England to hold on to India? Is it the Hindu-Muslim differences? But are there not parties and differences in England itself? Is it the incapacity to rule? But have they not governed in the provinces with credit? India must be made free. England must quit. She "must transfer power to a Government composed of Eleven Elected Prime Ministers of India or formed by an Indian Leader such as Sapru, Rajagopalachari, Jinnah or Nehru". Only so can all the communal differences be made to compose. So long as there is a third party tilting the balance, there could be no agreement between dissenting parties. The failure of Cripps' Mission was a tragedy. But when Churchill declared "We mean to hold our own" he asked 'So the Atlantic Charter is a wash out and the Cripps Mission just what *Indiana* thought it was—a move of expediency in a game of greed and domination'. More and more Englishmen have come to realise that the acid test of England's *bona fides* is Indian Freedom and on that touchstone will be judged whether the cause of freedom in the world survives or perishes.

The book is written by a sincere friend of India who has had the vision to see the problem as it is and suggest a way out.

**INDIA'S STERLING POSITION AND THE WAR.** By Bimalendev Dhar. Co-operative Book Depot, 54, College Street, Calcutta. Rs. 3

This book is a significant and useful contribution to the study of the growth and utilisation of the prodigious accumulation of India's sterling balances during the present war. Mr. Bimalendev Dhar's suggestions regarding the methods for repatriation of the sterling loans are eminently practical and advantageous from the Indian angle in view of its economic implications. He also briefly reviews the currency plans of Britain and America and points out that the recent British suggestions for scaling down the sterling assets of India are highly injurious to India's economic stability and pleads for an honourable and just settlement.

**EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION IN INDIA.** By A. N. Sen. The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, East Calcutta. Rs. 2.

In this thoughtful and provocative pamphlet, Mr. A. N. Sen offers some criticisms on the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-war Educational Development in India and gives due outlines of a modified scheme. Himself a reputed educationist, he traverses a wide ground in the sphere of education—Nursery, Primary, Post primary, Secondary, University, Technical, and their inter-relations. More, his constructive proposals are extremely valuable in that Mr. Sen wants to build on the existing structure rather than demolish the present framework. He is fully alive to the existing conditions in India and its historic background and is aware of its primary and plenary needs. That is why his scheme is not only economical but also highly suggestive.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- April 1 Sapru Committee cables to Lord Wavell suggesting Royal Proclamation
- April 2 Mr. Jinnah criticizes Sapru plan.
- April 3 Nagpur High Court orders stay of execution of Ashti and Chimur prisoners
- April 4. Empire talks begin in London
- April 5 Russo-Jap pact of April 13, 1941, denounced by Soviet Government
- April 6 Japanese Cabinet resigns
- April 7. Nazis trapped in Holland
- April 8 Mr Ernest Bevin attacks PM's plea for coalition.
- April 9 Assembly carries motion re service conditions of Indian troops abroad
- April 10 Hanover falls
- April 11 Spain breaks with Japan
- April 12 Sudden death of Roosevelt
- April 13 Mr. Truman, Vice President becomes President in place of Roosevelt.
- April 14 Von Papen captured
- April 15 Vienna falls
- April 16. President Truman announces there will be no change in war strategy
- April 17. Gandhiji's statement on the aim of Frisco talks.
- April 18 Mr Phillips announces American relief plan for India.
- April 19. Lords approve Bill for continuance of Sec 93 rule in Provinces.
- April 20 Sec 93 rule approved by the Commons
- April 21 Russians enter Berlin defences.
- April 22. Street fighting in Berlin.
- April 23 Mr. William Phillips is appointed Special Asst. Secretary of State.
- April 24 Allies capture Ulm.
- April 25 San Francisco Conference opens.
- April 26 Marshal Petain surrenders.
- April 27 Red army links up with Western Allies
- April 28 Himmler offers unconditional surrender to Britain and U.S.
- April 29. Mussolini shot by partisans. —Hitler and Goebbels reported dead.
- April 30 Deadlock over Polish issue in the Frisco Conference.



**BENITO MUSSOLINI**

sl by partisans at Milan along with 17 other Fascists.



**HERR HITLER**

Reported to have fallen at his command post on May 1.

## THE POLISH IMBROGLIO

The controversy over the Polish question has not abated. The Yalta decision about Poland has not settled an issue that is still bristling with difficulties. Maurice Friedman, writing in the *Polish News*, contends that the terms "London" or "Emigre" Government are derogative and misleading.

There is no other Polish Government to distinguish it from by these denominations. The Lublin Committee, which was formed at Moscow, began to work at Lublin and transferred itself to Warsaw, cannot be called a national and democratic Government, even by the most violent stretching of these very elastic words. Both inside and outside Poland, Poles wholeheartedly recognize and support the Polish Government, the only fully constitutional, democratic, representative and legally valid government the Poles have. The Lublin Committee is merely an organ of Russian military occupation.

The Yalta decision merely sets its seal on what is virtually the fifth partition of Poland by which

Poland is going to lose 42 per cent. of her territory, vital to her historically, ethnographically and economically (almost all her wheat and oil) for no fair and just reasons, but because Stalin has made up his mind.

And what special virtue or sanctity could be attached to it?

The Yalta meeting did not wait for a peace Conference, nor even for a plenary session of the United Nations. It did not pass through the essential stages of open discussion, popular referendum, plebiscite under international control and final settlement of frontiers with full regard for local interests on the border line. A line settled with the enemy as a reward for betrayal was sanctioned and 42 per cent. of Poland's land handed over to a neighbour who has neither right to it nor need of it, handed over definitely and for ever.

Public opinion in Poland has an impression that the British Government are rather supporting Russian policy against Poland. Turning from questions of frontiers to the form of Government in Poland, the writer says that the Sovietisation of Poland is in full swing on the plea of "military necessity."

What has deportation of the educated classes to Russia, or shooting of the members of the Polish Underground Army to do with "military necessity"? Why should an obscure Moscow official become the "President" of "liberated" Poland? Why a sweeping programme of political, economic agrarian and educational reforms has been launched by an "ukase" from Moscow?

Was it so impossible to have instead an Allied Control Commission right from the beginning and to give the unhappy country a chance to wipe its tears and to lick its wounds, to sow its fields and to mend its tools, to refill its granaries and its wardrobes, to rebuild its houses, its schools and churches? Human beings are dying of fear and want, of cold, hunger and disease.

Was it not the first duty of the "liberators" to put their skill and industry to this most urgent task, asks the writer.

But the most ambiguous and disquieting fact is the British Prime Minister's plea for the Soviet insistence on a "friendly" Polish Government. This apparently innocuous demand may become a trap.

If Poland has to be independent and sovereign within the framework of the United Nations' scheme of collective security, will not Russia's freedom and independence be as well protected as Poland's? What has Russia to fear from Poland? With Germany crushed, Japan broken, Europe weak and poor, the British Commonwealth in a turmoil and America busy with her own post-war problems, Russia has nothing to fear from anybody. Insistence on a "friendly" Polish Government may mean in the best case a "supervision" from Moscow—in the worst an outright dependence on the Kremlin "dictate."

And then the offer of British citizenship to Polish troops was, in the expressive words of the writer, a "bear's caress."

Surely the Poles have not shed their blood so recklessly for a British passport. If the Yalta Conference leaves a chance open, that they may not like to return to their country, it means that the "free and democratic Government" in Poland may turn out to be too repulsive to many. Does it not prick the rainbow bubble of the Prime Minister's assurances?

## BRITAIN'S STAKE IN ASIA

"The political and economic power derived from the possession of India acted as a cementing force for British interests throughout Asia. Indeed, India is the key to the whole situation, not only because of the British stake there, but because an independent India would ultimately, as result of its location, population and resources, become a greater power in Asia than any outside nation could hope to be."—An extract from a paper titled "Independence for Colonial Asia—the Cost to the Western World", prepared by Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger and issued by the Foreign Policy Association of America.

## THE GOAL OF HUMAN LIFE

If a man closes his eyes for a few minutes and asks himself what he really is, he will be in a great quandary. He will see, to his great dismay, that he does not find himself. But still he has been toiling hard throughout his life on the supposition of his material existence.<sup>1</sup> But if he be bold and daring enough to pursue his thoughts, he will discover that there is something in him which is non-self or more than self, that there is some Existence in him which is at the back of all existence, writes Swami Pavitrnananda in an article in *Prafuldha Bharata*

Whatever name you may give to that Existence, he adds, to discover that for oneself is the goal of human life. 'Know thyself,' said the wise man of Greece. This is as much true now as it was more than two thousand years ago. Man must know himself, if he wants peace for himself or for the world. The Man who has known himself, supplies spiritual sustenance to millions of persons for thousands of years.

## INDIANS IN KENYA

In an article on the future of Indians in Kenya in the April issue of the *National Review*, Capt R E Russel Smallwood says: "To the Indian must go much credit for East Africa's rapid development. Europeans and Africans alone could not have achieved it. But the war is changing the East African scene and Africans are at last preparing to enter the realm of trade."

The Indian problem, as a whole is entering a new and vital phase. While in the past legislation was designed mainly to solve the Indo-settler disputes, the question must now be considered first and foremost from the standpoint of native interests. Being ignorant of politics, Africans have not yet stood out against Indian aspirations; nor indeed do they fully understand them.

Upon one point, however, both Africans and Europeans are unanimous—increased Indian control, either economic or political, must be prevented.

## GELDER ON GANDHI

"Do not underestimate Gandhi. He packs all punches—He knows all our weaknesses—he has endurance and skill of a Joe Louis. He is right in there in the middle of the ring after more than 20 years prize-fight of all prize-fights with a most powerful opponent in the world. Who do I think will win? It is your guess as much as mine. Know what you are up against and you won't crack jokes about 'that toothless old hoodum in loincloth'."

This high praise of Gandhi is contained in an article by Stuart Gelder in *SEAC* weekly, *Phoenix*.

If we have learned one lesson, in this war, he continues, it is not to underestimate the opponent. "Do not underestimate Gandhi. I think the most disconcerting thing about him is his complete honesty. He is not afraid to contradict himself. As Louis Fischer has pointed out, he thinks aloud. He may say one thing in conversation and twenty minutes later, say emphatically something diametrically opposed. If you ask why then did he express the first opinion, the answer is because he thought of it."

I have heard so many ignorant wisecracks think they have dismissed Gandhi by saying he is inconsistent. It has been a matter of controversy for two thousand years why Christ advised his disciples to turn the other cheek and himself whipped money changers from the temple. But only a halfwit would conclude that this apparent inconsistency dismisses Christ's claim to be Son of God."

## Baroda

### MEDICAL COLLEGE IN BARODA

Four fourth class dispensaries, two subsidy dispensaries and two dispensaries on co-operative lines have been started by the Medical Department of the State during the half year ending January, 1945.

Nine maternity homes were opened and nine more were sanctioned during the same period. The work of constructing an eye ward at Patan Hospital and of maternity homes at several places was in progress.

Three medical officers and one sub-assistant surgeon were deputed by the department to Bombay for higher studies in medicine.

### BARODA MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

The Baroda City Municipal Corporation extends over an area of 847 square miles and serves a lakh and a half citizens. The income of the corporation increased owing to greater import of goods in the city, increased receipts from rents of land, income from trees, etc. The incidence of taxation per head was Rs 686 during the year 1943-44.

The figures show that while the net increase in income was only Rs 81,000, the increase in expenditure amounted to Rs 270 lakhs.

The general health of the city was good but the anti-malaria campaign was continued.

### BARODA APPOINTMENTS

Sir B. L. Mitter, KCSI, has been appointed Dewan of Baroda State from April 1.

Mr. Bhadrashilrao Gaekwad, the present Acting Dewan, has been appointed Vice-President of the Executive Council.

Mr R. G. Allen, the present Commissioner of Agriculture, will be in charge of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction.

Col. Dr S. M. Pagar, the present Education Member, has proceeded on leave from April 1, prior to retirement.

Mr. S. M. Basrur has been appointed General Manager of the Gaekwad of Baroda State Railways.

## Travancore

### BEGGAR HOME FOR TRIVANDRUM

Striking tributes to the inspiration and examples of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Travancore and the Maharani were paid by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, while opening, the new buildings of the Sri Chitra Home for the destitute and the infirm at Trivandrum on April 19.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyer urged the gathering to establish similar institutions in every centre of the State.

He announced that it was the intention of the government, beginning with the coming budget until the beggar problem in the urban areas at least was adequately solved, to set aside Rupees 1 lakh for dealing with the beggar problem. The Dewan stressed the necessity for the evolution of a band of social workers dedicating their lives for the service of the unfortunate in the land.

Mr V S Subramania Iyer, President of the Home recalled how the home was started 10 years ago with an endowment of half a lakh of rupees made by His Highness which had now grown to nearly a lakh. The home could accommodate over 300 beggars in comfort.

### TRAVANCORE SENATE

A meeting of the Senate of the University of Travancore was held, on April 13, at the Legislative Chamber under the presidency of Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor.

As recommended by the Syndicate, the Senate decided to institute M.Sc. course and Professorship in Statistics in the University, to utilize the endowment of Rs 50,000 offered by the Travancore University to the Muslim Endowment Committee for the starting of a course of study in Islamic History and Culture and the institution of a readership therein and to institute an employment bureau in the University.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### MR. MANILAL ON S A POSITION

"Unfortunately there is a split in the South African Indian community. The Natal Indian Congress is working only for the vested interests, and being afraid to face the masses it does not hold open sessions, but only Committee meetings. The majority of the Indians in South Africa are with the Anti Segregation Committee", observed Mr Manilal Gandhi in the course of a talk with pressmen in Bombay

Mr. Gandhi added, "General Smuts is in favour of India getting independence. He does not want trade segregation, but favours residential separation of Indians by mutual agreement and without recourse to legislative measures"

Referring to the retaliatory measure of the India Government, Mr Gandhi said "They are mere eye wash".

### GANDHIJI ON KALLENBACH

"South Africa has lost a most generous-minded citizen and the Indians of that sub-continent, a very warm friend," observed Mahatma Gandhi when interviewed about Mr. M. Kallenbach's death—his old associate in South Africa.

"In Hermann Kallenbach's death" Mahatma Gandhi continued "I have lost a very dear and near friend. He used to say to me often that when I was deserted by the whole world, I would find him to be a true friend going with me, if need be, to the end of the earth in search of Truth. He used to spend at one time £75 per month on his person alone. But he so revolutionised his life that his monthly personal expenses amounted to under £3. This lasted while we lived together in a cottage seven miles from Johannesburg. When I left South Africa, he reverted in large part to his original life, though mostly eschewing the things of life he had deliberately left"

## Ceylon

### INDIANS IN CEYLON

Mr. Abdul Aziz, President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, told the Soulbury Commission that about 95 per cent. of the Indians in Ceylon could be regarded as permanently settled there; if full powers are transferred to the people, there should be certain settled arrangements as regards the interests of minorities.

Replying to questions on the Fundamental Rights which the Congress wanted to be embodied in the constitution, Mr. Aziz referred to the denial of village community franchise to Indians and the restriction on the Indian vote to the State Council.

Lord Soulbury: "Quite a number of these Fundamental Rights you mention have apparently not been denied to you."

Mr. Aziz "The purpose of mentioning these in the constitution is that there is an apprehension that these may be denied"

Lord Soulbury remarked that what he had seen in some of the estates did not bear out the Congress statement of total lack of facilities for Indians on the estates

Mr. Aziz replied that care might have been taken to show the Commissioners round the best estates.

## U.S.A.

### U. S CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS.

The Senate Emigration Committee on April 26 opened the hearing on a new bill which would make eligible for naturalisation some 4,0000 Indians now resident in the United States. A Justice Department official and Prof John Cooper of Washington Catholic University appeared as witnesses during the brief session and several Indians submitted statements.

Dr. Mobarak Khan, President of the Indian Welfare League, presented a statement supporting the new bill.

# Utterances of the Day

## LORD LISTOWEL'S PLEA FOR INDIA

Lord Listowel, Under Secretary for India, addressing at Peterborough the Youth Conference on India, hoped that Britain and India would go forward as friends and partners in splendid enterprise, banishing object poverty and safeguarding peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The time factor in this constitutional drama is all important, and whether we will it or not, we are hastening with the certainty of fate towards the climax in the last act. Time forgets not nor forgives, and any unreasonable delay in granting the essentials of self government would poison our relations with India for many generations to come. Let it not be said in respect of our dealings with India as the people often say to day of our past dealings with Ireland "They gave too little and too late."

But the time is past when we can dress India in our ready made constitutional garments. The Indians must settle between themselves the cut, size and material they want.

There is finally a broad assumption without which these conditions of evolutionary progress to full nationhood could not be conceivably fulfilled. I mean the assumption that British statecraft, which has raised from infant dependency the largest fraternity of free and equal nations in history, will never declare itself bankrupt.

"We have not forgotten, whatever our critics may say," said Lord Listowel,

Our repeated and solemn promises about self government for India or that our good name will be called in question by many so long as these promises are not fully redeemed. At the end of this grim war, there is no doubt that the world will be waiting with impatience to see whether India alone among the notorious partners in the grand alliance is to remain indefinitely without an equal and wholly independent status.

## MR BHULABHAI'S CALL TO BRITAIN

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, presiding over the Punjab Civil Liberties Conference, quoted President Roosevelt's words: "The mere conquest of our enemies is not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer doubt, fears, ignorance and greed, which made this horror possible." Commenting on this statement, Mr. Desai said:

The real issue is, what is to be the world of to-morrow if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to

the same series of destruction. If Mr. Roosevelt's statement means anything, it means that the war would have been fought in vain if the subject races who had been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, were to remain in subjection after the war.

The question of India's independence should be made a major issue. It is my primary duty to tell you that our voice should be a common united voice. If peace is to be founded on genuine freedom, then the freedom of the subject races is the real issue. I am more concerned to-day with the declaration of India's freedom than with anything else. Britain has not to fight a war to free us. Britain has only to realize that every free country is a genuine friend. Britain has only to realize that every free country is a genuine friend. Britain has only to reorganize its psychology and make up its mind. A small revolutionary psychological change can make us free.

We must first get freedom to govern ourselves and then we can fashion laws for providing the individual and personal freedom of our citizens. It is for this that we want the freedom of our leaders. Let us sink all our differences and even our ideologies for the sake of attaining India's freedom.

I, therefore, appeal to the people of India, "not to miss what may happen to be the last opportunity to gain our freedom, by subordinating provincial, personal, ideological or even religious differences. Let us gain our freedom, the future will look after itself when we are a free people."

## SIR ARCOT'S SPEECH AT FRISCO

The Chairman of the Indian Delegation, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, told the San Francisco Conference that it was due to unity with others, that the Great Powers had been able to achieve success. He said:

I believe in Sovereign rights, but I believe the world has come to a stage when emphasis rests not so much on independence, as on interdependence (applause). While the small nations realize that the main responsibility is on the Great Powers, I humbly suggest to the Great Powers, that they also serve who also stand and wait, and that the smaller nations who have made contributions in time of stress, are not negligible factors in maintaining security.

While we are all thinking of the security of armed force to prevent aggression, we are likely to forget the basic factor in all these considerations the cause which leads to aggression, economic and social injustices (applause).

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar spoke as "an Asiatic," and said that India was ready to take her rightful place in the work of peace, and in combating aggression.

# Educational

## LIST OF TATA SCHOLARS

Twelve students from five Indian Universities have been awarded scholarship from the J N Tata Endowment for higher education abroad in the current year. Half of these will proceed to the United States and the others to Britain

Engineering and Chemistry are the lines of study favoured by most of these scholars, including various branches such as chemical engineering, automobile engineering, metallurgy, fuel technology, dyestuff research, pharmaceuticals, geology, and soil research

The names of the scholars are Mr. R B. Contractor (Bombay), Mr. D F Vasunia (Bombay), Mr. Minocher K Patel (Benares Hindu University), Mr. K I Narasimham (Bombay), Mr. G C Basak (Calcutta), Mr. K. A Balakrishna (Bombay), Mr. S J K. Mohile (Bombay), Mr. M V Kamath (Madras), Mr. S K Chakravorty (Calcutta), Mr. T K. Chettian (Benares Hindu University), Mr. P Sankaramurthi (Madras), and Mr. O Talibuddin (Lucknow)

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SCHEDULED CLASSES

Rs 3 lakhs per annum for 5 years from 1944-45 had been sanctioned for scholarships to be given to students belonging to the Scheduled Classes, of which approximately half was intended to be spent on scholarships for study in India, and the other half for study abroad, said the Development and Planning Member, Sir Ardeshtir Dalal, in reply to an Assembly question. A special committee to consider the applications had been set up

It was also intended that adequate representation should be given to minority communities, including the Scheduled Classes, provided that suitable candidates from these communities were forthcoming, in the recently announced scheme to send approximately 500 students overseas for technical education.

## A UNIVERSITY FOR THE SIKHS

The need to establish a Sikh University at Amritsar, was stressed by Sirdar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., in the course of his presidential address delivered at the 32nd session of the Sikh Educational Conference at Sheikhupura.

"Our aim," he said, "is to have a separate Sikh University at Amritsar. The establishment of an Engineering College will bring us much nearer to our goal. The Khalsa College, Amritsar has got all the facilities for the location of such a college on a most suitable site. Let the funds be raised, not only voluntarily but also by levying a cess on the Sikh revenue and income-tax payers. I hope the Government will facilitate the passing of a cess bill for this purpose. The Engineering College will prove a coping stone in the edifice of a Sikh University at Amritsar".

## TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

Prof Humayun Kabir in his presidential address at the 23rd session of All-Bengal Teachers' Conference held at Krishnagar observed:

The present educational system in India requires thorough overhauling. It has failed to meet the demands of our Individual and social life. It was designed to look to the interest of an alien rule and could not but hamper the growth of education in the true sense of the term. It saps initiative of the people and induces meek submission.

It has led to a weakening of national character and has made us unable to face the challenge of life.

## SIR C R. REDDY

Sir C Ramalinga Reddi was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University by 52 votes against 32 votes secured by Mr. B Sambamurti, at the meeting of the Senate of the University.



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### A UNIVERSITY FOR THE SIKHS

The need to establish a Sikh University at Amritsar, was stressed by Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., in the course of his presidential address delivered at the 32nd session of the Sikh Educational Conference at Sheikhupura.

"Our aim," he said, "is to have a separate Sikh University at Amritsar. The establishment of an Engineering College will bring us much nearer to our goal. The Khalsa College, Amritsar has got all the facilities for the location of such a college on a most suitable site. Let the funds be raised, not only voluntarily but also by levying a cess on the Sikh revenue and income-tax payers. I hope the Government will facilitate the passing of a cess bill for this purpose. The Engineering College will prove a coping stone in the edifice of a Sikh University at Amritsar".

### TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

Prof. Humayun Kabir in his presidential address at the 23rd session of All-Bengal Teachers' Conference held at Krishnagar observed:

The present educational system in India requires thorough overhauling. It has failed to meet the demands of our Individual and social life. It was designed to look to the interest of an alien rule and could not but hamper the growth of education in the true sense of the term. It saps initiative of the people and induces meek submission.

It has led to a weakening of national character and has made us unable to face the challenge of life.

### SIR C. R. REDDY

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University by 52 votes against 32 votes secured by Mr. B. Sambamurti, at the meeting of the Senate of the University.

## SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANS

An outstanding feature of the year, says a press correspondent, has been the preparations for a social insurance plan for India, similar to the Beveridge Scheme. The sickness insurance scheme contemplated by Government on a compulsory basis for factory workers in certain industries is a welcome beginning in social insurance and is expected to be a precursor of various other schemes of social security for the industrial population. The provision of compulsory insurance for payment of certain amount on sickness and of certain types of medical benefit should make the general population of the country insurance-minded, which will have very healthy repercussions on the expansion of insurance business in this country.

With ambitious plans for post war agricultural and industrial development of the country ahead of us, the task of Indian insurance will be to adapt itself to changing conditions.

In the sphere of life insurance, it is being suggested that the problem is one of improvement of the existing companies instead of adding a few new ones. The Bill before the Legislature seeks to facilitate amalgamations. It is further urged that the policy conditions may be liberalised, at least to the extent of covering the barest minimum requirements of Section 113 of the Act, and that steps should be taken to educate licensed agents so as to fit them for the task of carrying the gospel of insurance. It is also suggested that policies up to Rs 1,000 may be issued without medical examination. A further suggestion is that there should be held, as soon as practicable, a combined mortality investigation of Indian assured lives.

For the past few years, there has been a dearth of trained staff and the decision of the Indian Life Assurance Officers' Association during the year to introduce examinations in insurance and to arrange lectures at regular intervals for insurance personnel under training is a welcome move.

## WAR RISK INSURANCE

The new schedule of cargo war risk insurance rates contains widespread reduction in respect of Persian Gulf, African, Indian, Australian and Mediterranean, as well as some South American and West Indian voyages. The changes include: Persian Gulf to or from Australia, 3 per cent. against  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and to or from the east coast of India, 2 against  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . India to or from Alexandria,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  against 3 for the west coast and Ceylon and 3 against  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for the east coast.

## INSURANCE 2,500 YEARS AGO!

Tribes in the southern area of Palestine and Trans Jordan about 2,500 years ago, knew all about insurance. Arrangements were made in the Fifth Century B.C. by these tribes for mutual compensation in the event of the theft of their camels—important assets to nomad tribes—by raiding parties. The Association of Insurance Brokers in Palestine revealed this interesting fact in the first issue of their new monthly organ in Jerusalem.

## INSURANCE MANAGEMENT

It is announced that the Government of India have decided to set up a committee to inquire into and recommend measures to check certain trends and undesirable features in the management of insurance companies. The committee will consist of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Chairman), Mr. Wajahat Hussain, Sir Alan Lloyd, Mr. J. K. Mitter, Sir George Morton, Mr. R. P. Shroff and Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan (Secretary).

## ORIENTAL'S BUSINESS FOR 1944

The amount of New Life Assurance Business written by the Oriental during the above year was as follows:

87,369 Policies assuring Rs. 21,83,70,285.

The above figure while showing an increase of over  $6\frac{3}{4}$  crores in the sum assured over the figure for 1943 constitutes a new record for the Company.

## WORLD WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The annual Council of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom passed a resolution early last month reaffirming the belief that "the continued denial of independence for India is a fundamental contradiction of Britain's claim for moral leadership in the struggle for freedom". The resolution states the Council "views with dismay" that India is not an equal member with other nations assembled at Frisco Conference. Believing that India's contribution to the plans now being made is essential in the interest of the peace of the world and can only be made by representatives in whom the country has trust, it urges the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners to facilitate the formation of such provincial and national self-government as will enable a free India to take her rightful share in the peace settlement

## BRITISH WOMEN'S WAR WORK

European British women in India between the ages of 18 and 50, who are not permanent Government employees, military or civil, number 14,300, says a *communiqué* issued recently giving figures of women registered under the Ordinance of Oct 1944

The main object of the Ordinance was to obtain a clear picture of the war work women in each district were in a position to do, so as to help the local authorities to offer an opportunity for such work for all women residing in their district and to find the most suitable work for each woman to do.

Of the total number registered under the Ordinance, 9,224 were found to be doing voluntary war work, 3,245 of them for more than 20 hours a week, 2,049 were unable to undertake war work for reasons deemed sufficient by local authorities, 772 were not engaged in war work owing to lack of opportunity, being in remote districts, etc, and 2,255 were doing no work for reasons appearing to the local

authorities to be insufficient, though many of them had expressed willingness to undertake work when offered. It should be noted, the *communiqué* proceeds, that women in Government service were not required to register and that at the time of registration, 2,200 European British women were employed in the W.A.C. (I) besides those otherwise employed under Government.

Thus, out of 14,300 European British women registered under the Ordinance only 2,255 or about 16 per cent. who could take up war work had not done so.

## GANDHIJI AND WOMEN WORKERS

Mahatma Gandhi, in his 70-minute talk to the 80 women workers attending the provincial instructors' training camp at Borivli, gave practical advice on the various problems that might confront them in their work.

Answering Shrimati Mridula Ben's questions as to what were the good and bad points of Indians, as a nation, Mahatma Gandhi observed that he was convinced that in the sum the former far outweighed the latter. Indians had many defects. India was a slave country and her slavery dated much farther back than the British conquest of India. Slavery of evil customs and superstitions, he knew, was the worst form of slavery, but the solace that he would find in India, he could find nowhere else. He had lived in England and he had spent the best part of his life in South Africa. Yet he could not adopt other countries as his home. In reply to a friend's query years ago he had said that he wanted to die in the lap of his mother. His own mother, who was a frail little woman, had died years ago. But Mother India, with her eighty crores of hands, eighty crores of feet and 40 crores of mouths, had beckoned to him from across the seas and he could not resist the call.

## MEDICAL AID TO POORER CLASSES

Dr. Jivraj M. Mehta, President of the Indian Medical Association, at a reception given him by the Bengal Branch of the association, outlined a scheme for the formation of a society of medical men with 100 members in each province, to provide cheap medical service to poor and middle-class people.

The scheme, which Dr Mehta placed before the members of the medical profession for their consideration, was that the medical men recruited should lend their wholetime services as life members of the proposed society. They should be given a graded pay, besides other amenities. They would be allowed private practice, but their fees should go to the funds of the society.

Dr. Mehta explained that it was not proposed that free service would be rendered by the society to poor and middle-class families. What was intended was that a moderate fee, in some cases only a nominal fee, should be charged for the service rendered to such families.

Dr Mehta referred to the present high cost of medical treatment in this country, and emphasized that it was urgently necessary that some means should be devised to give relief to the poor and middle-class people who could not afford such costly treatment. He urged that the members of the society he had suggested should be imbued with a missionary zeal and an idea of social service.

## SUPER PENICILLIN

Synthidin—a synthetic form of penicillin thousands of times more active than the natural drug and produced by American research workers on a British formula—will be on sale in Britain soon.

Synthidin kills germs which are unaffected by natural penicillin and can be used in diluted form. It is especially deadly to the germ of blood poisoning. Manufacturing costs are less than one quarter of those for penicillin extracted from fungus.

## HEALTH MINISTRY AT CENTRE

The establishment of a medical college for every unit of 3 lakhs of population, the setting-up of a Health Ministry at the Centre and in the Provinces, and a scheme for advance training for doctors in the UK, U.S.S.R., and U.S.A. are some of the important recommendations made by the Bhor Committee to the Government of India.

The Committee is reported to have made a severe criticism of the public health services, hospital administration and health legislation, which they consider inadequate and ill-co-ordinated.

## CRAZE ABOUT VITAMIN TABLETS

Balanced diet can be carried too far, Lord Horder told the Food Education Society in his presidential address in London recently, reports the *Empire News*.

"The principle is sound and badly needs strengthening," he said, "but as for jiggering about with the individual courses of an individual meal that is sheer nonsense."

"I remember there was a very serious-minded person at one of our conferences who told us that she added vitamins to a plate of pea-soup to balance it. That shows you how far you can go when you get a bee in your bonnet."

## PHYSICAL DEFECTS IN CHILDREN

An article in a recent issue of the *Indian Medical Journal* gives a statistical analysis of physical defects in respect of some 400 students belonging to the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Saidapet, as testified to by the College Medical Officer. According to the report, as many as 69 per cent of the students show some physical defect or another—postural defects being the foremost, defective teeth and hookworm infection taking the second and third places respectively. Malnutrition is noticeable in 32 per cent. of the students. Other defects noticed are skin diseases and defective vision.

## BANKING COMPANIES BILL

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moved in the Assembly that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Banking Companies be referred to a Select Committee. As compared with the detailed Banking Codes in the United States and Canada the Finance Member said the present Bill was modest in scope since it attempted to lay down only the minimum essentials of sound banking.

Mr T T Krishnamachari (Nationalist) asked for an early enquiry into the whole credit structure of the country in the light of the views of various committees which had reported in the past as well as the experience gained by the Reserve Bank of India.

Mr Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Congress) criticized the Finance Member for leaving agricultural and industrial banks out of the scope of the Bill. The Bill, he said, would thus help neither the industries nor the agriculture of this country. The Bill sought to safeguard depositors but we in India, were more anxious to borrow than to deposit.

## PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK JUBILEE

Donations amounting to Rs 75,000 were announced by Mr Yodh Raj, Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Punjab National Bank on the occasion of the concluding day of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Bank on April 12. Of the total amount of donation a sum of Rs 50,000 has been earmarked for educational institutions and hospitals.

A sum of Rs 25,000 has been donated for promoting social, economic, educational and moral advancement of the Indian people and for promoting intercommunal harmony between different castes and creeds in India.

The Chairman said that the Punjab National Bank, which was started with a modest capital of Rs 20,000 in Lahore, today occupied the third place among India's big five banks and had accumulated assets of over rupees 50 crores and had 173 offices working all over the country.

## ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS

A meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Railways was held at New Delhi on April 14, says a Press note. The Council approved the policy of providing three classes of railway compartments in designing passenger coaches for the post-war period and the principle that the fares to be charged for the three classes should correspond to the present third class, inter class, and second class fares, though the actual rates would have to be based on prevailing price levels and other factors. Air-conditioned travel where it is considered necessary, would be an addition to these three standard classes. The Council also approved in principle the amalgamation of the M and S M and S I Railways.

The catering policy on railways was reviewed and the Council recommended that those catering arrangements which were satisfactory should not be disturbed during the war, but after the war each catering contractor should be limited to an area not exceeding the equivalent of two railway divisions and preference should be given to professional local caterers where these were available.

## LIQUIDATION OF M S M RAILWAY COMPANY

Stockholders are advised that the liquidators of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company are arranging to pay towards the end of this month a further three per cent dividend for absorbing £1,50,000 still in their hands. It is anticipated an additional small distribution will be possible when the Company's liabilities in the United Kingdom and India are finally determined.

## SIND BOMBAY RAILWAY

The Railway Board has decided to give priority to the construction of the proposed direct Sind Bombay railway as part of post-war development of railways in India. This decision was communicated to the Karachi mercantile deputation who intended to proceed to Delhi to place the matter before the India Government.

### RAGA—THE GLORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

Speaking at the Music Academy, Madras, Mr. T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar discussed music as an art and a science. He said that classical musicians like Thyagaraja, Dikshitar and Shyama Sastri had emphasized the importance of music as an art. To-day music had come to be democratized. Democracy may have great use in politics but in the realm of art, democracy had no place. It is the duty of all lovers of literature and of art to preserve and maintain the highest in art and not lower it in the name of democracy.

Tracing the growth of classical music in India, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar said that in the Vedic period when the Sama Veda was sung, they did not have a variety of 'ragas' except 'Karaharapriya'. They had no 'ragas' and no 'talas'. By the time of Bharatha, the art had been developed and 22 'Sruthis' had become established. The subsequent development of the 'ragas' constituted the chief glory of Indian music. "The conception of 'raga' is unknown to other countries. Many of the present-day movements really did not understand the glory behind the 'ragas'. The 'ragas' have each a distinctive form. This is the ideal in South Indian music".

### FESTIVAL OF ART FOR KIDS

"All children are individual artists upto about the age of 10". The Museum of Modern Art in New York is so convinced of this idea that it sets up an annual "Holiday Circus" in which young (4 to 8) hopefuls can draw, design and paint, their little hearts out. This year's festival, the fourth, opened recently states an American report. Adults are not allowed at any time because adults and fledgling spontaneous are emphatically don't mix.

Victor D'Amico, the Director of the Young People's Gallery, has contrived his small-fry atelier with a wonderland ante-room full of tricky gadgets. The workshop proper is stocked with everything a young artist ever dreamed about. painting tables with brushes, plenty of paint, and reams of paper.

### SYDNEY CORDER OF POONA WHEELERS

Brilliant cycling by Sydney Corder of the Poona Wheelers was the main feature of the second annual open meet of the Bombay Cycling Club held at the Brabourne Stadium, Bombay, last month, when over eighty cyclists took part. Corder not only won the thousand metres time trial, thousand metres sprint, four-thousand metres lap race and the two thousand metres combined team pursuit and four thousand metres team pursuit but also established a new All-India record for the thousand metres time trial with one minute 24.9 seconds, beating the record created by R. Rhead recently of one minute 26 seconds.

### PHYSICAL CULTURE IN U.P.

Mr. J. L. Sathé, Adviser to the U.P. Governor (Revenue), inaugurating the first meeting of the Technical Committee of the Council of Physical Culture stressed the need of promoting an intensive as well as extensive campaign for physical fitness among the people. The campaign, he said, would have to embrace all possible kinds of games, exercises and 'recreations' which would go to the promotion of physical fitness. It would not confine itself to only one line of approach.

The committee considered various schemes for the improvement of the physique of the people of the province and appointed seven sub-committees.

### LIGHTWEIGHT CHAMPION

Zurita, world lightweight champion, according to the National Boxing Association, lost the title, being knocked out in the second round of a 15-round contest by Ike Williams, a Negro contender from Trenton, New Jersey.

### CYCLE RACE CHAMPION

In the seventh All-India 44-mile cycle race held at Dewas (Jr) under the auspices of the Maharaji Chammabai Physical Culture Institute, Chenbasappa of Jamkhandi State (Dn.), came out first covering the distance in 3 hours 5 minutes and 38 seconds.

## Science

### TEST TUBE BABIES

In a leading article headed 'Without Prejudice', the *Daily Mail* takes to task Health Minister Willink for admitting in the House of Commons that he knows little or nothing of what is being done in the field of artificial insemination for humans

Declares the *Daily Mail* "The subject has transcendent importance Its stupendous implications foreshadow nothing less than the strange inhuman 'Brave New World' of Aldous Huxley"

The newspaper points out that it is known that three so called "test tube babies" have been born in Britain "long enough ago to have given the Ministry of Health time to have pursued all possible inquiries and to have been ready with some statement of principle or policy when the inevitable questions were asked"

Medical men have begun something which ranges far beyond their own provinces There are moral, social and legal aspects which must be thoroughly investigated Artificial insemination is not a thing which can be left to the caprice of practitioners but must be recognized and if necessary restricted by the will of the community

Interesting questions that arise are Will test tube babies be legitimate or illegitimate? What would be the position regarding entailed estates and other property? Would a test tube baby born of a British mother and foreign donor be British?

### INVISIBLE GLASS

The American Association of University Women awarded its annual achievement prize of 2500 dollars to Dr Katherine Blodgett of the General Electric Research Laboratory Schenectady, New York Dr Blodgett invented invisible glass—the process of depositing non reflecting film on glass which has been used to increase the efficiency of submarine periscopes and aerial camera lenses

Dr Blodgett discovered "invisible glass" during long studies of methods for making films of almost infinitesimal thickness

### RANK'S FILM EMPIRE IN BRITAIN

The entire film industry of Britain to day is in the hands of a single individual

He is Mr Arthur Rank who controls 608 key cinemas out of a total of 5000 This works out at a third of the country's seating capacity

He also owns 60 per cent of British film industry's production facilities To crown all, early in January, he was reported to have bought the Denham Laboratories, Britain's most modern film printing organization—in which Sir Alexander Korda built in 1936 for £300,000

Feeling impelled to improve the educational and moral standard of films, he formed the Religious Film Society to provide some 700 churches with special films and projectors, was struck by the money making potentialities in movies He first launched out commercially in the Summer of 1934, aboard Lady Yule's yacht *Nahlin* lying off Bermuda when he helped her and the late Major John Sewell ("Jack") Courtauld to found British National Films

Rank now controlled two of the biggest British film companies (the other Associated British Pictures, founded by the late John Maxwell) Undoubtedly his resources as director of more than 60 companies (Chairman of 23) helped him to feed the rapidly expanding film interests yearly receiving a gross box office income of around £1,000,000

### SHIRLEY TEMPLE

Shirley Temple, whose engagement to a United States Army Air Force Sergeant is likely to make films in Britain after the war Now, tall slim, brunetee and 16 years old, Shirley made her first film when she was three and became a front rank star at five She played her first grown up part in her latest picture, 'Since You Went Away' Her fiancé, 24 year old John Agar, is a ph, training instructor,

## MANUFACTURE OF MOTOR CARS

In the Central Assembly the Commerce Member indicated, in reply to Mr. Manu Subedar, that two companies had been registered in India for the manufacture of motor cars, and consent had been given by the Examiner of Capital Issues to the following issues of shares Premier Automobiles, Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 2,25,00,000 and Hindustan Motors Ltd., Okha Rs. 4,87,50,000.

**Q** What means have the Government got of supervising, checking, revising or otherwise controlling the nature of the contracts, which such firms could make with foreign companies or corporations?

**Ans** No such means are expressly provided for. It will, however, be possible to consider the subject at the stage of releasing the invested capital from investment if any such measure of control is in operation at the time when such release is applied for. Control can also be exercised at the stage of allowing import licences, priorities, release of controlled materials, etc.

The Commerce Member stated that two factories in India manufactured types A substantial portion of the capital of one of them had been subscribed by Indians. Figures regarding the output of the factories could not be divulged for security reasons.

## CANADIAN CARS FOR INDIA

Details are now available of the Mutual Aid Agreement that was concluded between Canada and India in August last. A large part of the supplies of motor transport required for the Indian Army is being furnished by Canada and it is expected that the war supplies to be furnished to the Government of India in accordance with this Mutual Aid Agreement will consist of automotive equipment for the military forces in India.

The Agreement bears 11 articles, wherein it is said the Government of Canada will make available to the Government of India such war supplies as the Government of Canada shall authorise from time to time to be provided.

## TATA AIR SERVICE

Daily fast airmail services all the seven days in the week between Bombay, New Delhi, Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Colombo have been planned by the Tata Airlines. Time tables have been drawn up and approved by the authorities and extra staff have been recruited to meet the requirements.

Before the war, Tatas were only running a skeleton service twice a week between Bombay and New Delhi. The journey used to take nine hours. The Karachi-Bombay, Madras-Colombo travel was still more tedious. Under the new time table the Bombay-Delhi journey can be done within five hours. One could leave Bombay in the morning and reach Delhi by noon and after finishing urgent engagements one could return to Bombay before sunset. Similarly leaving Karachi early in the morning, one can breakfast in Bombay, lunch at Hyderabad, early tea in Madras and late tea in Colombo, thus completing the Karachi to Colombo journey within 11½ hours.

## BOMBAY CALCUTTA SERVICE

The Bombay to Calcutta service, which remained a dream for a long time, took final shape last month. Tata's submitted their Bombay-Calcutta scheme to the Government of India for approval in 1935 and it has been now sanctioned as a bi-weekly service. The bi-weekly air service will operate for the Bombay-Calcutta journey on Mondays and Wednesdays and for the return journey on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The daily fast service between Karachi and Colombo via Bombay and Madras is expected to come into force from May 1.

## BOMBAY TO DELHI BY AIR

The daily air service between Bombay and Delhi commenced on April 16. The first plane left Bombay on Monday 16th morning at 7.50 and reached Delhi at 12.25 p.m. The journey from Delhi began at 1 p.m. and the plane reached Bombay at 5.50 in the evening. On both the trips, the planes halted for 30 minutes at Ahmedabad for breakfast and tea.



## Industry

### DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES

The Government of India, in a 6000 word statement, explaining their future industrial policy, declare themselves in favour of taking under central control some twenty key industries. They make it clear, however, that before coming to a final decision they will consult provinces and leading Indian States. The industries proposed to be centralised include iron and steel, cotton and woollen textiles and cement, sugar, electric power and coal.

Under the Government of India Act, the statement points out the development of industries is a provincial subject but it is open to the Centre to declare by law, that the development of certain industries under central control is expedient in the public interest, and thereupon it becomes a central subject.

The statement emphasizes that the arrangement by which legislation will in due course be passed by the Centre for this purpose will have no long range constitutional implications. It is intended to be in operation for so long as the present constitution lasts.

Setting forth the fundamental objects of industrialization, the statement declares that the Government have decided to take positive steps to encourage and promote the rapid industrialization of the country to the fullest extent possible.

#### ALL INDIA HANDLOOM BOARD

The Government of India have decided to set up an All India Handloom Board.

The object of the Board is to help weavers to secure dyes and chemicals as well as designs and the marketing of the products. The Board will advise the administration of Government grants and aids and will be responsible for the general condition and work of the weavers. The Board will consist of 30 members, including the Textile Commissioner, who will be the Chairman and three non-officials nominated by the Government, 17 nominated by the Provinces and 4 by certain Indian States. The remaining 5 will be nominated by the Textile Board.

### AGRICULTURAL INCOME TAX

Sir Norman Strathie, Adviser to the Governor of Madras, conferred with the leading mirasdars of the Trichy district in the Collector's Office on the proposed levy of a tax on agricultural incomes. Mr W H Mitchell, Collector, was present.

Sir Norman said that some form of taxation had to be introduced on earnings from land, and the Government thought that the best way to do this was by means of an income tax. In theory agriculture was exempt from income tax but originally when income tax was introduced in India, it included a tax on land. It was not until 1886 when the original Permanent Resettlement Act was passed, that agricultural income was excluded from the levy of income tax.

The Adviser added that it was felt that rich agriculturists were not being taxed as much as rich businessmen. According to modern ideas, it was proper to tax the rich to finance the many good schemes which had been planned but could not be executed for lack of finance. If these schemes were desirable, there must be additional taxation to find the wherewithal to proceed with them.

Replying to a question from Dr T S S Rajan, former Minister, Sir Norman said that the income tax would be levied on the net income of Rs 5,000 and more, not on gross income.

### CENTRAL IRRIGATION COMMISSION

The Government of India have decided to set up a Central Water ways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, a central fact-finding planning and co-ordinating organization which will examine the potentialities of India's rivers and assist in the co-ordinated and multipurpose development of rivers passing through more than one Province or State.

The Commission will be available to advise the Central, Provincial and State Governments on waterways, irrigation and navigation problems throughout the country.

## DR. AMBEDKAR'S BILL

The Assembly passed Dr Ambedkar's Bill to provide for holidays with pay for factory workers. Dr. Ambedkar accepted an amendment of Mr. Ananthasayanam Iyengar which raised the number of holidays with pay from seven to ten days in a year.

The House also adopted Sir Azizul Haque's Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, 1913. The Bill is intended to facilitate the withdrawal of an employer's contribution to provident funds.

## "PEACE CHARTER" FOR U.S. LABOUR

A "Peace Charter" for labour and management intended to prevent industrial strife when United States war economy contracts to peace basis, was announced in Washington. The announcement was made jointly by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organization, and Mr. Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The charter, which must be submitted to the organizations headed by these three, declares that they support "private property and free choice of action under the system of private competitive capitalism."

## LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDIA

Industrial labour in India, though numerically unimpressive, is an important factor in the country's economic and political life, as a large part of India's wealth is produced by it and it is destined to play a progressive part in the affairs of the country, said Mr. Dinkar Desai, speaking on "India's Post-war Labour Problems" at the Tata Institute of Social Science, Bombay, recently.

Mr. Desai said that unless proper measures were taken to satisfy the basic needs of labour, strikes were likely to break out soon after the war was over. The Government plans for labour, he said, were propagandist. He feared that the Indian industrialists might make common cause with the British in the exploitation of the ignorant masses.

## RECRUITMENT TO THE SERVICES

The Sapru Committee has cabled a resolution to Lord Wavell and the Secretary of State in London, recommending that no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S., the I.P.S., or similar services be made by the Secretary of State.

## The resolution says:

In view of the promise of the establishment of full Self-Government in this country at the earliest date, this committee strongly recommends that no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S., I.P.S., or similar services should now be made by the Secretary of State, because recruits of the required competence are available in this country and the recruitment of non-Indians would prejudicially affect the working of the future constitution.

## BRITISH AND INDIAN ARMY OFFICERS

The effect of the decision of the Government of India to grant the Indian Commissioned Officer a special war pay which will bring his pay to the level of the pay of the British officer, will be that an Indian Commissioned Officer will receive:

(a) Basic pay of rank and lodging allowance at the same rates as are admissible to single British officers

(b) Family allowance under the new code applicable to married British officers.

## AMERICAN FAMINE RELIEF PLAN

Plans for extending American famine relief efforts in the affected areas of Bengal and other Indian Provinces have been announced by Mr. William Phillips, recently President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India, when he launched a national campaign to raise \$1,200,000.

Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by "The American Relief for India Incorporated", he said, "India's plight is the direct result of war and as such it becomes an American responsibility to help relieve the suffering. With thousands of American fighting men based on Indian soil, the United States cannot turn a deaf ear to India's cry for help."

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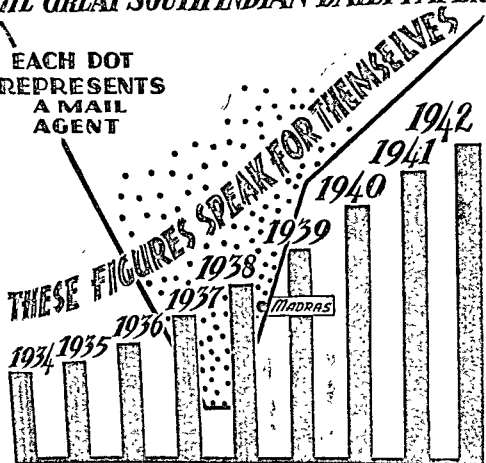
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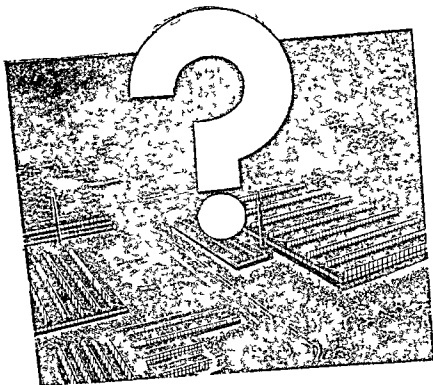
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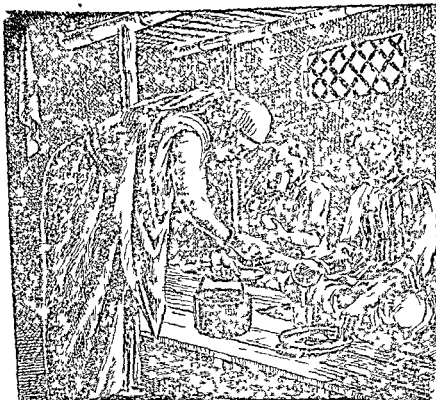
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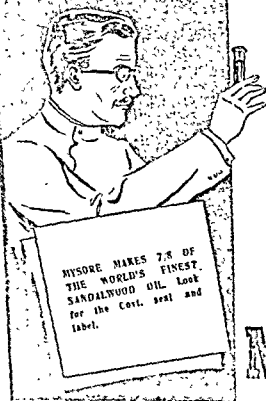
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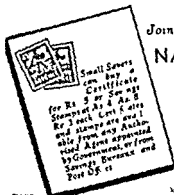
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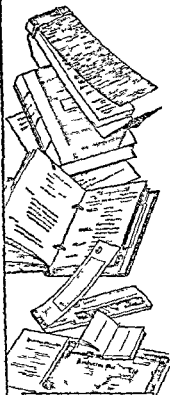
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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

1945

Vol. 46.

JUNE

No. 6.

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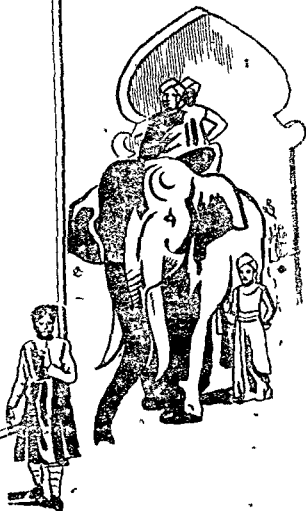
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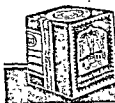
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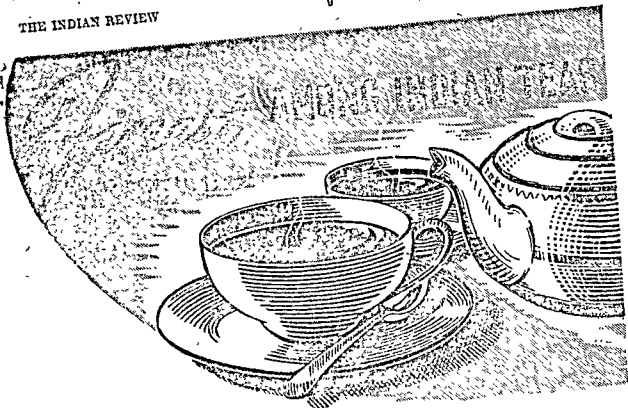
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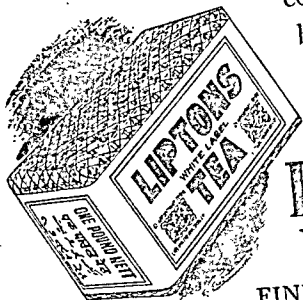
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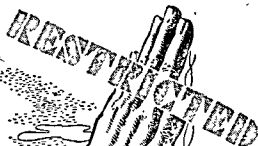
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.]

JUNE 1945

[No. 6.]

## SALVAGING JAPAN

By SIR ROBERT HOLLAND

JAPAN is on the way out. She will be defeated and stripped of her conquests. When victory comes how is the country to be salvaged and remade? Who will devise the plan and control the execution?

We assuredly cannot hope that the authority will be a benevolent and all wise Peace Council, representing all the United Nations. There will be no blue prints for a Japanese Utopia, no pre fabricated scheme—not even unanimity of purpose. Why? Because Japan's future is a "survival issue" for each of several great powers, affecting not merely territorial security and material prosperity but the stability of political institutions and the ascendancy of ideals and cultures.

The United States, Russia and China are the powers primarily concerned, the British Commonwealth also but in a less degree. The interests of the Great Powers are, necessarily, not identical. Possession of armaments will be the determining factor in debate. The U.S., Soviet Russia, and the British Commonwealth will appear at the Conference "well heeled." China will be impotent at first but may become a mighty force before Japan's destiny is determined. Discord about how to deal with Japan may lead to another great war,

in which perhaps Canada and the United States might be the primary target unless a basis for lasting agreement between the mighty neighbours can be discovered.

When equilibrium of power is tentatively established with victory, and unanimity of purpose is outlined, a definition of the common policy towards post war Japan must be sought which will satisfy the security requirements of each of the four powers, particularly Russia, whose Far Eastern Territories would be gravely imperilled by a renascent Japan. Provision will have to be made for the material needs of all four, and due consideration will have to be paid to the special susceptibilities of each.

*Per contra*, if unity is to be achieved, each will have to abate its aspirations and modify its ideology—Russia, her communitarian philosophy, China her eclecticism, the United States, her conceptions about sovereign status and universal political independence, Great Britain, her doctrines as to the structure and functions of the Commonwealth and Empire. All will have to ponder anxiously the problem of reconciling divergent views as to the essential characteristics and operative ideals of the modern democratic state. Otherwise, the "world family of democratic nations", as presaged

JUNY 1945]

will endeavour to reorganize social and political life on the basis of individual rights. The people themselves must repudiate the evil doctrine grafted on to Emperor worship by the militarists.

The next complication differentiating the problem of Japan from those of Germany and Italy derives from Japan's geographical position from the peculiar character of her people and from the cryptic nature of their language. Having regard to these factors effective military occupation of the Japan Islands would be extremely difficult, costly and unregenerative. The terrain is ideally suited to guerilla warfare, the spirit of the people is uniformly warlike, they would be aflame with indignation at barbarian intrusion upon their sacred soil and would resist to the last man and woman, preferring extermination to slavery. The occupying forces would suffer terrible and continuing wastage. If the Allies tried to set up an embryo administration with foreign personnel in the hope of inculcating a democratic spirit, it would be impotent and derided. The bare idea of democracy would then become abhorrent to the Japanese because associated with defeat and humiliation. There would be few 'Quislings'. The foreign personnel, however devoted and conscientious, would be baffled and frustrated at every turn by cleverly organized opposition, their necessarily superficial knowledge of the puzzling language would entangle them in misunderstandings and blunders and make them laughing stocks of the common people. They, and the administrator generally, would be an easy target for ruthless "Secret Societies" which

abound in Japan. The Japanese spirit could be cowed and a desert of peace could be created by very stern measures, but our democracies are not likely to participate in that.

There are, however, latent sources of opposition to militarism in Japan and recoil movements may be expected to follow hard upon defeat. Liberal elements will surely reappear when the Imperial Rule Assistance Association is dissolved, and the Constitution is purged of dictatorship accretions. Then too the Japanese have good cause to be realists. They have marked war results in the destruction of their merchant shipping, the reduction of their stock piles of essential materials, the attrition of their armies, the shrinkage of their man power which is crippling industry, and the deterioration of the people's health as the result of malnutrition and continuous labour.

The Japanese have a remarkable talent for imitation and adaptation and for rapid assimilation of what they regard as admirable achievements by other peoples. They have now learned that some of the models they selected were spurious. They will undoubtedly discard them and start over again, equipped by bitter experience with a higher standard of enduring values. Anyone who has lived in Japan knows that the character of the Japanese people is not wholly sinister, any more than that of any other nation. When the Japanese soul is purged by defeat, it is certain that much that is fair and noble will shine forth.

It will be for the Allied Nations to turn these factors to account so that Japan may be redeemed and may eventually become a worthy member of the world organization of peoples.

# THE GERMAN SURRENDER

—) o (—

THE war in Europe has ended. After a period of rumours and counter-rumours, the official announcement of the termination of the war in the West was made simultaneously from London, Moscow and Washington on Monday night, the 7th May. Officially the hostilities ceased at one minute after midnight on Tuesday, the 8th. Thus for the second time in a generation, Germany, which took up arms against all Europe in pursuit of her own ambitious plans, was laid low. Hitler's boast that "there will never again be a 1918. The German nation will never surrender" has been falsified by the united efforts of the allied nations, determined to end this scourge at any cost. Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler rose from strength to strength and might have proved a blessing to themselves and to the rest of the world, but their immoral urge for power and their reckless pursuit of selfish aims proved their own ruin and the ruin of their countrymen. It is a remarkable instance of nemesis overtaking the tyrants in their own time and generation as in Richard III.

## SURRENDER IN ITALY

Already by the end of April hostilities had ceased in Italy. The German forces under their Commander General Vietinghoff-scheel unconditionally surrendered to F. M. Sir Harold Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theatre at midday on May 2. The first unconditional surrender of any German armies in this war, this allowed the allies to advance unhindered to within 10 miles of Berchtesgaden. The total enemy troops who had surrendered

were estimated at 1,000,000. "The collapse of the military tyranny of Italy" was not victory in Italy alone, but part of the general triumph we were expectantly awaiting in the whole continent of Europe", said President Truman.

## THE FALL OF BERLIN

Berlin, the biggest prize of the Allies in this great war, fell to the victorious Red Army on the same day (May 2). M. Stalin, the Supreme Commander of the Soviet armed forces, announced that 70,000 prisoners, including the chiefs of Berlin defence, had been taken. The Order, addressed to troops of the Red Army and the Red Navy, said:

Troops of the 1st White Russian Front commanded by Marshal Zhukov, in co-operation with troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front commanded by Marshal Konev, today, after stubborn street battles, completed the rout of the Berlin garrison, and captured the city of Berlin, capital of Germany, and centre of German imperialism and heart of German aggression.

The garrison of Berlin, defending the city, headed by the Officer in Command of the defence of Berlin, and General of artillery Weibing and his staff today at 3 p.m. ceased resistance and laid down their arms and surrendered.

## GERMAN COLLAPSE

With such a rout on both Fronts, complete surrender of the Germans was only a question of time. Meanwhile, reports of the death of Hitler and his colleagues in crime added to the tension of the situation. And General Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, announced that enemy breakdown might be expected any moment, while preparations were afoot to receive the surrender offer from enemy quarters.

## ADMIRAL DOENITZ'S SURRENDER ORDER

True to expectation, the German Flensburg Radio reported soon after, on May 7

# THE GERMAN SURRENDER

JUNE 1945]

This is German Radio. We are now broadcasting an address by Reich Minister von Schwerin-Krosigk to the German people, the armed forces women—the High Command of Grand Admiral Doenitz declared unconditional surrender of all fighting German troops

A leading Minister of the Reich Government, which the Admiral of the Fleet has appointed for dealing with war tasks I turn at this graphic moment of history to the German nation. After a heroic fight of about six years of incomparable hardship, Germany has succumbed to the overwhelming odds of her enemies. To continue the war would only mean senseless bloodshed and futile disintegration. The Government, which has been feeling the responsibility for the future of its nation was compelled on the collapse of all physical and material forces to demand of the enemy cessation of hostilities.

Admiral Doenitz in his order said

In this gravest hour of the German nation and its Reich we bow in deep reverence before the dead of this war. Their sacrifices place the highest obligations on us and our sympathy goes out above all to the wounded the bereaved and to all on whom this struggle has inflicted blows. No one must be under any illusions about the severity of the terms to be imposed on the German people by our enemies. We must now face our fate squarely and unquestioningly. Nobody can be in any doubt that the future will be difficult for each one of us and will exact sacrifices from us in every sphere of life.

We must accept this burden and stand loyally by the obligations we have undertaken. But we must not despair and fall into mute resignation. Once again let us set ourselves to stride the path through the dark future. From the collapse of the past let us preserve and save one thing—unity.

AT ALLIED HEADQUARTERS IN FRANCE

The final humbling of German Military might took place on Monday, the 7th May, at 241 p.m. in a drab red brick building at Rheims in the heart of France, which was General Eisenhower's Advance Headquarters. Before the array of allied representatives General Gustav Jodl, Chief of Staff of the German Army, signed the surrender documents.

The following is the text of the Military surrender

Firstly, we the undersigned acting by the authority of the German High Command hereby

surrender unconditionally to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force and simultaneously to the Soviet High Command all forces on land sea and in the air, who are at this date under German control,

Secondly, the German High Command will at once issue orders to all German military naval and air authorities and to all forces under German control to cease active operations at 11.1 p.m. (Central European Time) on May 8 and to remain in positions occupied at that time. No ship, vessel or aircraft is to be scuttled or any damage done to their hull machinery or equipment.

Thirdly the German High Command will at once issue to appropriate commanders and ensure the carrying out of any further orders issued by the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force and by the Soviet High Command,

Fourthly this act of military surrender is without prejudice to and will be superseded by any general instrument of surrender imposed by or on behalf of the United Nations and applicable to Germany and German armed forces as a whole.

Fifthly, in the event of any of the forces under the control of the German High Command failing to act in accordance with this act of surrender, the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force and the Soviet High Command will take such punitive or other action as they deem appropriate.

In his victory address after signing, the German Capitulation General Eisenhower declared in the room where the Germans surrendered

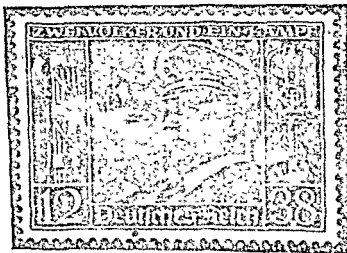
In January 1913, the late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill pronounced a formula which has now been fulfilled. The Allied forces which have now been victorious in Europe on June 6 last has with which invaded Europe utterly defeated Germany by land, sea and air. I think it is particularly fitting that this unconditional surrender should have been signed in the heart of France, a country which has suffered so much and one where resistance movements have helped us so much. The unconditional surrender has been achieved by team work. To every subordinate in this command of five million men who took part I owe a great debt of gratitude which I can never repay. They have earned deep and lasting gratitude of every citizen of all the United Nations.

General Jodl spoke in English, but then continued in German saying

With this signature the German people and armed forces are for better or worse delivered into the victor's hands. In this war which has lasted more than five years both have achieved and suffered more than perhaps any other people in the hope. In this hour I can only express the hope that the victor will treat them with generosity.



Gen. EISENHOWER & Gen. MONTGOMERY



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JUNE 1915]

## THE GERMAN SURRENDER

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### THE IMPLICATIONS OF COMPLETE SURRENDER

The cease fire orders to the German armed forces were broadcast from the Flensburg Radio by the German High Command on May 8

With effect from 12 midnight May ninth all parts of the armed forces in all theatres of war must cease all hostilities. No destruction of ammunition and equipment must be carried out. No ships must be sunk. Acts to the contrary are offences against the terms accepted by the High Command.

At one minute past midnight with formal 'cease fire' on all fronts the Third German Reich ceased its legal existence and its government ceased to function. Reuters military commentator explained the significance of the complete surrender.

Germany and her government will have become a subjugated conquered and occupied country without further independent existence. Her government her military leaders and all her armed forces still at liberty are then legally in the same category as prisoners of war. All German property and all her possessions and credits in foreign countries are automatically transferred to the account of the Central Allied Control Commission which will begin to function immediately. There will therefore be no armistice as in 1918 with stipulated terms of what the Germans have to hand over. As from one minute past midnight the whole of German man power and all German military and private property is at the disposal of the Allies.

The final act of military surrender of all Germany's armed forces to Allied and Red Army High Commands took place in the Berlin suburb of Karlshorst at 16 minutes after midnight on May 9.

With this act of solemn surrender recognised, the heads of the German Army the German Navy and the Luftwaffe acknowledged themselves militarily beaten to their knees and it will be difficult for post war Germany to recreate the legend of a so-called invincible army being stabbed in the back. It will be recalled that this was the fable made current in Germany soon after Versailles. The

allies now made sure that there could be no repetition of such ambiguous interpretations.

### HISTORIC SIGNING AT BERLIN

According to the Moscow Radio the historic event of the signing of the unconditional surrender took place in the building of the former Berlin Military Technical College.

Four national flags those of the Soviet Union the United States, Great Britain and France decorated the hall.

When the clock struck midnight Marshal Zhukov and Air Chief Marshal Tedder entered. They were followed by other members of the delegation Air Chief Marshal Tedder, and Marshal Zhukov General Spaatz Mr Vishinsky, Admiral Sir Harold Burrough and General de Lattre de Tassigny took their seats under the flags.

At the central table were representatives of the Allied countries and Generals of the Red Army commanding the forces which captured Berlin.

Marshal Zhukov, addressing those present, said

We have gathered here—I as the deputy of the Supreme Commander of the Red Army the deputy of the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces Air Chief Marshal Tedder, and also Colonel General Spaatz and French General de Lattre de Tassigny—to accept the terms of unconditional surrender from the Commander of the German armed forces. I suggest that we should start with the work and summon the representatives of the German Command.

Then Marshal Zhukov gave the order "Summon the representatives of the German High Command for acceptance of the terms of unconditional surrender."

Field Marshal Keitel, Admiral Friedeburg and Colonel General Stumpf, accompanied by his aide de camp, then entered. In absolute silence Field Marshal Keitel and others took their seats.

Marshal Zhukov again spoke.

Gentlemen the Act of unconditional surrender is about to be signed. I turn to the representatives of the German High Command with the



question. "Have they got the Act at hand and have they made themselves familiar with it? Do the representatives of the German High Command agree to sign this Act?"

The same questions were put to the Germans, by Air Chief Marshal Tedder.

"Yes, I agree," Field Marshal Keitel answered in a low voice, handing to Marshal Zhukov the document of the High Command signed by Grand Admiral Doenitz, authorizing Field Marshal Keitel, Chief of the German armed forces and simultaneously Army Commander, von Friedeburg as Commander of the naval forces, and Col. General Stumpf as representative of the air forces, to sign the Act of the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces to the Supreme Command of the Soviet armed forces and to the Command of the Allied Expeditionary forces.

All necessary formalities being completed, Marshal Zhukov then suggested that the representatives of the German High Command should come up to the table and sign the Act.

One after another the Germans signed, while cameras clicked.

At 45 minutes after midnight the Act was signed and Marshal Zhukov announced

The German delegation may retire

Two thousand guns in Moscow fired thirty salvoes in Salute to the European victory and in celebration of Russia's victory day. M. Stalin recalled that Hitler had publicly declared that he would exterminate Russia so that she would never rise again and said:

The exactly opposite has happened. However, Russia has no intention to exterminate Germany. The period of war in Europe has ended and a period of peaceful development has begun.

With the final German collapse, London and Washington are expediting their plans for administration of occupied Germany. Occupied Germany, it will be recalled, will be controlled by an Allied Commission of four generals. The Americans have already nominated General Eisenhower and the British choice is believed to be between Field Marshals Montgomery and Alexander.

#### NOW FOR JAPAN

King George VI, in his Victory Day broadcast to the nation and Empire, warned the British people that they still had to deal with the Japanese,—a determined and cruel foe—"and to this we shall turn with the utmost resolve and with all our resources."

The King said:

Today, we give thanks to God for the great deliverance. Speaking from our Empire's oldest capital city, war battered but never for one moment daunted or dismayed—speaking from London, I ask you to join me in that act of thanksgiving.

"We may allow ourselves a brief period of rejoicing," said Mr. Churchill in his broadcast,

but let us not forget for a moment the toil and efforts that lie ahead.

Japan, with all her treachery and greed, remains unsubdued. The injury she has inflicted on Great Britain, the United States and other countries, and her detestable cruelties call for justice and retribution.

We must now devote all our strength and resources to the completion of our task both at home and abroad. Advance Britain. Long live the cause of freedom. God save the King.

Now that the war in the West has ended the combined forces of the United Nations will now be diverted to the Pacific theatre. It is significant that President Truman has opened the door to a Japanese request for peace with his V-Day message stating that unconditional surrender could not mean the destruction of the Japanese people.



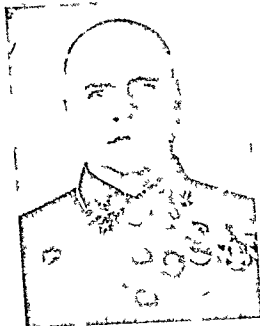
Air Chief Marshal Sir ARTHUR TEDDER



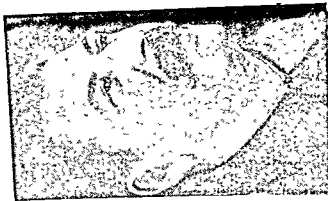
Gen Sir H. ALEXANDER



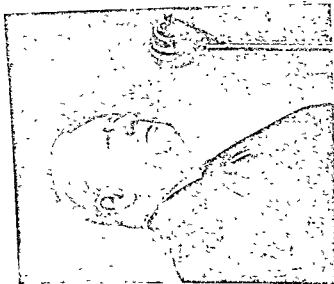
MARSHAL IVAN KONIEV



MARSHAL GREGORY ZHUKOV



Marshal STALIN



Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL



In India's biggest V.C. parade two heroes received the decoration from the Viceroy of India. One was a mother and two were of soldiers who died in battle took their places in the parade at the Red Fort, Delhi to receive the Crosses awarded posthumously. Wulow of Nak Yeshwant Chadge receives the decoration.



INDIAN SOLDIERS MEET THE KING



ROOSEVELT & TRUMAN and TRUMAN Family

# THE PAKISTAN IDEA

BY MR T R VENKATARAMA SASTRI, CIE

PAKISTAN has, within the last five or six years, assumed the dimensions of a grave and vexing question in Indian Politics. Within this short period, much literature has gathered round it. Books have been written both for and against it. Among these books, Dr Ambedkar's\* takes a high place. There is not an aspect of the question that he does not touch on or discuss. Mr K T Shah's "Why Pakistan and Why Not" is perhaps as full in the range of discussion, but its form, cast in the mould of a table talk between a number of people with diverse views, has its limitations as well as advantages. The facts bearing on the question are all brought together in this book of Dr Ambedkar's. The statistical information in the body of the book and in the appendices, together with the maps leaves little to be desired.

The first edition of the book was published under the title of "Thoughts on Pakistan" in December 1940. This edition of February, 1945 published with the title "Pakistan or Partition of India" adds a Part V to the previous edition besides appendices and maps and naturally takes note of the events that have happened in the intervening period. I note the omission of the lines of Meredith prefixed to the first edition.

More brain O Lord more brain for we shall mar  
Utterly this fair garden we might win

I liked those lines as containing an admonition to all of us that with intelligence, with vision to see what might be, we may win this fair Garden of India, and

\* PAKISTAN OR PARTITION OF INDIA By Dr  
B R Ambedkar Publishers Thacker & Co, Ltd,  
Bombay

without them we shall mar, yes, mar it utterly

When I read the first edition, I had the impression that the arguments all tended one way but the opposite conclusion was, or seemed, favoured. Pursuing the reference in the book to pleadings, issues, burden of proof, etc, I expressed my impression of the book as a "Judgment for India and Decree for Pakistan". That impression still persists, except for the last pages of the book which seem to embody a later, newly arisen and unconnected train of thought. I refer to the suggestion of International Arbitration at pages 412 to 414 of the book. It is to be with the consent of all parties if all agree, but if any one did not agree, even without such party's consent. Dr Ambedkar says that a party who refuses to agree to a peaceful decision would be justly deemed an aggressor, and an arbitral decision would be enforceable against such party. Arbitration is fair to both parties involving as it does equal risk to both. Decision one way buries age long hopes. Decision the other way will only cure a recent obsession of those who had lived side by side with other groups inextricably mixed up in all parts of India for over eight hundred years. And for a decision, Dr Ambedkar has drawn the pleadings, framed the issues and indicated the burden of proof and even the arguments that might be urged on either side.

There are, however, some points that require to be considered or reconsidered. Dr Ambedkar is not unaware of the distinction between a section of an

unity desiring to sever and form an independent state and such section claiming severance to revert to a previous independent existence Dr. Ambedkar refers to it, but ignores its bearing on the principle of self-determination. Self-determination used to be viewed as the right of any large group, but it is now recognized to be a partial view taking no account of the duty that might exist and against which it may have to be weighed. The principle served in the nineteenth century to unite small, snarling units into a coherent unity. In this century, it is used to disorganize existing unities and produce anarchy. For a very striking exposition of the relevant ideas, I cite Mr. Walter Lippman:

Wilson made the mistake of identifying himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forgetting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to consider the difference between self-determination and the principle of secession. To make the principle of self-determination the supreme principle of international life is to invite sheer anarchy. For the principle has been and can be used to promote the dismemberment of every organized state. None knew this better than Adolph Hitler himself. The principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich. At its worst, it rejects the idea of a state within which diverse peoples can find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination, which has nothing to do with self-government but has become confused with it, is barbarous and reactionary. By sanctioning secession, it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.

Self-determination as a principle is subject to other considerations of an economic, strategic, geographical or political nature and these might overrule the claim as they have done in a number of cases.

Dr. Ambedkar seems to me to treat much too light-heartedly the grave problems that arise on a scheme of partition. The shifting of populations from one area to

another will not be agreed to except under irresistible pressure and cannot be executed without inflicting a degree of hardship and suffering which Dr. Ambedkar does not seem to realize. Wholly, as it seems to me, does the Muslim League refrain from proposing an exchange of population as part of their Pakistan scheme.

Referendum is not easy to carry out. It is known by experience to disturb existing good relations and sow—a rich crop of misunderstanding and bitterness. And whatever the Lahore Resolution meant, it is now clear that the League wants the Punjab Province as it is, and not shorn of its valuable eastern districts. Mr. Jinnah's disquisition on nations and sub-nations expounded why he claimed the whole province.

Geography has marked out India for unity, as Dr. Ambedkar himself recognizes. History has slowly, with many a twist and turn, moulded it into unity, and there is every promise of an ancient, persistent dream becoming a modern reality. When this growing unity takes its full shape in freedom, it will be the fulfilment of our hope that India will take her place as a great nation among great nations and, with China to collaborate, help to preserve the world peace in this part of the world. Partition of India is the end of all that hope.

Dr. Ambedkar belittles the value of a feeling of motherland and its undivided and indivisible unity, but he is not without a realization of the value of an undivided India. Otherwise, I cannot understand why he wastes time and paper and ink on the question: "Must there be Pakistan?" India is dead in the hearts of

many who still use the word by mere force of habit. That India will attain freedom when Pakistan is agreed to—has always struck me as a flat contradiction. To Dr Ambedkar, geographical attachment is irrational but many justly feel that devotion to motherland is inseparable from true patriotism. It may become superfluous at some time but that time is not yet.

Dr Ambedkar invites Hindus to shed empty sentiment and judge of things in the light of cold reason. Elsewhere, he asks them to respect the strongly felt sentiment of the Muslims. We are all of us, in this and in every other land, a bundle of sentiments and prejudices and superstitions and contradictions. Reason has a place, has a high place, but it has to function in the midst of these others. Reason recognizes that sentiment is not to be despised in the regulation of our lives in society. Reason may even recognize on occasions that sentiment has behind it a core of very solid reason. But sentiments are not all of equal validity. Why then should one be called on to set aside his own deep-seated and more valid sentiment and respect another's shallow sentiment, if sentiment it be at all, of recent origin? The shallow sentiment derives its strength from the intransigence of the Muslim League and the far more reasonable sentiment shares the weakness of its wobbling votary, the intellectual Hindu, among whom Dr Ambedkar cannot escape being counted.

Why does Dr Ambedkar, who has a strong array of arguments against Pakistan as neither good for the Muslims nor for the Hindus, turn round to the Hindus and

say "Muslims will not yield on Pakistan and therefore it is wise to agree to it" and pose the further questions "Is it not wise to divide rather than to yield to the demand of fifty fifty?" Why cannot they have undivided India and equal citizenship? The closing passage of the book does not leave them with an inescapable option between two cruel alternatives. International arbitration may yet uphold their claim to both unity and equal citizenship while providing the amplest of safeguards for the rights of every group in the country. In order to persuade the Hindus to agree to division, Dr Ambedkar asks "how many countries have not suffered division? In every case people have yielded to force majeure, not willingly. If force or a binding decision prevails, we may have to submit. Not otherwise."

No one likes a settlement by an outside agency. But there is no chance of settlement with Mr Jinnah. Mr Jinnah was once an ardent nationalist, despising communal narrowness. In the effort to bring about reconciliation, he put forward terms, as he said, not because he wanted them, but in deference to the wishes of a community, which, if granted would lead to a lasting settlement between the two communities. He resented and protested against the charge of communalism levelled at him. But ultimately he succumbed to what all along he had deprecated. The evolution of Mr Jinnah is one more illustration of what many a puranic story has made familiar to us. A saint makes a slight deviation from his straight path most innocently and with the best of motives.



Almost unknown to himself, before he could realize what is happening to him, he finds he has slipped down to the bottom of the valley. In the story, the victim awakes and makes the laborious ascent again with many struggles and set-backs on the way. Not always does it happen in the same way in life. He does not wake, or waking, he is unable to move, being bound by the chains which he has forged for himself.

Mr. Jinnah's true place in public life may still be open to him, if he could get back. Dr. Ambedkar says that in 1939, instead of leading the forces that were ready to be led by him, he executed a somersault and plunged into the agitation for partition. Nothing suggested, and no one, that he should retrace his steps. Everything egged him on. Official and non-official Europeans maintained a diplomatic silence till long after. It was allowed to grow and the Viceroy's words conferred on him what he claimed to be a veto on constitutional reform without contradiction from any one. Offer followed on offer that he should have his heart's desire if he consented to join hands. Even Dr. Ambedkar encouraged his idea by inviting the Hindus to agree to it as inevitable. We have each of us in our hurry to find a solution offered this, that and the other. There is, besides, a thing like prestige for all of us, great men and small. In these circumstances, the idea of retracing steps could not occur to any one, least of all to Mr. Jinnah. It is not surprising that the invitation of some of his associates to turn from the Pakistan slogan to real politics fell on deaf ears. Unhurried in

the midst of men in terrible hurry, he acted in the assurance that everything will come to him who waits. In a world of uncertain justice in which steady, unremitting and unabashed propaganda might prevail, Mr. Jinnah can afford to gamble. More than just rights are already secure and safe.

The one reason, which operates in the mind of Dr. Ambedkar to overrule the rest of his most weighty considerations against Pakistan is the impossibility, according to him, of maintaining the integrity of India with an army composed of Hindus and Muslims. At the last moment, in the face of a foreign Muslim invader the Muslim section of the army will desert and go over to the side of the invader. If we agree to Pakistan, we are secure against any such catastrophe. This is a surprisingly naive argument for one of Dr. Ambedkar's knowledge and intelligence. On the assumptions made, how can a Hindustan separated from a Pakistan in the north-west and north-east be ever safe? If the Punjabi Mussalman is ready to surrender to a foreign invader, if only he were a Muslim, Hindustan will have to face the Punjabis and their trans-frontier allies on the one side and the Eastern Pakistanis on the other as sure as fate and a separated Hindustan is no more safe with its new and unnatural frontiers. Hindus and Muslims have before now fought side by side against Muslims and Hindus on the other side. Muslim generals of Hindu rulers and Hindu generals of Muslim rulers, there have been. Christian nations are now fighting Christian nations. Yellow men are fighting yellow men in the east. Muslims have fought Muslims before now. The

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Punjab Muslim has little to gain and much to lose by letting in even a Muslim foreigner. He may be disinherited, as may be the Hindu and Sikh. The argument that an undivided India spells insecurity and disaster whereas a separated Hindustan will make for permanent safety is a delusion or a mere additional padding to a pre formed conclusion. The assumptions are wrong or, if they were right they must be faced equally in a divided Hindustan and an undivided India.

One besetting weakness in all these discussions and nice political calculations is that they proceed on the assumption that communalism dominates our politics for ever. They take no account of the ambitions of leaders or the economic interests of men. Rival ambitions of Hindu leaders in politics and the similar ambitions of Mussalmans will soon operate to throw Hindus and Muslims as much on the one side as on the other. The diverging interests of the voters will divide parties on the lines of economic interests.

Principles and policies will have to be framed to woo and win voters over. Politics may begin on communal lines but cannot long stay there. Bengal and the Punjab give some notion of how things will finally shape. I daresay that much depends on what we make of our politics in the coming years. The experience of the last ten years is not lost upon us. We have every inducement to be just and fair to each other and shape events wisely and well. And all sections of our people are too awake to allow things to slide again.

I do not like the alternatives with which speculating politicians play. Let us start together and separate at the end of ten years if we are then so inclined. Or let us separate now but keep the door open for those who desire to enter at any time later. These are invitations to disagree and separate or again seek undemocratic concessions as a price for joining or not seceding. I prefer the Sapru Committee's firm and decisive stand against separation now or secession hereafter.

## THE CONTROL OF GERMANY

BY MR JAMES BRYANT CONANT

*(President of Harvard University)*

MODERN science and technology have so transformed the art of war as to require us to rethink many of the problems involved in an international attempt to keep the peace. This is particularly true in regard to the implementation of the current phrase the "demilitarization of Germany and Japan. Almost everyone is ready to subscribe to the propositions that Germany and Japan

must be disarmed. But how many have explored the difficulties of insuring the success of such an undertaking for a sufficient span of time?

What is new in modern war is the rapidity with which devastating attacks may be launched from great distances on civilian centres of population. In terms merely of self protection, therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that we must

collaborate to the full with other countries to remove the threat of a third world war.

Only ignorance can lead one to deny the alternatives which face the country. Either we must play our part in a world organization to preserve the peace, or we must convert this nation into an armed camp bristling with weapons. Either we must have confidence in an international arrangement in which we are vigorous partners and plan our military program in terms of such an arrangement, or else we must do it alone and arm to the teeth to defend our national independence.

As I see it, we have a double problem: first, the elimination of the most obvious danger to world peace—the renewal of the war by our present enemies; second, the construction of an international organization with the vitality and the power to handle the unpredictable threats to peace which are certain to arise

It can be argued that the first problem will be automatically taken care of if we solve the second—that if we are successful in setting up an international association with the ability to use force to stop aggressors, we need not worry about the future of Germany or Japan. But dare we pin our faith on anyone procedure? Ordnance experts require at least two safety devices to protect a high explosive bomb from premature explosion; can we be less careful about the peace? Is it not the lesson of history that a once powerful and strong nation, badly defeated in war, will cherish the aims of renewing that war at the first opportunity, at least for a generation? If this has been true in the past, will it not be far more true

in the future since the ruin of cities and towns by devastating aerial bombardment spreads suffering far wider than ever before among an entire population?

Must we not arrange matters so as to prevent Germany and Japan from even thinking of using military force? Must not this condition prevail for at least another 30 years? When the next generation now unborn has grown up and come to power we may hope, if we have been wise, that the bitterness and spirit of revenge will, to a large extent, have disappeared. When that time comes Germany and Japan, we hope, will no longer constitute a special problem. By that time an international organization should have gained sufficient support and strength to guarantee the peace.

If the disarmament of Germany is to be effective for a generation, I believe that a drastic change in the German industrial scene and a considerable degree of redistribution of European industry will be required. With many of Germany's industrial plants now reduced to ruin, the question turns primarily on the degree and kind of physical reconstruction to be allowed

As far as aviation is concerned, Germany and Japan must both be prevented from the manufacture or use of airplanes even for commercial purposes for years to come. But the success of the robot bomb shows that control conventional aviation is not enough. The basic consideration is total industrial power

To be sure, no one would now advocate that we should build up Germany as a great industrial country immediately after

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the war is won But there will be those who wish to start the discussion of the disarmament of Germany from the premise that nothing must be planned which will seriously dislocate the economic life of the German people Here is the real issue

I submit that if we begin our approach to the problem of the disarmament of Germany and Japan by saying what must not be done because of economic repercussions, we have already decided against the proposition we are considering—against the proposition that the effective disarmament of our enemies is an absolute first condition for world peace I do not minimize the difficulties of the economic aspects of the problem I do not belittle the importance to a peaceful future of an international flow of trade But if the threat of a third world war is as great as I imagine effective disarmament must have overriding priority in all discussions of the European and Pacific future To me there is no question that even if the necessary measures require a reorientation of the economic balance of the world, we must apply them nevertheless We must apply them of course, in such a way as to make possible, at the same time, the rebuilding of the economic life of Europe on an altered basis

To those who say that Europe will be in chaos for a decade without the rebuilding of industrial Germany, I would reply which is worse, the scene you depict or a third world war? To those who bemoan the dislocations of trade and commerce incident to the disarmament of our enemies I would reply our children

would bemoan our failure to remove a clear danger to the world in which they must live and rear their children

Such measures as are employed must be determined and put into operation soon after our enemies are defeated, but these measures must be lasting in their results No mere paper transactions involving ownership or management seem to me sufficient Nor would I rely on political subdivisions of enemy territory For, to be effective, the changes must be such that they cannot be reversed in a few months by a dictator Alien management and ownership can be wiped out over night by one who controls the internal police force of a country New German States could be reunited in a few days by a forceful leader All this might happen before other nations could act to meet the danger

Only changes which it would take years to reverse can be considered safe Moulton and Marlio, in their recent book, "The Control of Germany and Japan", have spelled this all out and have made the excellent suggestion that Germany's main source of electrical power be located beyond her borders International operation of this main spring of future industrial life would be the sort of industrial control which would be both effectual and not too crippling to the economic life of the German nation But I have grave doubts if this or any other single measure alone will be sufficient It is total industrial strength that tells

To a certain degree, real disarmament requires prolonged supervision of some aspects of German life But surely the less there is of this control the better,

both for Germany and for the enduring efficiency of the measures employed. It would seem preferable to make such drastic alterations in the industrial scene at the outset that relatively little continuing interference with Germany's internal affairs will be required.

Consider the situation in the 1950s. Which would be preferable, a Germany industrially strong still occupied by foreign troops ready to act if reconversion to armament manufacture starts, or a weak industrial Germany readjusted to a new life and free from alien soldiers? Which is likely to be more successful, a disarmament plan resting on military force which must act rapidly when the alarm is sounded, or a plan based on a low industrial potential?

Of course, military occupation of Germany will be a necessity for several years. Furthermore, careful inspection of all German factories and industrial facilities will be required in order to be certain that the initial terms of disarmament are fulfilled. This can be done largely by military men of the occupying nations. But as the years go by the supervision of Germany's disarmament, status will be less of a military problem and more a matter of industrial and technical inspection. It should then be placed in the hands of a corps of technical men responsible to an international organization. This inspection will have to be minute as well as rigid at the beginning but will become less of a burden as the economic and political life of Germany flows in the new and safer channels.

For a long period of time there must be available to the world from year to year information as to the potentialities of Germany and Japan for waging war. A reliable public report each year of their industrial status in so far as it affects rearmament will be needed, particularly during the period of five to 15 years from now, when the power of an international organization may well be on trial.

Can reports be made without the tight control of an occupying army? Eventually I believe they can, but let us not close our eyes to the great difficulties of this problem.

All doors must be open inside Germany to those responsible for preparing the reports. There can be no secrets from them. Yet the possibility of misuse of such inspectorial power is great. Business information of no military value might be transmitted to manufacturers in other countries. Even a greatly weakened industrial Germany would have some firms with new processes or new inventions and those firms would be entitled to develop their new ideas without disclosure to the entire world. Yet all new techniques must be assessed as to their possible application to the art of war. International inspection for a long period of years will be very difficult unless some measure of co-operation from the Germans can gradually be secured. And this co-operation would be forthcoming only if German technical men were convinced of the integrity and lack of national bias of the men employed by the armament commission.

Ways and means therefore must be found for recruiting a corps of civilian experts

of the highest calibre. A tradition of reliability and a sense of international responsibility must be developed that will prevent an abuse of the inspectorial powers.

In suggesting that the agents of international armament commission can develop a tradition which anchors their professional loyalties to an association of nations rather than to their own countries perhaps I am open to the charge of indulging in Utopian dreams. Yet if we wish to operate the plan successfully some such corps of inspectors must be developed.

If we contemplate the eventual creation of a commission to report on the armament of all countries the difficulties I have mentioned will be magnified many times. An international organization of sufficient power to keep the peace must be provided with unprejudiced information. If we in the US are to keep our armaments at a moderate level, we must be confident as to the status of other powers. Let us not forget however, the vast difficulties in obtaining accurate information about military preparations in other countries.

Can the dilemma be solved by the development of a new type of public official of high integrity, loyal only to the international commission which employs him? One hopes that this would eventually be the case.

To day we recognize the grave danger of another world war. Contrast this with the complacency of 1918 and 1919 when we assumed that all wars were over. To my mind, our concern with the future military situation of the country is a good omen. When we thought that peace was easy, that words and ceremonial incantations of high officials would banish force, we unconsciously prepared for the present global devastation. I believe that if we realize sufficiently how hard it will be to eliminate the threat of war, we may succeed in the undertaking.

We shall not be content until we have taken every measure that gives a promise of success. Then more than one method of insuring peace must fail before another great war overtakes us. We shall demand that Germany and Japan be disarmed effectively by procedures that cannot fail. We shall require the establishment of an association of nations which can become a real instrument of the preservation of world peace. We will plan our own military program in accordance with the promise of security given by all these measures as they gradually unfold.

Let us face with resolution and understanding the problems created by the technological transformation of modern war if we fail the next generation will say of our efforts, "too little and too late."

# SAPRU PROPOSALS AND INDIAN STATES

By SARDAR RANBIR SINGH

THE Sapru Committee has made a sincere and historic contribution towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem. These proposals are confined to British India only and it is proposed that when the Indian States decide to come into the union, as the Committee hopes, the necessary adjustments and additions will be made.

The proposed Constitution-making body is to be constituted in the manner prescribed in clause (d) of the Draft Resolution of His Majesty's Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps subject to certain modifications. The total strength of the body is proposed to be 160 only. The last para of clause (d) of the Cripps Proposals runs as follows:

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion of their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian Members.

The Sapru Proposals do not provide for the inclusion of the State representatives in the Constitution-making body, presumably because they have said in their introductory remarks that the proposals relate to British India only. But there can be no major political settlement in the country without taking into consideration the future position of the Indian States in view of the historical, political and geographical importance of Indian India representing and comprising of more than one third of the area of the Indian Empire inhabited by 81 million and odd souls. No one can deny that ultimately the States must and will have an honourable position in the future Indian Constitution and will play an integral part therein. The

Unity of India, on which so much stress is rightly laid, will be dangerously imperfect so long as the Indian States have no constitutional relationship with British India. The attitude of the Indian States in general was clearly summed up in the resolution passed by the Chamber of Princes in connection with the Cripps Mission to the effect that the Indian States will be glad as always in the interest of their mother-land to make their contribution in every reasonable manner compatible with the Sovereignty and integrity of the States towards the framing of a new Constitution for India. Accredited representatives of Indian States, including Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, expressed themselves unequivocally as believers in the Unity of India. They welcomed the formation of a single Indian Union as it was felt that when alternative proposals of separate Unions were subjected to careful examination from the administrative, financial and other points of view, it may prove to be unworkable and would constitute only a weak imitation of the Indian Union, possessing neither its strength nor its capacity to defend themselves and survive. Thus the Indian States will be prepared to welcome the idea of having a single union for India. But if, as the history of other Federations teaches us, the interests of the constituent units are sacrificed under pressure for the sake of the Central Union, or the conditions of the adherence of the States are such as are entirely foreign to the conception of a Central Government, or

## SAPRU PROPOSALS AND INDIAN STATES

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where all the elastic or expanding sources of revenue are monopolized by the Central Government and the little that is left to the States is also restricted and pruned or where general economic development and large scale industrialization in the States becomes impossible, the States cannot be expected to so lightly sign away their independence and identity. In this connection it may be mentioned here that it is a very healthy sign that the Sapru Proposals have specifically provided for residuary powers to vest in units and also that the functions assigned to the Centre should be matters of common interest to India as a whole and should be as small in number as possible. Under the circumstances it would have been very advisable to provide for the representatives of Indian States in the Constitution making body according to the Cripps formulae. There are of course, obvious difficulties in an Indian Union comprising of British India and Indian States. The main points are that the Indian States are wholly different in status and character from the Provinces of British India and that their terms for accession to the Union may be different than those of the Provinces, as the Indian States, unlike the British Indian Provinces, possess Sovereignty in various degrees and are under a system of monarchical government. It was, therefore, all the more necessary that in the Constitution making body, the States' point of view should have been represented, so that through a preliminary experience of joint deliberations on matters of common concern the representatives of the whole country would have found the means of overcoming most of the

difficulties of establishing an All India Union in a spirit of mutual adjustment and compromise. Therefore, the provision for the representation of Indian States in the Constitution making body should be a very important and necessary preliminary step in order to provide for joint deliberations on all the aspects of the proposed Constitution, which will pave the way for a strong and United Central Government comprising of British India and Indian States. It may be pointed out here that under the Cripps Scheme the Indian States were given two options, firstly to join or not to join the Constitution making body and secondly, even after joining the Constitution making body, to adhere or not to adhere to the Constitution.

The Sapru Proposals have also suggested an amendment of Section 5 of the 1935 Act so that the inauguration of the Indian Union should not depend on the inclusion of a certain number of Indian States as a condition precedent for the Union to come into being. Section 5 (2) of the 1935 Act provided that Federation of India will come into being by the proclamation of His Majesty only when the Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Council of State, have signified their intention to join the Federation. This provision was made because, as remarked in para 157 of JPC Report, the States are regarded as an essential element in an All India Federation and a Federation which comprised the Provinces and only an insignificant number of the States would



scarcely be deserving of the name. It was further said that the Parliament has a right to satisfy itself not only that the prescribed number of States have in fact signified their desire to accede, but also that the financial, economic and political conditions necessary for the successful establishment of the Federation upon a sound and stable basis have been fulfilled.

Another important and much talked of point is the question of Paramountcy. It is proposed by the Sapru Committee that there shall be a Minister-in-charge of the functions in relation to Indian States and with him shall be associated a body of persons, who shall be called Indian States Advisers. It is also proposed that there shall be a "Head of the State", who shall be repository of such powers as are now vested in His Majesty the King of England, including powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States. The proposal for electing the 'Head of the State' from amongst the Rulers of Indian States will be appreciated as a dire recognition of the historical and traditional sentiments for kingship in the country. The Crown is aptly described as the Paramount Power because the States have agreed to cede to it certain important attributes of their Sovereignty and Paramountcy is a useful word to describe the rights and obligations of the Crown which arise out of the agreed session of those attributes. But the resort to Paramountcy as an ultimate reservoir of discretionary authority over the Indian States is based upon a radical misconception of what Paramountcy means. Paramountcy as such is unknown to Constitutional Law

and is not a legal relation, but it can be said to be a *de facto* consequence of the existence of a dominant political Power—Commanding Military Supremacy.

In the case of the States, who enter the All-India Union, they will do so, as an independent Sovereign Unit and the Central Government will exercise only such rights over the States as have been specifically surrendered in the Instrument of Accession. Section 285 of the 1935 Act clearly excludes the rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to the Indian States from the purview of the new Act. There will be no question of the Crown transferring any paramountcy to the Union and the Cripps Scheme did contemplate that the Union will have no paramountcy over the adhering States as the adherence of a State would automatically dissolve the Crown's special obligations to it. A State that adheres to the Union does so on whatever terms it makes with the Union. As for the States, who do not elect to enter the All-India Union or prefer to group together into another Union, if there is one, the Crown will, it is hoped, provide for implementing the Crown's obligations to the non-adhering States. The power that the most influential and dominating Government in the country may have on the other neighbouring administrative Units will depend on the exigencies of the time and the contractual strength of the parties at any particular time.

Para 10 (c) of the Sapru Proposals provide that all custom barriers between one Unit and another shall be abolished and there shall be free trade within the Union

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## STATISTICAL BLACK OUT IN INDIA

provided that where the abolition of existing custom barriers affects prejudicially the finances of a Unit, it shall be entitled to adequate compensation out of the revenues of the Union. This subject has been responsible for a lot of discussions during the consideration of the federal scheme before the War. Many States derive substantial revenues from custom duties levied at their frontiers and in some States the right to impose such duties is specially guaranteed as a sovereign right by Treaty. It is, therefore, impossible to deprive the States of the revenue upon which in many cases they depend for balancing their budgets. They must also be free to alter existing rights of duty to suit varying conditions. Thus it will be advisable to recognize these existing facts although in theory, it may be inconsistent with the freedom of inter state trade of a fully developed Union. The JPC report deals with this question in para 264 and I think they have on the whole taken

a very sober and practical view of the question.

There is another question about the right of cessation from the Union after having joined it. The Sapru Proposals in para 6 do not contemplate the cessation of a State which has acceded to the Union. The 1935 Act is silent on this point, but Professor Keith is of opinion that it should certainly be open to any State to argue that any drastic amendments in the Constitution is equivalent to a breach of the Instrument of Accession. The States may agree to surrender certain rights to the Union under certain conditions. But as soon as those conditions disappear, the power surrendered by the Rulers should automatically revert to them, as in that case the doctrine of *Rebus Sic Stantibus*, i.e., the right of a party to a Treaty to denounce it, if the circumstances contemplated by it and under which it was made, become completely changed, should be applied.

## STATISTICAL BLACK-OUT IN INDIA

BY PROF P C MALHOTRA, M A

**S** TATISTICAL knowledge in India has been deplorably incomplete and defective. Even before the war statistical information in the country was available in patches, in light shades and in silhouette. The war, of course, declared a more or less complete black out of statistics. After the publication of 'The White Paper of statistics relating to the war effort of the United Kingdom,' which has been recently presented to the Parliament the Government of India may consider whether a similar step cannot also now be taken in this country. This would be welcome for various reasons. A knowledge of facts and figures would dispel ignorance, false notions and deepening prejudices regarding India's war record. The material would also supply the basis for practical and constructive thinking on the country's post war problem, both in the transition period from war to peace and in the normal post war period.

The White Paper portrays the contribution of the United Kingdom to the war effort in an excellent manner.

*Man Power.*—We are told that over 10 million men and women, which figure constitutes one-third of the adult population, are now in the services and the munition industries. Women have admirably helped in the war work and nearly 2¾ million more women were in the services and in industry than during peace-time. Of 76 millions in the manufacturing industries, only 4 per cent were producing for export, compared with 15 per cent. in 1938, whereas 76 per cent were on Government work and 20 per cent. were producing for the home market.

#### PRODUCTION

The increase in production has, of course, been great in munitions but the production of essential raw materials has not been neglected. Home output of iron was increased by more than one-half since before the war and exports of steel products were severely curtailed. Production of steel increased by 1/6 in spite of a two-thirds reduction of the import of steel-making material. The light metal industries have shown remarkable expansion. The production of aluminium, the average of 1935-38 for which was 18,000 tons, increased to 56,000 tons in 1943. Similarly the production of magnesium increased from 2,000 to 23,000 tons within the same period. The light metal industries are not only a war-time necessity, but have increased post-war possibilities.

The production of food has received due attention. In spite of the facts that there has been a 50 per cent. cut in the imported

food and also a reduction in male labour available for farm work, British food production in terms of calories and protein has increased at least by 70 per cent. This increased production with efficient working of rationing and price-control have ensured fair distribution and kept the food situation safe in a country which was primarily a food importing one.

#### CIVILIAN CONSUMPTION

A war period necessarily enforces sacrifices in consumption either voluntary or imposed. But if these restraints whether self-imposed or state-enforced are judiciously applied, they cause the minimum of hardship and maintain efficiency of production at the same time. In this way the morale of the home-front is maintained. The over-all consumption in Great Britain has been reduced by 21 per cent. Civilian consumption of butter, margarine and cheese is lower by 14 per cent, of fresh meat, bacon and ham by 24 per cent, of fruit and fruit-juices by 51 per cent.

Civilian consumption of clothes is reduced by 45 per cent, of boots and shoes by 27 per cent, of furniture by 77 per cent.

The people of Great Britain now spend 54 per cent of their incomes. The rest is absorbed by taxes and savings.

#### FINANCE

The expenditure of the United Kingdom has increased from £ 1,013 million in 1938 to £ 5,782 million in 1943. This augmented expenditure was mainly war expenditure and included mutual aid supplied by Great Britain and paid for by the United Kingdom, but excluded lend-lease and mutual aid received from abroad.

A marked feature of war finance in the United Kingdom is that it has been largely met out of current resources. This achievement has been made possible by a remarkable increase in national income, from £ 4 604 millions in 1938 to £ 8 172 millions in 1943. The great increase in national income is not due to inflated prosperity created by the sky rocketing of prices. The *Economist* Index of Wholesale Prices on November 22 1944 was 1179 in comparison with an index number 872 in March 31 1937 and as against an index number of 100 for 1927 the base (comparison) year.

An analysis of the sources of war expenditure in the United Kingdom showed that (i) 50 per cent of it was met by taxation and Government revenue (ii) 30½ per cent by savings (personal and business), (iii) 3½ per cent by public savings, (iv) 11 per cent from disinvestment (sale of investment) abroad 3 per

cent from disinvestment at home, (v) 2 per cent from war damage payment re borrowed

#### COMPARATIVE FEATURES OF INDIA'S WAR ECONOMY

From a comparative point of view, the following ugly features of our war economy stand in marked contrast to Britain's war economy

(i) Scandalous food crisis in a predominantly agricultural country

(ii) Curtailment of essential consumption goods, including belly filling and nourishment giving food stuffs

(iii) Inadequate increase in the volume of domestic production

(iv) Phenomenal rise in prices

(v) Unequal imposition of war burden

(vi) Partial success of control measures due to their piecemeal and belated adoption

## TREMENDOUS TRIFLES

BY MR T K VENKATARAMAN M A,

*Head of the Department of History Pachayappa's College Madras*

**S**MALL things! Yes, but how often these small things have taken a hand in the game of History and altered the destiny of the world!

John Lackland, King of England chuckled as he sat before his well filled table. He had outwitted his enemies pretending submission. He had absolutely no idea of keeping his word. He had sealed the Great Charter only to deceive them and gain time. Poor fools! How neatly they fall into the trap! He laughed

aloud. The sound of the demoniacal laughter echoed and reechoed round the room causing a shudder to the attendants who were fated to serve a man who set at defiance all laws—human or divine. All seemed lost to his enemies who were hard pressed by his blood thirsty mercenaries and who had to call in the help of Louis, the eldest son of King Philip Augustus of France. Fortune seemed to favour him. The smile on John's savage face broadened as he scanned the

dishes set before him—lampreys, peaches, and other delicacies—all his favourites, and fresh ale to help them down. The king gorged and gorged. Thus was deliverance opened to England, for the surfeit brought on the king's sudden sickness and death. Had he not thus died providentially, a revolution might have taken place in England and England might have become a possession of the French monarchy.

Emperor Frederick I stroked his red hand thoughtfully, as he frowned over the expense of the Campaign. He suddenly turned towards the burly German who stood by him, and cried out "Surrah, are your men *frans* fresh from home? Bah, to be afraid of the bite of an ordinary mosquito! Think they that war is a merry tournament in which they can show off their gilded spurs, and eat and sleep happily?" The Emperor did not know, however, that this ordinary mosquito was going to cause the collapse of his campaign. This campaign of 1166, directed against Pope Alexander III, had so far been victorious. The imperial forces had occupied Rome. But now, a terrible malarial pestilence destroyed a large part of his army. The Emperor had to retreat, and the fruits of his victory were lost.

The Mughals had encircled Golconda, but its Sultan, Abu Hassan, did not lose hope, for the natural defences of the fortress were very strong. He did not know that the Mughals had planned a surprise attack on a particular night. The defenders were blissfully ignorant, while Mughal soldiers' information clambered up the steep walls. The summit was largely gained, when a Pariah dog saw the strangers and barked

wildly. This gave the alarm and the garrison rushed to the scene, and the attack was beaten back. Golconda thus got a lease of independent existence for some more time. Sultan Abu Hassan was so grateful to the dog that he created it a noble of Golconda, and the animal was privileged to wear a gold coat, a gold collar and a gold chain.

Disappointment and frustration did not put out the glow of enthusiasm which still shone in that man's eyes. An alternative passage to India! He spoke and spoke eagerly, but, people shrugged their shoulders and called him mad. Powerful sovereigns smiled and repulsed his offers of leading a voyage of discovery. But, his patience, energy and perseverance did not give out. There was something in his mien and his emphatic words that attracted Queen Isabella of Spain, and, at last, in 1492, Columbus started on his westward voyage to India with the help and patronage of Spain. Days passed as the ship sped across the Atlantic and the superstitious crew cursed the Genoese who, they believed, was taking them to an unknown and horrible death. Columbus had to keep two logs—one a true one, and the other falsified so that the crew might not discover how far from home they were. But, how long could he keep up this farce? Columbus prayed to God fervently. Was he to abandon his cherished dream and turn back? One day, wrapped in melancholy thoughts, he peered as usual over the everlasting blue, and, suddenly, fell on his knees to thank God. Flight of land birds, and then land itself! He had reached the Bahamas. A new continent

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began to take its share in world history, though, to the last, Columbus believed that it was India

As Napoleon sipped his coffee from a dainty cup, his eyes watched with approval the draperies and flags with his monogram which were hanging out from every window. The empire of this soldier of fortune was now at its zenith. It embraced France, the Netherlands, part of Western and North western Germany all the Western part of Italy down to Naples and the Illyrian Provinces while on all sides were satellite States dependent on his favour. He took out his gold snuff box and took a sniff from it wondering at the incredible stupidity of the Czar who had dared to cross his path. He would teach him the lesson of his life. Thus began the monotonous invasion of Russia. Splendid successes followed, and the capital, Moscow was occupied. The "scorched earth" policy of the hostile population was the first snag in his path. But the disastrous failure of the invasion was the result of Nature taking a hand in the contest. Napoleon had, as always, based his plans on expert information and detailed enquiries. But, in that particular year, the Russian winter set in much earlier than usual, and it proved to be an unusually severe winter. The famished, ill clad French force was caught up in its grip. Peasants and Cossacks harassed the retreating remnants till all discipline broke down, and the Grand Army became a wild heap of struggling fugitives rushing to reach friendly borders.

Instances could be multiplied. A youth of melancholic temperament attempted to take his life, but the gun failed to explode

This youth—Robert Clive—was destined ultimately to die a suicide's death. But, how much would the history of British rule in India have been affected had the first attempt at self murder succeeded? In 1715, there came to the throne of England the old German King George I who was more interested in his electorate of Hanover than in England. Hence, he ceased to be present at the meetings of his ministers, and from this fortunate accident arose the great constitutional maxim of the Cabinet system of Government that 'he real executive is, not the king, but the group of ministers who are responsible to Parliament. While he had gone to sell a cargo of bacon in New Orleans, young Abraham Lincoln saw a young Mulatto girl being sold and her purchaser examining her just as he would a house. This incident was the turning point in his career when he dedicated himself to the abolition of slavery which he lived to achieve. Had Hitler died when his attempted "putsch" at Munich miscarried in 1923 the later history of Europe might well have been different. We are all familiar with the story of how the falling of an apple from the tree to the ground when Isaac Newton was sitting in his garden drew him on to study the force of gravitation or how the singing of the kettle on fire led James Watt to experiment with steam power. But less familiar is the story of the two French brothers Montgolfier, who noticed one evening how pieces of paper, when placed over a fire, rose up, the chimney and disappeared. This led them to experiment in balloons, and the way was opened for

developments in aircraft which have now revolutionized economic and military history. In the fatal field of Samugadh (1639) in which Dara contended for the throne with his brothers, Murad and Aurangzeb, when the battle was swinging to and fro, Dara got down from his elephant to mount a steed, and his troops, seeing the empty howdah and believing him killed broke

up and fled. It is idle to speculate whether had Dara succeeded, India would have been spared the rule of the bigoted Aurangzeb and experienced a return to the happy period of Akbar. Prince Siddharta's first contact with old age, sickness and death revolutionised his mental outlook and led to the rise of one of the greatest religions of the world—Buddhism.

## LABOUR WELFARE

BY MR. M. C. AGARWAL, M.A., B.Sc.

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THE problem of anybody's welfare would include countless problems of every variety. Fortunately that is not the case with 'labour welfare', which may as well be termed 'labourer's welfare'. It has come to include problems bearing on the health, general well-being, safety and efficiency of the worker. Welfare activities are important not simply from the point of efficiency of production and ensuring a permanent industrial population but also for fostering the development of the worker's personality. Welfare activities have a scope both at the centre of work—one may call it inside the factory—and outside the mill-gates. I would refrain from using the words 'factory' and 'mill' because labour welfare does not merely refer to the welfare of labourers employed in mills and factories. It also has reference to those working underground in the mines, in the tea gardens, in the dockyards and above all in the cultivators' field. In this short essay it seems preferable to limit the scope to the industries,

though the observations made would be fairly applicable to the other occupations with a little change in the wording.

Well then, inside the factory there would seem to exist the desirability for safe and healthy conditions of work, provision for rest and shelter, cheap refreshment and meal facilities, sanitary surroundings and in the case of women labour for creches. Outside the factory the relevant problems refer to proper housing in healthy surroundings, education, recreation and medical attention.

The necessary arrangements can be made either by the employer voluntarily or under compulsion by the State, so far as facilities within the precincts of the mill are concerned. A wise employer would not only provide them but also do what he can to solve the problems that face his workers outside the mill. He would be compensated for what he does in the form of increased efficiency. Should he know how to organize labour in order to get the most out of them, then with

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the provision of such facilities the increased efficiency and output shall be more than the cost of the facilities to him. Usually however the State legislation requires the employers to ensure safe and healthy conditions—proper ventilation, temperature and humidity—and even creches and supply of food or foodstuff. In India for example we have a set of model factory (and mining) acts of the Central Government. Also under powers delegated to the provincial governments, factory wallahs have been compelled to provide for creches in case they employ women numbering more than one hundred. Under a war time ordinance the provincial governments can even make it obligatory on all employers to make arrangements for meals and supply of foodstuff to the employees.

But the trouble is that acts are not properly administered and powers are not enjoyed. The insufficiency of the inspection staff and inadequacy of regular and proper inspection nullify the possible good effects of the factory acts. Similarly all the provincial governments do not make the maintenance of creches and provision of food a compulsory condition. Of course some concerns have opened canteens but these have not always been within the reach of persons who are getting low wages. On the other hand in a country like Britain within two years of the passage of the Factory (canteen) Order 1940, not only did 98 per cent of the mills affected brought canteens into service but even other factories increased the number of canteens maintained by them from about five and a half thousands to about eight and a half thousands.

Outside the factory one of the most important problems is that of housing. Dwelling accommodation is not only costly but also insanitary and unhealthy. A worker may have to part with fifteen to twenty five per cent of his monthly income as house rent. This together with food expenses takes away more than three fourth of his income and very little is left for other items in the family budget. This is highly undesirable from the point of view of a reasonable standard of living. The fact that the houses are situated in slum areas with an ugly appearance and little ventilation increases the susceptibility of the occupants to various diseases. This means poor health and also a drain on the workers' purses. The condition is much worse in comparison to the position in the rural areas where fresh air is a natural guarantee. In the circumstance, there is less stability of the industrial population for the worker wants to make a saving and run back to the village. One reason for the high rental charge is the inadequacy of the housing facility in the industrial areas. In their effort to escape the high charge to some extent and in order to find some living accommodation for himself and sometimes his family, the labourers give rise to the most undesirable problem of overcrowding. It may be safely said that sixty per cent of the workers in the industrial areas live in single rooms. The average number of persons per room is about five. The situation is not as worse in the foreign countries. In England for example only six per cent of the workers live in single rooms and the average number of persons per




room does not exceed two. Overcrowding and insanitary conditions are closely related and it is a common-day experience that the greater the overcrowding, the greater is the suffering from diseases and the greater is the infant mortality. Overcrowding also means less privacy in respect of the family life and hence an undesirable effect on the workers' morale.

The solution of the problem is the construction of suitable working-class houses. This can be suitably undertaken by the employers and the public bodies (including the State) individually or jointly. In the industrialized countries the employers have come forward and the State has subsidised the building programmes. In India under the Land Acquisition Act an industrial concern employing at least hundred workmen can acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of erecting dwelling houses for the workers and for providing amenities like sanitation, sewage, etc. But housing accommodation has been provided only by some employers at Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Cawnpore and Delhi. There have, however, been established by certain provinces Improvement Trusts which have earned the credit of certain slum clearance programmes. It is urgently necessary that the housing programme should be taken up by the local bodies and that every encouragement should be given for the establishment of co-operative housing societies. Effort should also be made, preferably by the State, to evolve cheaper types of houses.

Prevention is better than cure and if we want that the worker may avoid unhealthy food and mode of living, we must give them proper education. Adult education should be in respect of what is happening in the world, how people in the other parts of the world live, and what type of life ensures health and happiness. Because the child is father of the man, a more careful attention should be paid to primary education. Education has been the concern of the State. So far as adult education and recreation plus medical aid is concerned, only U.P. and Bombay have taken the lead in establishing welfare centres where one finds allopathic-cum-homeopathic dispensary, reading room, gymnasium, sports, entertainments and periodical talks. Similar facilities have also been provided by some of the enlightened employers.

It is also necessary to pay attention to industrial hygiene and industrial diseases and to prevent adulteration of foods. While Food Adulteration Acts have been passed in many provinces, the shortage of medical inspectors has hampered effective enforcement of the Acts and sufficient action regarding industrial hygiene and diseases.

Labour welfare is an essential requisite for a rapid and permanent industrial edifice but in India, it is evident, we have still to go a long way in the direction of providing labour welfare work even to a modest extent.



# Disraeli—A Phase in British Imperialism

BY MR SHIV SAHAI KAPUR, M A

THE relation between men and movements can seldom be precisely brought out. Very often the aura of a great leader's influence extends in dim circles to the very roots of the nation when it touches and merges into the wide sway of the Movement: the life blood flows both ways and the Movement becomes the Man. Then it is, there at the roots where the self-conscious shibboleth strips that it becomes impossible to discern any more harsh outlines. Such was the relation of Disraeli and his England. A relation made all the more complicated by his immense knowledge of Jacks and Smiths's emotional response, his mastery of 'effect', his knack of facing the footlights in partnership. Which way was the flow? Did he really "give" more than he 'received'? Very frequently the answer has been 'Yes': that his was essentially the motivation, the dynamic directing force that moulded opinion in consonance with a certain set of pre-conceived principles. We have here reasons to think otherwise.

The most salient feature of Disraeli's character can only be summed up in the negative epithet "un-English". He was un-English in the wide sweep of his vivid, ego-centric imagination. "Zeal for the greatness of England was", Lord Salisbury declared, 'the passion of his life'. We will see that essentially it was his own self that was the passion of his life. And he knew and felt the pulse of the people he was thrown with; he saw the rising wave and was wise enough to ride it—to the glorification of self and England. It naturally

follows that all attempts to ascribe to Disraeli any purely altruistic love for England transcending the petty bounds of the party would be nothing short of a fond delusion. He did transcend the party but in the sense that party embodied any fixed, hide-bound principles, more primarily for the edification of self than for England. We need refer only to his own career for sufficient testimony for this.

The man was characterized by vitality, a cynical opportunism, insight into human character, a sense of humour, and a strong imagination steeped in an almost oriental romanticism. He went to Turkey and "contracted" a soft corner for the Turk and his voluptuous ease; he followed Napoleon's travels in the east, in his own way of course, and the call of the east lingered in his mind. Both were to have important repercussions later on.

The Movement in the 'forties and the fifties' was away from imperialism: the average Englishman took for granted the fact that Britain was a colonial power. Many of this group were even uniformly averse to the continuance of the imperial 'burden' and desired to cast it off. They looked complacently forward to the day when Canada, Australia and New Zealand would bear the same relation to Great Britain as the United States. In the words of Goldwin Smith: "The time was when the universal prevalence of commercial monopoly made it worth our while to hold colonies in dependence for the sake of commanding their trade. But that time has gone. Trade is free

everywhere or becoming free; and this expensive and perilous connection has entirely survived its sole legitimate cause." This was Little Englandism at its height. However this Little Englandism wilted and drooped in the arid Europe that the Bismarckian age was fast bringing into being. The turn of the tide began in the 'sixties,' gathered momentum through the 'seventies' and the 'eighties,' and the 'nineties' saw imperialism a triumphant force and the un-English Little Englandism safely back under the old garb. The new Europe meant business, this was evidently no time for taking risks,

It was Disraeli's role to give adequate expression to the overweening imperialism that was fast coming to the fore. He was *no creator of it, he only gave shape and point to the flux*. In 1871 Disraeli said, "Not a single principle in the management of our foreign affairs, accepted by all statesmen for guidance up to a few months ago, any longer exists. You have a new world, new influences at work, new and unknown dangers with which to cope, at present involved in that obscurity incident to novelty in such affairs." Clearly the master was preparing his ground, clearly too he knew the material in which he was going to work—their hopes and fears and aspirations. Would England like to see her ancient colonies falling under the sway of political and commercial rivals to be ruled for their selfish purposes? Was England, asked Froude in 1870, to sink as Holland had done into a community of harmless traders and was she to furnish the only exception to the rule of the unity of kindred peoples? The issue was, Disraeli

declared, "Whether you will be content to be a comfortable Little England. . . meeting in due course an inevitable fate, or whether you will be a great country, an imperial country, a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain, not merely the esteem of your countrymen but command the respect of the world"? No stronger appeal could be made to English pockets and English chauvinism.

When the material was ready, Disraeli set to work. The Queen became the Empress,—Disraeli certainly knew the oriental mind. Perhaps he was right, he said that race is everything. A brilliant coup begot the Suez Canal. Was it the realization of an earlier dream, the irresistible call of the East that Disraeli always felt, or was it some flash of prophetic vision? The fact remains that in spite of all the forebodings of Gladstone, the canal not only turned out to be a roaring financial success but also a political acquisition of great magnitude.

The later-day fiasco of the forward policy in Afghanistan and of the contemptuous imperialism in South Africa is too patent to need discussion. Their results were inherent in the very logic of Disraeli's *smug and much too galloping* imperialism—how galloping we shall see, presently.

It is his management of the Eastern Question that is considered to be the high-water mark of his policy. Yet there is scope for something different from mere fulsome eulogy in this respect. We believe his success was *not so* *acquiesced*, that the brilliant "Peace with Honour" had a hollow ring, that perhaps it was only an

excellent "effect" by the supreme actor manager

We may, for the present, leave out his strange conduct at the time of the Berlin Memorandum. His entire withholding of his consent to it savours very much of the young man who dressed oddly to draw attention. He had to be different then as now, because being different gave him and 'Disraeli & England, Ltd.' a new status. It need hardly be said that he believed in no ethics of politics, to him it was always a question of opinion. His bent was essentially Machiavellian. He went as an ardent champion of Turkish integrity by the time he came back the word integrity had come to have a new meaning, it began to apply merely to Constantinople! For were the British not primarily interested in the fate of Constantinople? He vehemently declared that Turkey had not been partitioned. When Poland's population was reduced from 12 to 7 millions it was said to have been partitioned, but when European Turkey lost 11 out of the 17 millions of its inhabitants, the Lord Beaconsfield declared, "A country may have lost provinces but that is not partition!" The British in an access of honest brokerage, on the other hand, thought fit to rid Turkey of Cyprus too! In the case of Bulgaria the name "Eastern Roumelia" was deliberately chosen for the southern portion because, to quote again, "there would be constant intriguing to bring about a union between the two provinces"—it being implied that the divergence of names would prevent nationalist agitation! Here Disraeli's sad lack of knowledge and, unlike Gladstone, his lack of proper

appreciation of the forces of nationality in the Balkans is a curious commentary on his handling of the affair. He gave evidence of almost pathetic naivety when he remarked in reply to doubts cast upon the impregnability of the new frontier, that 'it is by the courage, discipline, patriotism and devotion of a population that impregnable frontiers can alone be formed'—inferring thereby that the population of Eastern Roumelia answered to this description, and that it was sufficient reason for dissecting a people.

He justified Austria-Hungary's mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina by calling attention to the inveterate racial animosities and religious differences in the Balkans and remarking that an army of 50,000 would be necessary to keep order in that area, while in the same breath he had the temerity to commend the area to the bankrupt governance of Turkey. This was also quite a far cry from his original idea—that a little "bakhshesh" might have suppressed the rising in a few weeks.

As compensation for these contradictions and uncomfortable admissions in fact of defeat covered by strategic retreat Disraeli flaunted in the faces of the British the Convention that gave Cyprus to the British. Apart from the fact that Cyprus was impossible as a naval base it was, curiously enough, actually farther off than Malta even. And in any case it was a fruitless acquisition since in the event of Russian aggression against Turkey it would be the last and not the first base to be used. In return for all this Britain guaranteed to maintain the integrity of Asiatic Turkey, which was at all counts nothing

but an odious responsibility. It is strange that scholars like Ensor should try to excuse this foolishly vain commitment which Britain was scarcely in a position to fulfil, by saying that it was only a first instalment of a still more grandiose scheme of imperial "pan-dominionism". In the words of Sir William Harcourt, "It was necessary to bring back something and that something was Cypress."

This survey has been necessitated for an examination of what is termed as Disraeli's master stroke. Besides the blatant Machiavellism, the conclusions to be drawn are that Disraeli entirely misunderstood the forces at work in the Balkan Peninsula, that the Turks were to him a mere pawn in the game against Russia, that he led his country to the brink of war and was held back only by a combination of ill-health and popular outcry, that in the end he receded from his original position, utterly abandoned Turkish integrity in Europe and consoled himself with an Asiatic policy which he afterwards lacked the energy to pursue to its logical conclusion and which, if pursued, would still be very doubtful of success. Disraeli was a supreme master of strategy and it was only gradually that the English nation realized the extent to which he had shifted his ground from first to last. The settlement with which his name is associated in no way represented his aims during the crisis, and its credit is really due to Bismarck, Shuvalov and Salisbury rather than him. "Peace with Honour" was only the last fling of the man who still knew his nation at least. The angry consternation of the Jingoists, the moral indignation of the Radicals at the

adroit change of attitude, the sarcastic outlook of the solid "middle" opinion—all was for the moment swallowed up in the nation's intense relief at having escaped from war. Radowitz regarded the whole thing as "more a matter of vanity for Disraeli than an act of political importance"; which is another way of saying that Disraeli required a bird in hand to bring home to his Turcopbil supporters after releasing so many others in the bushes of the Tiergarten!

Disraeli's greatest contribution was to forge imperialism as an emotional force in consonance with the prevailing jingoism of the times. But he was a man more of insight than of foresight. And the arc of his powerful, sweeping imagination always had Disraeli as the centre.

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# THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

BY PROF HARI CHARAN MUKERJI MA

THE war has come to its close to the infinite relief of suffering humanity. We are hearing more and more of the punishment of the war criminals and of the delinquent nations who have caused this ruinous war and brought untold sufferings on us. It is only natural that nations who have been involved in this war and have made the greatest sacrifices and poured out their best blood and lost the flower of their manhood have seen the ruin of their industries and devastation of cities and prosperous countries, their external trade almost ruined and most of all who have groaned under the heels of alien occupation with all its attendant evils, misery and humiliation that they should demand the punishment of the criminals and try to keep the nations concerned under perpetual subjection for their complicity in these crimes as well as a precaution against any fresh outburst of violence and attempt on their part in future to plunge the world into this sort of ruinous war. One of the worst legacies of a cruel and protracted war is that it calls forth vindictive sentiments of the sufferers as of the victors. The latter seem to be in no mood to show any quarter to the defeated enemy and even no consideration to those who were compelled by force of circumstances and perhaps under compulsion to help the war efforts of the aggressors. The most important thing to consider is—will these harsh measures serve the purpose for which they are intended or are they rather likely to defeat that very

purpose? If the Morgenthau plan is to be followed and Germany is to be stripped of all her industries and commerce and reduced to the position of a nation of agriculturists if she is to be deprived of her mercantile marine and air transport if the Saar is to be occupied and the Rhine Province policed by France and Belgium, if her coal mines and synthetic oil and rubber plants and all heavy industries are to be wrested away from her and worked in the interests of the victors as a payment in kind of reparations, if large slices of her territory are to be detached and forcibly occupied if as a result of all this she is to be reduced to the position of a dependent nation that will be inevitably preparing the ground for another conflagration which will this time engulf the whole world and leave it in ruins and ashes. Nazism in pre-war Germany only flourished because the ground was prepared for it by the humiliating terms of the Versailles treaty forced upon her and if this mistake is once more repeated we can very well apprehend the same disastrous consequences only on an infinitely greater scale.

Only the other day two very important personages whose testimony can be accepted, Mr. Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's right hand man and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Air Minister of Britain, pointed out that Germany and Japan were already preparing for a fresh war. That may be quite true for they realize that their game is up and they have already lost this war. But their suggestions to avert this catastrophe, to maintain a

\* This article was written before the German surrender and the holding of the Franco Conference.

permanent army of occupation in Germany and for the Allies to hold together and keep a strict watch on her as well as on Japan, apart from the practical difficulties are not likely to meet the exigencies of the situation. Smarting under a sense of injustice and humiliation they will be only driven to greater desperation. Secondly an army of occupation cannot be maintained for all times to come and as soon as it is withdrawn or vigilance relaxed, the dreadful contingency will once again occur. The ingenious German mind too can think of a thousand means to circumvent this move and battle the Allies. Moreover to take it for granted that the present Allies will hold together for all time and act in concert is to ignore the lesson of history. Political alliances are dictated by the exigencies of the hour and are dissolved as soon as the crisis which called it into being is past. The Allies of to-day are the enemies of to-morrow and *vice versa*. Truly adversity makes one acquainted with strange bed fellows.

A correspondent writing in the columns of the *Statesman* (Calcutta) maintains that humane treatment to the Nazis will be out of place and defeat its own purpose for according to the philosophy of Nietzsche in which they have been brought up generosity to the vanquished foe is only a betrayal of one's weakness and fails to create any impression on the German. But to me it seems to be just the opposite. Generous treatment of the enemy cannot but produce the desired effect.

The first requisite, therefore, will be if there is a sincere desire on the part of the Allies to establish permanent peace, to apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to all subject nations whether victims of Nazi aggression or not because they too at one time or other had been the victims of aggression and have been groaning under alien domination.

The second thing that is to be done, is not only to disarm Germany but to put a ban on armaments productions in all the countries of the world. It is the manufacturers of all these armaments whether British, American or German who have been primarily responsible not only for the last Great War, but for the present also. According to the indisputable testimony of Edgar Snow, the author of the "Scorched Earth", America was selling armaments, munitions and scrap iron, out of which bullets and shells are made, to Japan when the latter was perpetrating the worst brutalities on China. She did not even hesitate to sell to her the plans of the latest types of aeroplanes with which Japan in course of time attacked Pearl Harbour to pay back, as it were, her debt of gratitude! If in future the world is to be made safe for democracy, two essential things are to be done, *viz.*, all ill-gotten gains (possessions) are to be disgorged and the principles of the Atlantic Charter to be applied in all cases of people groaning under alien domination and that national armies, navies and air-forces are to be strictly limited and placed under the effective control and supervision of a strong, central organisation, call it the League of Nations or what you will in which all nations whether belligerents in the present war or not will be equally represented and which under no circumstances will be bossed over by the Big Three because all are equally interested in the preservation of peace. This constitutes the third requisite. To allow this organisation to be captured by the Great Powers will be only perpetrating the present order of domination of the weak by the strong - and heartless exploitation of the backward peoples and undeveloped portions of the world by those who are more advanced, organised, strong and grasping. And last of all this League of Nations will put a perpetual ban on the production of armaments by private organisations and will regulate the respective requirements of each nation.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY AN INDIAN JOURNALIST

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit in U.S.A.

## Lord Wavell's Mission

LORD WAVELL has returned after consultations with H M Government lasting over nine weeks. Political quarters are under the belief that he took with him specific proposals on the Indian problem to submit to the British Cabinet. But then Lord Wavell's conversations in London had been interrupted by the British Government's pre-occupations with Germany's collapse and the San Francisco Conference.

Meanwhile the prospect of General Elections in England is another interruption to the already growing pressure of European events. In the circumstance it would be idle to speculate on the real causes of the delay in the Viceroy's return or read too much into the conflicting reports from London. But thanks to the Elections India is now very much a live issue, and though no party can afford to put it specifically as an Election issue there is no doubt every party is anxious to claim credit for resolving the deadlock. Already Prof Laski and Attlee and Bevin have had their say. Though by retaining the unwanted Amery in his place, Mr Churchill continues to show his fist there is evidence of returning sense in the diehard Premier. In a front page story headed 'Churchill to make new offer to India' the *News Chronicle* reports that to end the Indian deadlock Mr Churchill will propose that the Congress Party and the Muslim League should form a Government with limited powers. The Viceroy's power of veto would remain. Mr Churchill himself is significantly silent on India.

Until we have the specific terms of the offer, we cannot say what reception awaits Mr Churchill's offer. But one thing is clear. Mere repetition of the Cripps offer and the dual policy of reforms and repression would be futile and dangerous. That has long been tried and found wanting. The lesson is obvious. Only a bold and generous act of statesmanship will restore the waning faith in British *bona fides*.

When the Tory press in England began to refer to Mrs Pandit's activities in U.S.A. as a menace, we have need for no further evidence of the importance and effectiveness of her labours abroad. For one thing she timed her visit with extraordinary prescience—to synchronise with the San Francisco Conference where the statesmen of over 40 nations are gathered to devise means of world security. Mrs Pandit has made the best use of the occasion to put the case for India before the world statesmen with characteristic vigour and pertinacity. Her memorandum on Indian independence may not have received official cognisance but her views have been pressed on the attention of many men who count in the affairs of the world. In U.S.A. she has travelled everywhere met all the men who count, written to the press and spoken at platforms and parties that may influence public opinion and has done everything to counter any false propaganda that might have had an advance start. It is mighty tough work which she has done with an astuteness and power that has been the envy and despair of official spokesmen. Scorning the threat to brand her as pro axis in war time she has pursued her patriotic labours in the teeth of opposition propaganda. She made history in Sacramento when she addressed the Californian legislature—an honour which no foreigner has yet had except Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. She declared that new ties forged between America and India would help the solution not only of India's problem but the problem of colonial possessions everywhere.

In an earnest speech calling for sympathy for India's campaign for independence, delivered at the invitation of the State legislature, Mrs Pandit told the Assembly men that what India is fighting is not England but the system Great Britain has established in India—a system which enslaves and exploits its people.



### The Famine Commission Report

The Woodhead report on the Bengal famine of 1943 merely underlines the popular belief that it was essentially a man-made tragedy which timely action on the part of the Provincial and Central Governments could well have averted. A section of the public should also share the responsibility for the appalling disaster. The Commission record in feeling terms the extent of the tragedy that overtook the unhappy province

We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victims to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed, there was a moral and social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown.

#### The Report adds that

Enormous profits were made out of these calamities and circumstances, in which profits for some meant death for others. A large part of the community lived in plenty while others starved; and there was much indifference in the face of suffering. Corruption was widespread throughout the Province, and in many classes of society.

Danger signals of the impending famine were not absent in the closing months of 1942, but an inept and irresponsible government took no notice of them. The Commission have no hesitation in fixing the blame:

After considering all the circumstances, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place.

They hold that an all-party government might have created public confidence and led to more effective action "but no such government came into being." And what of the Central Government?

The Government of India failed to recognise, at a sufficiently early date the need for a system of planned movement of foodgrains, including rice and wheat, from surplus to deficit provinces and states.

But the penalty for the Government's incompetence had to be paid by the people. Will the lesson of this tragedy be lost on the authorities? If not, what is going to be done to avoid a repetition of such administrative mismanagement which meant the decimation of millions of innocent lives?

### Citizen Rights in England and India

Almost the first act of the British Government, after the signing of the German surrender, was the revocation of all war-time regulations and the release of everybody clapped under Regulation 18B under which the British Black Shirt leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, was arrested early in the war. This is as it should be, in a country which values its freedom and the rights of its citizens. People in India naturally contrast the situation with conditions in this country where hundreds are still behind the bars without trial or explanation. Look at this picture and that, say they. It makes all the difference in the world to have a government, thoroughly national and responsive to public opinion. If men like Sir Oswald with his pronounced Nazi leanings could be set free the moment the need for such detention has passed what is one to think of the continuance of restraint on men like Moulana Azad and Pandit Nehru for reasons of security? And yet the Prime Minister waxes eloquent in his broadcast over the rule of law and justice.

"There would be," he said, "little use in punishing Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule and if totalitarian or police Governments were to take the place of the German invaders."

The irony of it!

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY CHRONICLER

## Mr. Churchill's Interim Government

The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, has resigned, and with his resignation the National Government has come to an end. The King accepted Mr. Churchill's resignation and reappointed him Prime Minister to form a new administration which has since been formed.

The resignation of the Churchill Government is a sequel to the Labour Party Conference decision to break the Coalition.

It is announced from 10 Downing Street that Parliament is to be dissolved on June 15.

Mr. Churchill has reconstituted his Cabinet and Government. By the dissolution he loses three Labour War Cabinet Ministers—the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ernest Bevin, the virtual dictator of Britain's 20 million war manpower, and the Home Secretary and Home Security Minister, Mr. Herbert Morrison.

What is of significance to India is that the unwanted Mr. Amery continues as Secretary of State for India, while Lord Scarborough replaces Lord Listowel as Under Secretary.

## The Blackpool Conference

The Labour Party Conference at Blackpool adopted an aggressive attitude, with the keynote of attack sounded by two of its most important leaders.

Prof Harold Laski, former Chairman of the Party, categorically declared, 'there is no possibility of joining in coalition with the Conservatives', and Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Left Wing leader within the Party, added, 'we enter this campaign not merely to get a parliamentary majority but to complete extinction of the Tory Party for 25 years. England needs a new industrial revolution.'

## The Frisco Conference

The San Francisco Conference is now lagging heavily behind programme. The delegates, depressed by the reopening of issues which had been regarded as practically settled, have put back their plans for departure until the middle of June.

Two outstanding issues on which differences of opinion have revived among the Big Five and the Conference at large are those of trusteeship and regional pacts, says *Reuter's* special correspondent.

Stubborn opposition to the trusteeship proposals as at present drafted comes from the representatives of Arab countries notably Iraq. While, looming large behind the controversy although seldom mentioned is the long standing dispute between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

With Palestine and other Near Eastern mandates in mind the Iraq delegates proposed that the Charter should specifically protect the terms of existing mandates and certain Covenants of the old League referring to ultimate independence of part of the Turkish Empire.

The United States strongly oppose any reference to the old League Covenant in the new Charter.

The British are anxious that the existing mandates in general should not have the validity imparted by the new Charter.

The difficulty is that the allaying of the Arab fear regarding Palestine might give rise to misunderstanding by Zionists.

The Soviet proposal revives the previous discussion of definition of independence as objective of the administration of mandated territories. The Russians propose that to the word 'independence' should be added the words 'in accordance with rights of self-determination, but this appears to be too strong for the British and the United States delegates and the latter suggest an amendment to read 'principle of self-determination'.

The revival of the regional question in the French proposal to safeguard the status of mutual assistance pacts against former enemy States has resulted in the criticism that in some sort of way, European powers are leaning too heavily on the system of bilateral alliances rather than international regional schemes.



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA** By W H Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee  
Longman's Green & Co., London

Sir Atul has brought out a second edition of the History which was originally the joint work of himself and the late Mr. Moreland. The distinctive feature of this revised edition is the inclusion of six new chapters dealing at some length with the developments consequent on the Constitution Act of 1935. The book has been thoroughly revised in the light of later researches and brought up to 1943. Students of political history *no less than the general reader* will find the authors resume of the social, economic and cultural development of the nation, of special interest and value.

**SIAM** BY SIR JOSIAH CROSBY. No 26,  
Oxford Pamphlet Price As 6.

We get a brief survey of the historical, economic and social development of Siam in this neatly got-up Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs. The author traverses a wide ground and reviews the constitutional and administrative aspects of the country before the war and points out the contacts that existed between Siam and India. Throughout, the author writes with ease and assurance being extremely well informed on many vital questions concerning the country.

**UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA: Past and present.** By Anathanath Basu. The Book Emporium, Ltd Calcutta Rs 4.

We get a bird's eye view of the development and progress of University Education in India from ancient times up to our own day in this well written and documented book. The author surveys the growth of Indian Universities and the numerous problems connected with them.

**ISLAMIC CULTURE** By D A. A. Fyze.  
International Book House, Bombay.

This short pamphlet gives us, in a nutshell, the meaning of culture in general and Islam in particular and shows the distinction between culture which is the inward spirit and civilization, an outward manifestation from a historic perspective. The author's account of the origin, growth, development and influence of Islamic culture is both lively and stimulating.

**A SEYCHELLES DIARY.** By Pat Sharpe.  
Illustrations by Mr. Munesb. Rao.  
Thacker & Co., Ltd, Bombay. Rs. 3-4.

These islands in the Indian Ocean are as much beauty spots as are the Hawaiian islands in the Pacific; and yet we have few authentic guide books to give us an exact account of their attractions. Here, in this book, we have in diary form a very readable and detailed account of life in the Seychelles, and those who plan a short holiday "far from the madding crowd" will find in it all the information they need for a sojourn in the islands.

**ON THE ASHES OF HITLER'S REICH:** Edited by Mohan Kunnaramangalam. People's Publishing House, Bombay. As 12.

This pamphlet attempts to give a picture of the Anti-Nazi movement both inside and outside Germany, of the movement which will play a key role in building a new and democratic Germany. It includes addresses by Wilhelm Krenn, the German Communist, Victor Schiff, and documents which refute the tissue of lies and insane propaganda of the author of the "Black Record."

## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

JUNE 1915]

**TOWARDS FREEDOM** By Narain S Mehta  
**JAPANESE LIBERALISM** Decline and Fall  
 By N J Nanporia Kitabistan,  
 Allahabad

We get a brief and eminently readable survey of the landmarks of constitutional development in India and the various units of the British Commonwealth from the first booklet. It attempts to prove the thesis that the constitutional advancement has been one of steady progress towards freedom and responsible Government. The second booklet discusses the ambiguity which attaches to the term 'liberalism' in Japanese politics and analyses its worth and significance and comes to the conclusion that 'Japanese liberalism has fallen it has not been rooted out

**VILLAGE INDUSTRIALIZATION** By Sir  
 M Visveswaraya The All India Manufac-  
 turers Organization Bombay Re 14

The brochure which is a sequel to the author's earlier book 'District Industrialization Drive', attempts to provide certain measures for the establishment of two new heavy industries in India for an intensive effort to develop minor cottage industries in every area, and the economic development of the country by means of a five year plan. The scheme of the veteran industrialist is mainly intended to provide the necessary data and approach to the problem to impress upon the people in rural areas the importance of increasing their capacity and to teach them the value of self help and self sufficiency.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**WAR LEADERS** By Sarwat Jahan  
**A DIARY OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION** By Men wio  
 Rule Japan

**FASCISM THE JAPANESE BRAND** By Afya  
 Khattun, RA

**THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN** By Krishna N Singh  
**THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE IN WAR TIME** By  
 Mahanna Rehman Kitabistan Allahabad

**PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION**  
 By V G Dghe MA PhD Foreword by Sr  
 Jadunath Sarkar Karnatak Publishing House  
 Bombay

**THREE MYSTIC PORTS** A study of W B Yeats  
 A F and Rabindranath Tagore By Abinash  
 Chandra Bose Introduction by Dr J H Cousins  
 School and College Book Stall Kolhapur

**PAKISTAN** By Dr Shaikatullah Ansari The  
 Minerva Book Shop Lahore

**FOOD PROBLEM OF MAHARASHTRA** By V G Apte  
 President, Maharashtra Manufacturer's Association  
 Poona

**COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT** By Beni Prasad Hindu  
 Kitab, Bombay

**HEFTY THE HATRI** By G P Hall Illustrated by  
 Owen Hall Thacker & Co, Bombay Rs 2

**THUS I LIVE** By V G Deshmukh 90 Shriyaji  
 Park, Dadar Bombay Rs 3

**INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION** Proceed-  
 ings of XX Meeting held at Allahgar December, 1913  
 Manager of Publications Delhi

**HINDUISM AT A GLANCE** By Swami Nirtedananda  
 Foreword by Sir S Radhakrishnan Vidyamandira  
 Dhakuria Bengal

**10 SMART STORIES** By G D Karlake The  
 Topical Series Walker Road Nagpur

**BROADCASTING** By Sali Druequer Oxford  
 Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No 27 Oxford  
 University Press Bombay

**THE MAGIC OPAL** By J A David Thacker & Co.  
 Bombay

**ECONOMICS OF NON VIOLENCE** By V L Mehta  
 Hamara Hindustan Publications 23 2 Meadow  
 Street Bombay

**TWENTY QUESTIONS ABOUT RUSSIA** By H W  
 Henderson Hamara Hindustan Publications,  
 23 2 Meadow Street, Bombay

**LIFE BEYOND DEATH** By Mural Kanti Ghosh  
 Published by S K Ghosh Calcutta Rs 5

**COMMONWEALTH OF TOMORROW** By H Goody  
 Iclai Periodicals Ltd Allahabad

**MAKING THE REVOLUTION** Speeches at the All  
 Russian Conference of the Russian Democratic  
 Labour Party (From May 9 to May 12 1917),  
 Delivered by V L Lenin Saraswati Library,  
 Calcutta

**TILL DEATH DO US PART** By John Dickson Carr  
 Thacker & Co, Ltd Bombay Rs 54

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1 Hitler falls at his Command post in Berlin

—Admiral Doenitz is appointed successor.

May 2 Nazis surrender in Italy  
—Berlin falls.

May 3 Allies enter Rangoon

May 4 German troops in Holland and Denmark surrender

May 5 Resistance ends in N-West Germany

May 6 Report of Bengal Famine Commission published  
—"Cease fire" in Europe

May 7 Admiral Doenitz orders unconditional surrender.



ADMIRAL DOENITZ

May 8 Official announcement of victory  
—Premier's tribute to Parliament.

May 9 Surrender terms ratified in Berlin

May 10. Mr. Eden repeats Cripps' offer.

May 11. Four-power Control Council and Military Governor for Germany appointed.

May 12. Report of Jap peace move through Moscow.

May 13 Mr Churchill indicts De Valera in his broadcast speech

May 14. King Leopold of Belgium refuses to abdicate

May 15 Japan abrogates pact with Germany and Italy.

May 16 Tito announces German capitulation in Yugoslavia

May 17 De Valera replies to Churchill's attack

—White Paper on Government's plan for Burma published

May 18 Censorship in Britain withdrawn.  
—Jap peace offer through Soviet channels rejected

May 19. Stalin defends arrest of Polish leaders on Yalta basis.

—Mr Stettinius defines US attitude to trusteeship.

May 20. MP's appeal to Premier to fulfil pledge to India

May 21 British Labour Conference at Blackpool rejects Churchill's offer of Coalition Government.

May 22. Labour Party opens Election Campaign.

May 23. Mr. Churchill resigns and forms Interim Government

May 24 Doenitz Government dissolved and the members made prisoners

—Himmler commits suicide taking poison.

May 25 "Beveridge Plan" for America placed before Congress

May 26 Mr Churchill's Interim Ministers announced

May 27 Mr Churchill opens Election campaign

May 28 Mr Attlee pledges labour support for Indian self-government

May 29 Damascus bombarded by French troops

May 30 Lebanese Government rejects French terms

May 31 Chiang resigns Premiership. Mr T V Soong succeeds

—British troops intervene to stop fighting in Levant.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## THE INDIAN ARMY

There is a popular myth abroad that the majority of the Indian army are Muslims. The figures have not been published during the war, but a writer in the *Round Table* points out that

before 1939 the Muslims constituted about one third of the army and there is no reason to suppose that the ratio has subsequently altered much. Even excluding the Gurkhas, professional soldiers from independent Nepal the majority of the Indian army comprises Sikhs, Mahahrattas, Rajputs, Gurkhas, Hindu Jais and others of the highest non-Muslim races of India. The Indian army has fought magnificently during this war including campaigns against the most military nation of Europe. But there is no danger as well as pride in this achievement for the assumption of European superiority has vanished. What is likely to be the attitude of these men when they return as dependents will to civil life in India? Much will depend on the terms on which they are pensioned from the economic conditions of the agricultural areas from which they mostly come to settle on. They will want to find land for them to settle on. They will retain a much of their trained loyalty towards government as such and the higher commands in the Indian army. But in general we should expect to find them feeling and believing very much like other members of their local group economic class or religious community or caste. In one of the bravest exploits of the war the Mahahrattas took Keren to the cry of 'Shahuji jai' — Long live Shahuji, the famous leader of the Mahahratta Confederacy and the last great Hindu hero to lead successful armies against both the British and the Mussalmans. Such traditional rallying cries of the different religious communities have indeed been cultivated in the Indian army and used by British officers themselves on many a heroic occasion, but the very fact that they have been found so potent to the hearts of Indian soldiers is highly significant.

The Indian army, by comparison with the Indian masses is an educated body. And education is apt to spread nationalism when the influences are present and the time is ripe.

Officers of the Indian army to-day are aware of the growing political consciousness and nationalistic zeal of their men. The steadily increased numbers of Indian officers drawn from all communities and areas of India and very largely from the political classes, are characteristically nationalist not to say often communalist in their political outlook. Indian self-government after the peace, which Britain has promised would be an appropriate reward of Indian valour in the war

## RE EDUCATING GERMANY

Concern over the implications of the policy of unconditional surrender is finding increasing expression in questions in Parliament. The latest issue of the *Political Quarterly* contains an article by Major Frederick Evans which suggests that the main problem of the victors in the present war is that of reeducating Germany. He pleads for ordered and persistent action instead of righteous indignation. He points out that the German nature or nurture, is more likely to respond to detached discipline than to scolding hysteria. Mr William Russell, writing from Berlin in 1941 said

If the United States go into this war, there is one thing I do not want them to forget. There are millions of people in Germany who do not agree with the policies of their leaders. And there are other millions of simple people who believe exactly what their leaders tell them—especially when they tell them the same thing day after day. I do not want to be blind with hatred and forget that you cannot punish a whole nation as you might punish a single criminal. That was tried once and it failed miserably. When it is over try to help them recover from what they have suffered. Try to remove the causes for the rise of such people as Adolf Hitler. There should be enough intelligence kicking around in the world to accomplish that.

Major Frederick Evans pursues this train of thought intelligently to its logical conclusions. He wants the Allies to try, without passion, to canalise the tremendous energies of the German people towards their own salvation, towards the healing of their own diseased minds, towards "a revaluation of the eternal verities which govern good neighbourliness and the ability of peoples to live together in this small world." This task entails on the teachers themselves the obligation of providing an example of dynamic democracy that shall stand as a beacon light to Germany and all mankind. "Not only must Britain now be the Mother of Parliaments but also the pattern to a suffering world of a real government by the people and for the people."

## INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

The first number of the *India Quarterly*, the organ of the Indian Council of World Affairs, sets a high standard in Indian journalism. It is a welcome addition to our high-class periodicals dealing with authority on problems of national and international import. The initial number has a striking contribution from the pen of Sir Maurice Gwyer. It is remarkable for its outspokenness. Pleading for a new approach to the Indian constitutional problem, Sir Maurice deplores the growing bitterness between Englishmen and Indians.

There have been persons in India who for some years past have deliberately sought to traduce the character of my countrymen in every possible way, to hold them up to hatred and contempt, and by the misrepresentation of facts and the imputation of the vilest motives, generally to destroy the possibility of good relations between the two countries. Worst of all there have even been attempts to take advantage for this purpose of the gallant and generous impulses of youth. I say this with profound regret, and indeed with much pain, for such conduct seems to me to be altogether contrary to the Indian tradition. I am far from saying there have not been aspects of British policy open to criticism, but criticism, even violent criticism, so long as it is honest, inflicts no lasting wound. . . . but a malicious and malignant campaign is another matter. . . . and great masses of ignorant and illiterate persons have been so infected with the venom, that there is scarcely any statement about Great Britain however extravagant, incredible, or unsupported by evidence which will not gain an audience.

## THE GIFT OF THE EAST

"I do not doubt that even in India the people will pursue religion far less heartily when their bodies are better fed and industries provide jobs as well as labour aids," says Pearl S. Buck in an article in the *American Mercury*, titled, "East and West."

"Extremes of wealth and poverty are more vast in India and probably in China, than in the United States or in England", she continues.

The people of India take their religion hard, as most oppressed peoples do, but China takes religion very lightly indeed, and by and large, the Chinese are a practical and materialistic people, with a shrewdness which often makes them disliked in other Eastern countries.

The theme of Miss Buck's article is the theory that the East is spiritualistic and the West materialistic is false. She writes:

In the West, money does seem necessary for what people want. . . . and so money is the first requisite. Men spend their lives in making money to buy things. Competition, too, is keen in the West and not very keen in the East.

"It is not that one man is more spiritual than the other, or more materialistic. It is simply that the values of the East and West are different," she points out.

As a result, Miss Buck contends, the East is more materialistic since,

"to waste one's youth, therefore, in making money would to the man of the East seem the sheerest folly" and consequently the man in the East enjoys his life in the best way and gets the most out of living,--and this is real materialism. "The emphasis on human happiness is, I believe, the greatest gift which the East has to give the West."

## "DIVIDING TO RULE"

The *New Statesman and Nation* heartily welcomed the Government of India's plans for expansion of industries. Since then further facts are available and the paper now qualifies its welcome.

Under the caption "Dividing to rule," the *New Statesman and Nation* writes: "It is alright that development should be controlled from the Federal Centre by issue of licence to new concerns. But to introduce communal politics into economic planning is a disastrous new departure. It is proposed that the licensing system should be used to check the undue prominence of a single community. This seems to mean that the artificial ratio of 60 to 40 between Hindus and Muslims commonly favoured when voting power was adjusted, will now be imposed on industry. In other words, Hindu and Muslim firms must, in future expand in steps or not at all. Since the Hindu and Muslim firms must, in future, be one and the Muslims have never taken keenly to industry, this enforcement of parity will come near checking the expansion of industry altogether.

The scheme has, of course, intensified the feud of the two creeds. Was that the purpose of the bureaucrat who drafted it?"

## JOINT ELECTORATE

The insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years. Mr Hemendra Prasad Ghose, writing in the *Modern Review* for May, traces the course the electorate question has taken in India.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations he says are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in India. Far sighted Mahomedans, like far sighted Hindus had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodies—fixed on communal considerations.

He points out that at the second Bombay Congress (1889), an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said

I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Mussalman members on the Legislative Councils you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards your Hindu brethren by attempting thus without any just cause or reason to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests.

He next referred to a possibility which has since, become a positive danger

Moreover you directly incite other communities who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5 we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why by the parity of reason or unreason should not the Parsis the Jains the Sikhs, the Europeans the Eurasians each and all claim to have as many

members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen the thing is absurd

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said

The educated Hindus have never—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans

And yet the demand for separate electorate has been repeatedly made and always conceded step by step at every turn as a sop to Muslim sentiment though the best minds of either communities always felt it to be injurious to the country at large. First the Morley Minto reforms and later the Montagu Chelmsford scheme conceded though fully convinced of its deleterious effects. It was always done in the interest of appeasement and against the best judgment of leaders of either community. It was called "facing hard facts." The special pleading took shape in this wise

Much as we regret the necessity we are convinced that so far as the Mahomedans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship.

Thus the case of the Mahomedans was placed on a footing different not only from that of nationalism but also of the other minority communities.

When the time for a fresh move came with the Round Table Conference the experiment received fresh accession of support. The history of the so called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an accomplished fact. That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unsettled goes without saying says Mr Ghose.

The time will come when experience will convince all communities in India that our political salvation lies in co-operation. Till then we must have patience and cultivate clarity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves.



## INDIAN FOOD PROBLEM

The problem of feeding India's growing population is referred to by Mr H. S. L. Polak in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr Polak says

"One in five of all mankind resides in India, whose population in the last decade has increased at the rate of that of Canada every two years."

Prof A. V. Hill's figures, showing an increase of the population at the present rate to over seven hundred millions in the next thirty years, provide, he says, "a staggering problem which will require for its solution the combined effort of all patriotic Indian parties, groups and leaders. All these human stomachs have but one religion or politics, the craving need to be adequately filled. All these bodies require to be properly clothed and housed before India can hold up her head in pride and face her destiny with confidence. Cannot an agreement be reached among the party leaders even now, before the defeat of Japan, upon a National Government whose dual purpose will be (a) that defeat itself and (b) the large scale planning of that first priority, namely, agricultural improvement and development"?

## THE MUSLIM ISSUE

Mr C. Rajagopalachari has portrayed his reactions to the failure of the talks between Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah in the annual number of the *Saturday Mail* in an article under the caption "The Muslim Issue." Referring to Mr Jinnah's rejection of Gandhiji's proposal, Mr Rajagopalachari observes.

I feel that possibly the League does not truly embody the aspirations of the Muslim majority areas, but represents only the psychology and the aspirations of the minority Muslim areas, which is a very different thing. The tail is too big for the dog. The League is an all India organization dominated by Muslim minority complexes and not motivated by Muslim majority aspirations. There is a leaning towards weightage proposals, separate electorates and safeguards and similar minority ideas rather than towards any scheme of sovereign states for the majority areas as a separate state. I think the Sapru formula is nearer to the heart of the Muslim League than the Pakistan formula. But that is not admitted.

Mr. Rajagopalachari further says:

The breakdown of the September talks gives time for everyone to think about Pakistan on a more clarified basis. If the Muslims feel they can profit and be happy in a united and federated state, they can have a privileged place in it. If a half way house is preferred in the shape of a confederation of free units in voluntary combination without prejudice to independent development they can have that also. If they do not want either federation or confederation but separation on a just basis with treaty obligations, they can have that too. No one can agree to partition without ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned or on an unjust basis of delimitation. Meanwhile, we can put the issue aside and have a tentative agreement to run the Government of India on a popular composite basis and save it immediately from anarchy. That is why I welcome the Desai-Liaquat proposals, which, I believe, are substantially the same as the principal alternative for interim Government proposed by the Sapru Committee. Agreement may become easier by intimate contact and undertaking of joint responsibilities.

## AN ECONOMIC APPROACH TO INDIAN PROBLEM

Sir William Barton, a former Resident in Mysore and Hyderabad, outlines an economic approach to the Indian problem in the May issue of the Magazine, the *Fortnightly*. There is no doubt, he says, "many people in Britain, who have ultimately to see India adopt Dominion Status, would welcome an interim arrangement that might relieve the existing tension."

Sir William Barton discounts the belief that the Indian masses share the frustration and bitterness that characterizes the political leaders and cites the fact that two and a half million volunteers for the Indian fighting services have come forward from the villages. "Would they have done so", he asks, "If they were burning with resentment at the delay in establishing Indian Home Rule. Most of them do not know what the phrase means."

Sir William suggests that the Central Government "might well pledge itself to a policy of finding decent employment for the majority of educated young Indians." While it is true, he says, that only a National Government could carry it through, Sir William suggests that the existing Government should initiate policy.

# INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

## NAWAB OF CHHATARI CALL TO ALLIES

The Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council in a broadcast from the Hyderabad Broadcasting Station, on May 13, warned the Allies against the grave danger that all the sacrifices made for victory in this war would have been in vain if the victorious nations did not crown their victory by restoring justice and fairplay in a harmonious world.

Proceeding, the Nawab of Chhatari said that the secret of the future happiness of the world lay in a correct answer to the question, "Why did such enlightened and educated nations like Germany and Italy adopt such an erroneous course?"

In his opinion, it was mainly attributable to the wrong headed ideas underlying their philosophy of Government and, therefore of their education and training, which, despite the brilliance of their learning and their industry, were ultimately responsible for their going on the wrong path.

The Nawab of Chhatari continued "Heavy, indeed, is our responsibility now as victorious nations. We are called upon to evolve a system based on reason and justice and guaranteeing legitimate freedom both to the individual and to the nations. It is our task to introduce and implement political and economic measures, which may both be practicable and readily acceptable to all nations."

## TEXTILE CONTROL IN HYDERABAD

At a Press Conference Mr C A Rebello Textile Commissioner, Nizam's Government and British administered areas, said that though a certain degree of cloth and yarn shortage did exist, it was not so bad in Hyderabad as in other parts of the country, because of the arrangements made by the State Control authorities to distribute whatever was available as evenly as possible throughout the Dominions in accordance with the normal requirements in former times.

Mysore

## THE NEW GOLD DUTY ACT

The Government of Mysore have passed the Mysore Duty on Gold (Amendment) (Emergency) Act, 1945, since they think that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action to amend the Mysore Duty on Gold Act, 1940.

In the new Act an amending section has been introduced which states "If the Government is satisfied that special circumstances exist in respect of a gold works which render it necessary or expedient to grant relief, the Government may, subject to such conditions if any, as it may deem fit to impose, direct the refund to the owner of the gold works of the whole or any part of the duty on gold paid by him."

Another section provides that any order passed or any action taken by the Government under this Act shall be final and shall not be questioned in any court of law.

It might be recalled that recently the Government granted an *ex gratia* payment of Rs 13,33,000 to Messrs John Taylor & Co, of the Kolar Gold Mining Co.

## MYSORE DETENTION ACT

An Act to empower the Mysore Government to restrict the movements and actions of and to place in detention certain persons has received the assent of the Maharaja. This Act is called the Restriction and Detention Act, 1945, and extends to the whole of the State and comes into force from April 3, 1945. The Act is to be in force during the continuance of the War. No order of detention made under this Act shall be in force for more than six months unless extended by another order by the Government. Provision is made in the Act for the person affected by this Act to make a representation to competent authority against the order of detention served on him.

## Baroda

### DEWAN ON FEDERAL GOVT.

Addressing the Baroda State Assembly, Sir B. L. Mitter, the new Dewan, expressed the opinion that the only solution to the constitutional problem of India lay in the establishment of a strong federal government.

It is the only system which achieves uniformity of legislation, policy and administration throughout the country in respect of matter where uniformity is desirable and at the same time makes possible diversity where diversity is desirable by reason of the varying economic and other conditions within individual units.

Referring to the scheme of attachment of small States, Sir Mitter said that the future of Indian States, as important and powerful factors in the future progress of India, can only be assured if the principle of attachment is extended and convenient groups are formed to play an equal part with the provinces in British India.

Explaining the scheme of attachment he said that the scheme contemplated merely the transfer of small units from the jurisdictions of the Political Agents to the administration of some big State. The rulers retain every element of sovereignty which they previously enjoyed.

Referring to the fears of the smaller States, he said

I am unable to understand why some of the small States still think that their honour and privileges are at stake when they are transferred to the care of States. On the contrary, being themselves in the same position in their relationship with the British Government, the bigger States will be more alive to the necessity of preserving the rights and privileges of the attached units intact.

### HARIJANS AND BARODA TEMPLES

A Baroda Government Press Note says: "In consonance with the well known State's policy of keeping temples open without distinction of caste, the fact that one of the principal State temples of Sri Vithalnathji is also open for every one, including Harijans, has once again been officially confirmed as questions on the score were raised in some newspapers. Baroda State was the first to declare temples open to Harijans a number of years ago and the policy continues unchanged.

## Travancore

### 5-YEAR PLAN FOR EDUCATION

A proposal recommending the introduction in Travancore State of compulsory primary education in five years' duration for children between the ages of five and 10 is made by the Education Reorganization Committee appointed by the Government. This was revealed by Mr. H. C. Papworth, Pro Vice-Chancellor of Travancore University.

In regard to the pre-school age, the Committee has recommended the opening of nursery schools in towns and other industrial centres for children whose mothers go to work. The most important objective to be achieved in the case of children who did not go beyond the primary schools was to fit them for various forms of manual labour and artisan work and the curriculum must be designed to foster the wage-earning capacity of those children as literate manual workers.

After the primary stage opportunities should be given for short and intensive courses of technical training to equip these school boys as wage earners. Regarding the High Schools, the Committee recommended that they must be reorganized in such a way as to lead to direct employment. A proposal recommending a university entrance examination and the establishment of pre-university classes with a minimum course of one year's instruction was also made.

### THE DEWAN ON WORLD'S FUTURE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, in his Victory Day address at the Victory Jubilee Hall, Trivandrum, said that it was a mistake to rely on the old doctrines of individual, political, economic and military sovereignty. Much of that sovereignty would have to be delegated to a world authority whose jurisdiction would extend not only to the prevention of wars in the old sense but also to the maintenance of economic justice and fairplay throughout the world, without which any peace would be transitory or illusory.

JUNE 1945]

## Gwalior

## REFORMS IN GWALIOR

In keeping with the aspirations of the subjects of Gwalior, His Highness the Maharajah Jeevraj Rao Scindia of Gwalior has announced, in the recent Proclamation, that the present Legislatures in the State would be prorogued by the end of June, 1945. The revised Electoral Rolls of the two legislative bodies *viz.*, the *Raj Sabha* and *Praja Sabha* will be published shortly. The two *Sabhas*, with an overwhelming elected majority in the *Praja Sabha*, will get immediate enfranchisement of about 20 per cent of the adult population of Gwalior.

## Cochin

## TRAINING IN MARINE FISHERIES

To provide trained personnel for the Fisheries Department of the State, the Government have decided to send a few candidates for the course of intensive theoretical and practical training in Marine Fisheries at Madras and fresh water fisheries of the Zoological Department of the Calcutta University. The selected candidates are expected to finish their courses within six months.

## ALLOWANCES FOR SERVICE MEN

The Government have sanctioned an allowance of 10 per cent of pay to those who work in offices situated within the municipal limits of Trichur and an allowance of 15 per cent to those working in offices within the municipal limits of Ernakulam, Mattencherry and Wellington Island and whose pay ranges from Rs 200 to Rs 230 per mensem.

## Bundi

## NEW RULER OF BUNDI STATE

The accession ceremony of the new Ruler of Bundi State, H H Maharao Raj Shri Bahadur Singhji, took place at Rajmahal Palace on May 14. The occasion was marked by great rejoicings in the State. A banquet was given at the residence of the Dewan, Mr A W Robertson.

## Kashmir

## ADDITIONAL TAXES IN KASHMIR

It is understood that the Kashmir Government is considering the question of imposing certain additional taxes. These include entertainment tax, excess profits tax and tax on hotels.

The Budget Planning Committee appointed by H H the Maharaja of Kashmir has issued a questionnaire to all the departments of the State. The Committee, which is entrusted with the task of framing a planned budget for 5 years, will study the possibilities of increasing the revenues and decreasing the expenditure.

## KASHMIR BILLS

The State Assembly has passed the Jammu and Kashmir Children Pledging of Labour Bill. The Bill which was moved by Sir B N Rau Prime Minister aims at the eradication of the social evil of pledging labour of children in consideration of advance money taken by parents.

The Assembly also passed the Employers Liability Bill moved by the Prime Minister Jaipur.

## JAIPUR STATE &amp; JAGIRS

A Full Bench of the Jaipur High Court consisting of the Chief Justice, Sir Sarat Kumar Ghosh, Justice Mirza and Mr Justice Durga Sahal has decided a two year old legal dispute between the Jaipur State and its feudatory jagirs or Thikanas.

The Full Bench held that the Jaipur High Court has jurisdiction to hear civil and criminal appeals. References and revisions from the courts in the Thikanas courts, like other courts in the State are subject to the supervision and control of the Jaipur High Court.

Hitherto decisions of the Thikana courts have in practice been regarded as final and no appeals have been taken to any outside court. Since the establishment of the Jaipur High Court in 1942, however, certain appeals from Thikana courts were preferred to it, and about a dozen from Sikar have been pending. The Full Bench decision was on these appeals.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### INDIAN DOMICILES

Here are the requirements for Indian domiciles in South Africa set before the Commonwealth Relations Conference by the Indian delegation and announced at a press conference by Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Deputy Leader of the delegation

(1) The restoration of the franchise of which Indians have been deprived

(2) The repeal of anti-Asiatic legislation.

(3) No restriction as regards the acquisition of property whether in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State or Natal.

(4) The uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement to be fully and effectively carried out

(5) The existing provincial barriers which prevent Indians from migrating from one province of the Union to another to be removed

Sir Maharaj Singh made this statement at a meeting specially arranged to bring the delegation and British and Indian press representatives together

## Burma

### PROBLEMS OF BURMA INDIANS

Official quarters in Delhi emphasise that the White Paper relates only to the political future of Burma and the British Government are understood to have assured the Government of India that all questions relating to Indians in Burma are entirely unprejudiced by this declaration, and will be matters for separate consideration

With regard to restoration of lands in Burma to Nattukottai Chettians, a spokesman said at a Press Conference in Simla that the policy was to buy land from them and there was no question of expropriation.

As regards immigration into Burma, the spokesman said that there must be orderly return to Burma in view of the difficulties including food.

## Trinidad

### PANDIT KUNZRU IN TRINIDAD

Pandit Kunzru made an extensive tour of the Colony of Trinidad. He was enthusiastically welcomed on his arrival at Port of Spain. He criticised the Colonial Office for failing to appoint an Indian Agent-General and Trade Commissioner for Trinidad.

Pandit Kunzru said, "India, if free, is willing to co-operate with the rest of the world in the promotion of human happiness but resents compulsion to carry out the decisions of bodies in which she is not in the same position as other countries".

## East Africa

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Mr A. K. Kanji, at Porohit's Hotel, Bombay, Hon. Mr. A. E. Patel, Executive Councillor of the Government of Kenya (East Africa), said that he did not know what would be the condition of East Africa in view of the present exploiting tendency of the Europeans. Mr Patel feared that racial discrimination would spread in East Africa too.

Mr. A. K. Kanji said that the mercantile community in India looked upon East Africa as an Indian colony, as it had been developed by Indians.

## Dutch Guiana

### INDIANS IN DUTCH GUIANA

Mr H. C. Patel representing a film distributing concern who arrived in London en route to India from a two years' tour of Trinidad, British and Dutch Guiana and the United States told United Press: "Nearly 90 per cent. of Indians residing in those colonial territories were pro-Congress." He revealed that Indian nationalist sentiments were, however, meeting opposition from the Dutch authorities in Guiana who were trying to prevent entry of Indian films most popular in those countries.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### M P's' APPEAL TO PREMIER

A number of M P's have addressed an open letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Churchill and the Secretary of State for India, Mr Amery. They say

We cannot ignore the fact that the Government of India has been defeated 14 times successively in the Central Legislative Assembly on such vital matters as the budget. It is a sure indication that the present regime in India has lost the confidence of representative Indian opinion.

All the United Nations are meeting at San Francisco with a view to organizing a stable system of world peace and security. India is one of the awkward issues in these discussions and without a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem, British moral influence is unlikely to prove effective in a new security organization.

We realize that Great Britain is committed to give India a full independence after the war. Most of us feel that the British Government has failed to take effective steps to implement this pledge.

There is a growing feeling abroad that since the Cripps mission failed in 1945 His Majesty's Government has forgotten its pledge and reverted to the old policy of 'divide and rule'.

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We therefore, plead for a reorientation of our Indian policy. We appeal to His Majesty's Government to declare that it is for Indians as Government to solve their own problems through free people to solve their own problems through their own freely elected institutions. The longer Britain withholds this fundamental right from the Indian people, the more complex and difficult the communal issue is likely to become.

As a first step to a solution and in keeping with British declarations on India's right to choose her own form of Government we would urge His Majesty's Government to accept the following immediate programme of action: the immediate release of Congress leaders still in prison, fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Parliaments to be followed by the formation of a responsible National Government of all parties in which all Cabinet posts save the portfolio for defence will be held by Indian party leaders.

We believe this to be the minimum that Britain can offer while the war against Japan is still to be won.

### LABOUR SCHEME FOR INDIA

After relinquishing his office as Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Listowel, in a recent interview stated that the Labour Executive has authorised him, in conjunction with Sir Stafford Cripps and Prof Harold Laski to immediately draw up a pamphlet on India to be published before the elections. It will contain Labour's policy on India as summarized below.

(1) After assuming office, if Labour wins a majority, complete power will be transferred to an Indian Cabinet at the Centre, consisting of representatives of political parties.

(2) The Cabinet will be responsible to the Legislature and the Viceroy will be asked to give an undertaking that the power of veto vested in him will not be used.

(3) The Provincial Legislatures will commence functioning and rule under Section 93 in the Provinces where it now exists, will be withdrawn forthwith.

(4) The Commander in Chief of India will concern himself only with operations against Japan and all portfolios including foreign affairs, will be in Indian hands, and

(5) At the Peace Conference Indian representatives will participate as India's delegates, and not those picked up by Britain.

### MR PRIESTLEY ON INDIA

"I am in favour of an Independent India with a constitution framed by Indians for Indians" said Mr Priestley to *Reuter's* special correspondent.

The time must come very soon when India must be left to govern herself in the best way she can. If she makes a mess of Self Government, it is her own problem, not anyone else's.

It is equally quite clear that India cannot be left to drift into complete weakness and anarchy, while this difficult problem is being worked out. Nothing could be more dangerous to world security than the existence of such a teeming continent in such a condition. There must be international safeguards that this will not be so.

# Utterances of the Day

## MR. CHURCHILL'S ATTACK AND DE VALERA'S REPLY

In his broadcast to the nation on May 13, Mr Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, after reviewing the early setbacks in the war, made a direct attack on Eire's Prime Minister, Mr Eamon De Valera for refusing to lend Britain naval and air bases from which to defeat the German attacks on convoys crossing the Atlantic.

This was, indeed, a deadly moment in our life. If it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland, we should have had to come to close quarters with De Valera or perish for ever from the earth. However, with a restraint and poise to which I venture to say, history will find few parallels, we never laid violent hands upon them, which at times would have been quite easy and left the De Valera Government to frolic with German and later with Japanese representatives to their hearts content.

In reply, the Eire Radio broadcast the following speech by Mr De Valera:

Mr Churchill makes it clear that, in certain circumstances, he would have violated our neutrality and that he could justify his action by Britain's necessity. It seems strange to me that Mr Churchill does not see that thus, if accepted, would mean that Britain's necessity would become the whole moral code and that, when this necessity was involved, other people's rights were not to count.

It is quite true that the other Great Powers behaved in this same code. . . . That is precisely why we have a disastrous succession of wars—World War I, World War II, and there shall be a World War III.

Referring to Mr. Churchill's pride in Britain's lone and brave stand after France's fall, he asks:

Would he not find in his heart a generosity to acknowledge that there is a small nation that stood alone not for one year or two, but for several hundred years against aggression that endured spoliation, famine, massacres in endless succession, that was clubbed many times into insensibility but that each time, on returning to consciousness took up the fight anew? Nay, a small nation that could never be got to accept defeat and never surrendered her soul.

It is held that De Valera's retort that Britain's necessity cannot be the whole moral code is as crushing as it is dignified.

## MRS. PANDIT ON DUTY OF THE POWERS

Referring to the end of the European war, Mrs Pandit declared at San Francisco:

The only proper celebration for the Allied victory will be for the statesmen of the world assembled here to labour honestly for enduring peace. This peace will only come if the principles of international justice are affirmed and implemented by granting complete freedom to people throughout the world. The clear lesson of this global war is that the world cannot continue half free and half slave. Naturally I cannot help but think of India which will remain an eternal question mark, confronting not only Great Britain but the entire western world.

India will be the test as to the bona fides of their desire for peace and honour among nations. Indian soldiers have done their share for winning this war—fighting and dying on battlefields to crush the forces of Fascism.

Let us hope that they have not died in vain in their fight for democracy and that India will soon take her rightful place among the free and sovereign democratic nations of this world.

In a subsequent statement, Mrs Pandit pointed out

If India been free, she would have made a much greater and more effective contribution to the United Nations' war effort. . . . Were India free to day, she could and would do much to help shorten the war. Without India's freedom there can be no assurance of lasting peace in Asia. . . . India is the pivot of the whole system of imperialism and colonialism, which always breed war.

## CINCE'S TRIBUTE TO INDIA'S ARMED FORCES

"To the armed forces of the India Command, the surrender of Germany means the end of a struggle in which India has been incessantly engaged for five years. . . . I share your pride and happiness in this glorious victory, one of the most tremendous in the whole history of the war," declared the Commander-in-Chief, Gen Sir Claude Auchinleck, in his victory broadcast. He continued:

The story of her efforts in men, money and material have been told before and I will do no more now than remind you that it is a story of magnificent achievement in the face of great difficulties.

As head of the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force, I am intensely proud of the part you have played.

## MR ATTLEE'S PLEDGE

A pledge of the Labour Party's faith in Self Government for India was given by Mr Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Party, who will be the British Prime Minister, if the Party wins the general election on July 5

Mr Attlee declared that Labour had always advocated Self Government for India adding however

Self Government for a sub continent of 400 million people differing in language religion and degree of civilization is no easy matter

"We cannot give India a constitution" said Mr Attlee,

but we will assist India to work out her own constitution. I think the Cripps Offer remains the most practical method for Indians to decide their own destiny, but the Labour Party is open to consider any other proposals

## MR BEVIN ON LABOUR POLICY TO INDIA

Mr Ernest Bevin, the virtual dictator of Britain's Labour Party, has promised real transfer of power to India. He has expressed the hope of the Congress taking office and has pledged support to the Indian demand. In a special interview, he said

I don't believe in paper constitutions and elaborate drafts. With or without such drafts, Labour will be in transfer of power to interim Government in India and give goodwill and understanding on both sides. The British Labour and Indian people can march together to our common destiny

Mr Bevin expressed the hope that he wished to see the Indian National Congress emerge from a period of agitation to the task of responsibility and Government. He explained the term "Agitators", he used during his Blackpool speech and said, "When I said India contained very fine agitators I did not use the word 'Agitators' in any derogatory sense

I myself have been an agitator all my life along with Labour and Trade Union leaders. Labour in Britain is everything from a period of agitation to take responsibility and form a Government. That is what I would sincerely like the Indian Congress leaders to do

## PROF LASKI ON CRIPPS' OFFER

Professor Harold Laski, the great British Economist told a Labour meeting in Blackpool on May 23 that 'the people of India will get their freedom by co-operation or by revolution'. He denounced Prime Minister Churchill's attitude towards the Indian problem and suggested that it was creating some suspicion which was reported to be felt by Russia towards Britain

Another point he criticized, was Britain's move towards India at the time of Sir Stafford Cripps' visit

I do not think the Cripps Offer was good enough either in substance or the manner in which it was presented, he said adding that Sir S Cripps had made a mistake in saying that he was going to be in India only 12 days and adopting the attitude that the Indians could take it or leave it

Prof Laski was loudly cheered when he said 'We have got to take India out of the slums into an independent community entitled to choose of their own volition, whether they wish to be a part of the British Empire or go their own way'. He demanded that action be taken immediately to give India independence

## BERTRAND RUSSELL'S SUGGESTIONS TO END DEADLOCK

These suggestions for a settlement of the Indian political deadlock are contained in a letter from Bertrand Russell to Mr A K Mukerji, Secretary of the Radical Democratic Party in India

Bertrand Russell says

The only message I could send to India is firstly that political prisoners should be released after giving an undertaking not to impede the war effort and that they should be given every facility for discussion with a view to framing a constitution. Secondly that the British Government should at once give an undertaking to evacuate India at a stated time (say one year) after the end of the Japanese war. Thirdly that if at the expiry of that period a constitution has not been agreed upon, an Allied Commission should be invited to confer with Indian leaders and British officials to find the basis of a constitution acceptable as far as possible to all parties in India



# Legal

## CHIMUR PRISONERS PETITION

Rejecting the *Habeas Corpus* petition filed on behalf of the seven condemned prisoners in the Chimur and Ashtu cases and rejecting the Defence application challenging the validity of Justice Pollock's opinion, Justice Sir M B Niyogi and Justice C R Hemeon, in the course of their judgment, say 'We are clearly of the opinion that we cannot go behind Justice Pollock's opinion but that we are bound to give effect to it as it stands

Their Lordships after referring to the Defence arguments said that the rules framed by the High Court proved that the applications under Section 491 Criminal Procedure Code, 'shall be heard by a Bench of two Judges. In case of difference of opinion these cases had in the past been laid before a third Judge under Clause 26 of Letters Patent and that had now become a practice of this Court. Consequently the Defence Counsel's contention must be rejected

Proceeding Their Lordships observed 'It is urged that Justice Pollock was disqualified from hearing the case as he had been the reviewing officer and that he had issued death warrants against two of the applicants. The Chief Justice, after considering both these pleas held that as the point was purely one of law and interpretation Justice Pollock was in no way unfitted to hear the case. The applicants are not entitled to reopen the controversy before us as we have no power to set aside the nomination of Justice Pollock by the Chief Justice and ask him to nominate another Judge

Continuing, Their Lordships observed The main grievance of the applicants appears to be as indicated in this application, that Justice Pollock did not afford them an opportunity of being heard. Even if the omission to hear the applicants constituted a material irregularity, it could be rectified only by a superior appellate or revisional authority

## ICS OFFICER'S DISMISSAL

The Federal Court, by a majority, held recently that the dismissal of Mr I M Lal from the ICS was wrongful

The Chief Justice (Sir Patrick Spens) and Justice Sir Zafrullah, rejecting the Secretary of State's appeal against the judgment of the Lahore High Court, observed

'In our judgment Mr Lal was dismissed without having been afforded reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed'

Justice Sir S Varadachariar, in his dissenting judgment stated 'I think the circumstances of the case do not individually or collectively warrant the conclusion that the plaintiff has not had a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the charges even during the time of Mr Brayne's inquiry. The Federal Court refused to accord to the Crown leave to appeal to the Privy Council

## CONGRESS FUNDS TO BE FORFEITED

The Government of Bombay it is understood, have decided to forfeit a sum of Rs 72,800 belonging to the All India Congress Committee, which has been deposited with their bankers, Messrs Bachraj & Co Bombay. The decision follows the dismissal by the Chief Judge of Small Causes Court Bombay, of a petition by the bankers, contesting the Government order expressing their intention to forfeit the amount

## NAGPUR TIMES APPEAL

A full bench of the Nagpur High Court consisting of Chief Justice Sir Frederick Grille, Justice Sir M B Niyogi and Mr Justice Vivian Bose admitted recently the appeal of the *Nagpur Times* against the orders of the C P Government forfeiting the security of Rs 1,770 in November last and demanding a fresh security of Rs 3,750 later on

## HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The Government of India have prepared, and forwarded to Provincial Governments a unified scheme of social security for industrial workers in India covering health insurance, maternity benefit and employment injury.

On receipt of replies from the Provincial Governments, the question of introducing a Bill in the Central Assembly to carry out the scheme will be considered.

The scheme is the outcome of the report prepared by Prof. Adarkar on health insurance for industrial workers. His proposal provided for progress by a series of steps. It is now proposed, on the advice of Messrs. Stack and Rao of the International Labour Office, who came to India at the invitation of the Central Government, to tackle several steps at once.

The proposed scheme, therefore, covers all perennial factories. Both maternity benefit and workmen's compensation, being integral parts of any scheme of insurance, it may remove some of the defects that have crept into the present working of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and of the Maternity Benefit Act.

Prof. Adarkar proposed that the insurance fund should set up its own medical service. According to the revised scheme, however, the Provincial Medical Services will be utilized for the purposes of the Health Insurance Scheme. This change is intended to secure that the Provincial Ministries of Health remain ultimately responsible for all health services operated within their jurisdiction, and that Provincial Governments will have a very close interest in the working of the scheme.

The Central Government will meet two-thirds of the cost of administration as an *ex gratia* payment for the first five years. The Provincial Governments are being asked to meet one-third of the cost of medical care of standard quality by the provision of medical services, and the remainder of the cost will be met from employers' and workers' contributions.

## INSURANCE AGAINST ALL SICKNESS

The National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service in the United States called together some 300 doctors and representatives of insurance and pharmaceutical companies and of industrial concerns which have instituted voluntary insurance programmes (mostly underwritten by private insurance companies) covering life, sickness, surgical and hospital protection for their employees.

The Committee's survey of more than 1,000 business concerns showed 94 per cent of the executives who replied, thought the coverage had bettered relations with their employees. That was a frame of mind which the conferees, especially the insurance companies and doctors, sought to preserve and extend to other employers.

Faced with Congressional consideration of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for a vast Federalized health programme, they sought to re-emphasize alternatives available to private enterprise, including commercial insurance and policies provided by non-profit groups under local control.

## WAR RISK INSURANCE RATES

A sharp reduction in war risk insurance rates for cargoes was announced by the Institute of London Underwriters recently. Rates for the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland to or from ports in the East—east of Aden—but not east of India, including Ceylon, were reduced to one per cent. as against two previously.

India to or from the Red Sea and the Mediterranean becomes  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the west coast ports of India and three quarters for the east coast, against two per cent. previously.

TWO MILLION KILLED IN WAR  
IN 1944

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York estimates that during the year 1944, two million men of all nations were killed in "war action."

# Trade and Finance

## INDIA'S STERLING ASSETS

India is making representations to Britain for a part of her sterling balances—which amount to over 1000 millions—to be honoured in dollars said Mr A D Shroff, Indian Financial Expert and Member of the Industrialists Delegation in London.

The reason for the request was that India might want to make direct purchases from America or might need goods which could be better supplied by the United States than by Britain.

India was also asking for a portion of her sterling balances to be released in the form of hard currency for necessary purchases in such countries as Sweden or Switzerland which were outside the sterling bloc.

Mr G D Birla said that he understood that there would be no hostility to releasing India's credit balances by way of dollars but any conversion would in his opinion be done by stages.

Sir Sultan Chinnoy said that despite her creditor status India was still a miserably poor country.

## AMERICAN EXPORTS TO INDIA

The Foreign Economic Administration (USA) has disclosed that American exports of non-military commodities to India have increased by nearly ten times the pre-war total during the past three years. It was simultaneously disclosed that Great Britain's shipments to India have been cut in half mainly because of the urgent need of products for the prosecution of the war against Japan.

The Foreign Economic Administration spokesman predicted that the major share of the heavy equipment which India needs for her industrialization will come from the United States after the war. The spokesman listed the following goods which would be in demand namely, machinery plant equipment all types of agricultural implements transportation stock and much consumer goods which India does not produce at the present time.

## INDIAN SHIPPING COMPANY

An Indian shipping company, owned and managed by Indians is to be established in London and it is understood that the Board of Trade has granted permission for its registration.

The new company will be named the Indian Union Steamship Company Limited with a capital of 100 000 sterling (about Rs 13 lakhs). The minimum bloc of shares has been fixed at 2000 sterling (about Rs 26 000).

One of the Directors will be an English man but the capital will be wholly Indian.

The object of the new company will be to trade along the Indian coast as well as on deep sea routes. The company proposes to acquire tankers for private hire.

Mr N Ghose, Governing Director of the Indian National Travels Limited of London is mainly responsible for the new company.

## INDIAN SUPPLY MISSION IN U.S.

The Government of India have decided that permanent officials of the Government of India should be appointed to all missions and organizations accredited to the United States. This decision has been arrived at in view of the stage which the work of the Indian Supply Mission has now reached and in view of the additional powers recently vested in the Agent General of general supervision over the activities of these missions and organizations.

Mr K C Mahindra a businessman who was till recently head of the Mission has therefore relinquished his charge and the Government of India have decided to appoint Mr J Vesugar of the Indian Service of Engineers as head of the India Supply Mission in USA in succession to Mr Mahindra. Mr Vesugar was till recently Chief Engineer in the Punjab.

## Personal

### Literary

#### LOPD WAVELL ON TENNYSON'S POETRY

Lord and Lady Wavell were the guests of honour at the English Poetry Society of which the Viceroy has been made President. Also present at the function was Mr Alfred Tennyson the descendant of the Poet Laureate of whom Lord Wavell has spoken critically in his anthology.

Challenged by Mr Tennyson the Viceroy said he only expressed a personal opinion of Lord Tennyson's poetry to his book but most historians agree with him that the Poet Laureate was not too accurate in his historical poems. So unimpressed was he by the merits of Lord Tennyson's poetry that Lord Wavell can remember few lines of his works.

#### GANDHIJIS TRIBUTE TO TAGORE

Tagore is not only unquestionably the Poet of India or of Asia but of the whole world, said Mahatma Gandhi at prayer time in Mahabeshwar on the occasion of the 85th birthday celebration of Poet Tagore. Tagore's last song composed shortly before his death was sung by some girls.

Continuing Gandhiji said: It has become the custom among us to pay homage to the memory of the great death anniversary but by observing the birthday. The simple reason perhaps is that they never die with the dissolution of their bodies. Their memory becomes immortal in their works. Rama and Krishna were Avatars. We celebrate their birthdays. Similarly though Garudev is no longer in flesh among us he will continue to live through his immortal poetry. The memory of the Poet will grow richer as years roll by.

#### ENGLISH DAILY IN BEZWADA

Mr M. Thirumala Rao, Member of the Council of State, has been given permission by the Government of India to publish an English daily newspaper from Bezwada.

#### DIPLOMA IN JOURNALISM

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University has approved a scheme for starting a Diploma course in Journalism.

#### GANDHIJIS CONDOLENCE TO MRS ROOSEVELT

The text of Mahatma Gandhi's message of condolence to Mrs Roosevelt and Mrs Roosevelt's reply through Mr Howard Donovan, the American Consul at Bombay is published.

#### Gandhiji in his message says

My humble condolence and congratulations latter because your illustrious husband died in harness and after the war had reached the point where as an Allied Victory had become certain. He was spared the humiliating spectacle of being a party to the peace which threatens to be a prelude to a war bloodier still.

#### The American Consul in his communication conveying Mrs Roosevelt's reply says

I have been asked by the Secretary of State at Washington to convey to you the deep appreciation of Mrs Roosevelt for your message of condolence and also to express her fervent hope that your fears with regard to the type of peace will prove unfounded.

#### HEINRICH HIMMLER

Reichsfuehrer of S S Heinrich Himmler, Chief of the German Police and Reich Minister of Interior was arrested by troops of the British Second Army at Bremervoerde on May 21 and taken into field security custody on May 22. When medical officers attempted to examine the prisoner's mouth he made a quick movement of his head and bit open a small glass phial containing cyanide of potassium which was concealed in his mouth. He died in 15 minutes at 11.04 p.m. on May 23.

#### MFON V K KRISHNA MENON SECRETARY OF INDIA LEAGUE HAS BEEN RE ADMITTED TO LABOUR PARTY

Mr V K Krishna Menon, Secretary of India League, has been re-admitted to Labour Party. Mr Menon resigned in 1940 following his differences with the executive of the party on Indian question.

#### HITLER'S DEATH

It is reported that Hitler died in a bunker under the Berlin Chancellery on May 1 from a lethal injection administered by his personal physician and his body was afterwards burned.

## DEVELOPMENT OF AYURVEDA

The need for the practitioners of Ayurveda shaking off their inferiority complex and working for the advancement of their system in a spirit of hope and courage, was emphasized by Dr Manikumar Mukherjee, President, All-India Ayurveda Mahamandal, addressing a meeting at the Venkataramana Dispensary and Ayurvedic College, Mysapore.

After pointing out that the principles and theories of Ayurveda were perfect and that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country were served by indigenous systems of medicine, Dr. Mukherjee described how several Ayurvedic prescriptions had been called unscientific by experts in allopathy and yet absorbed by them into their system. It had no quarrel with allopathy. He appealed to the students of the institution to learn Sanskrit and dive deep into their Sastras so that they might be able to deliver the goods of Ayurveda. He had no doubt that the day was coming when Ayurveda would no longer be dominated by other systems. He hoped that the institution would give a lead to the province in scientific and genuine Ayurveda and that if funds were available, they would open hospitals in which the possibilities of Ayurveda could be shown.

## CHOLERA VACCINE

An important new medical discovery—a direct cholera vaccine, which provides immunity with one dose instead of the normal three—will very soon get its first conclusive practical test in areas of India recently affected by famine.

Edgar Rhoads, President of the newly-formed American Relief for India, Incorporated, announced that his organization is rushing out supplies of the new vaccine to American Quaker relief workers in Bengal, where a cholera epidemic is reported to be claiming 100 lives weekly.

Six teams capable of inoculating thousands of persons daily will dispense the vaccine, which is expected to prove superior in strength as well as in other qualities to other methods.

## NEED FOR HEALTH TECHNICIANS

The need for a large number of health technicians, who could disseminate knowledge of health to the ignorant public in the country, was emphasized by Dr. J. B. Grant, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, who reviewed the last five years' activities of the Institute at a Press Conference in Calcutta.

Attributing the poor state of public health in India to the general economic condition in the country, Dr Grant pointed out that India spent less than five annas per capita per annum on health education, as against Rs 54 spent for the same purpose in the United Kingdom.

Stating that of all its war activities the most important was the collection of blood, the report of the Institute points out that during 1943-44 blood was collected from 36,328 donors and processed into 1,866 litres of liquid and 1,435 litres of dried serum.

The responsibility for training several categories of military personnel in anti-malarial work and arrangements for supplying foodstuffs were some of the Institute's other emergent activities.

## NUTRITIVE VALUE OF TAPIOCA

The Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, have been studying the nutritive value of Tapioca (*maravali* or *shakarbanda*), which forms a large part of diet among the poorer classes in South-West India. Feeding trials with experimental animals have shown that a diet largely composed of Tapioca fails to support their growth unless it is supplemented with food containing proteins, which supply building material for the body and make good the loss of tissue arising from the inevitable result of living and working. It is also a source of energy. Animal foods, e.g., milk, eggs, fish, meat, etc., and common Indian pulses, e.g., Bengalgram (chana), Urd, Mung, etc., are richest in protein.

## DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING

The Madras Branch of the Indo Mercantile Bank Ltd, (Incorporated in Cochin State) was opened on May 21 by the Hon M C. T M Chidambaram Chettiar at No 121, Armenian Street

Mr Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan, Manager of the Bank welcomed the guests and conveyed the thanks of the Management of the Bank to Mr Chidambaram Chettiar and Dr Alagappa Chettiar for their support in the opening of the Branch

Mr Chidambaram Chettiar welcomed the opening of one more Bank in the city and said that the future of Banking in India was bound to be great having regard to the prospects of industrial development before the country There was great need for sound and well conducted banking concerns and they could play a great part in building the economic prosperity of India While Madras welcomed many outside banking and commercial concerns it was somewhat strange that Madras concerns were not equally welcomed in other parts of India, particularly in the North

Dr Alagappa Chettiar, the new President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Yarr Merchants' Association expressed the hope that the new concern would extend its activities in course of time throughout Madras Province and States as well as other Provinces and States The future of Madras enterprises lay with the people of Madras They could demand and have the welcome which was their due, if only leading bankers and industrialists of the Province would make a united effort and see to it that Madras and the neighbouring States pulled together in a common effort they would have their place amongst the leading banks of India As in politics so in commerce and industry, they could never get their due unless they demanded it and proved their own worthiness for it

Mr A N Padmanabha Shenoy, Deputy Chairman, proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers and other guests

## PURCHASE PRICE OF RAILWAYS

The War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthall, replying to Mr Manu Subedar, made a statement explaining how the purchase price of three of eight railways acquired by Government after the outbreak of the war worked out in terms of £100 of ordinary stock, after excluding amounts required for the discharge of preference shares and debentures The figures were—

Bengal Dooras Railway £226, Bengal and North Western Railway £251 and Rohil khand Kumaon Railway £330

The remaining five railways namely, Assam Bengal, B B & C I South Indian, M & S M and Bengal Nagpur Railways were already owned by Government and the companies were only holding companies with certain limited capital which had to be repaid at par on the termination of the working contracts

The Assam Bengal and B B & C I Railways were purchased on these terms and the companies were only paid their share capital of £1½ million and £2 million respectively As the contracts for South Indian M & S M and Bengal Nagpur Railways were terminated prematurely, the companies had to be compensated for the loss of profits

## RAILWAY PROJECT IN SOUTH INDIA

A consolidated metre gauge system in South India to be linked up with the proposed Northern metre gauge system to be constructed from Manmad to the South is one of the post war projects under consideration of the railway authorities

Mr J F C Reynolds, General Manager, South Indian Railway, said at a press conference that his railway had suggested that it might be worth while to investigate the possibility of converting to metre gauge an appreciable quantity of broad gauge lines in South India, in order to reduce the number of the existing transshipping stations and bring into being a consolidated metre gauge system

## ART TREASURE

Some 800 paintings from various Dutch galleries have come through the war unscathed in an underground sandstone quarry near Maastricht, according to the *Times* special correspondent with the American forces in Holland.

This repository is an air-conditioned chamber protected by electrically-operated steel doors. It contains some half a dozen Rembrandts, including "The Night Watch" and other old masters are also represented in the collection.

Most of the paintings are hung upon swinging frames which allow easy inspection but "The Night Watch," too large to hang in an underground chamber, is wrapped round a wooden roller.

Apart from works of old and modern masters, there are valuable Dutch and Flemish primitives. There is also a large collection of drawings and tapestries.

## GOERING'S STOLEN ART TREASURES

The United States Seventh Army authorities have discovered—over the fat-fisted Field Marshal's own signature—sufficient evidence to convict Herman Goering as one of the biggest thieves the world has ever known.

Here in this gaudy grey-stone castle the investigators found a sheaf of correspondence between Goering and his underling, Alfred Rosenberg, explaining in minute detail just how to go about looting the museums of Europe.

A small fraction of the booty here includes paintings, statues and silver jewels worth millions of dollars. The booty is now under guard by the 10th Armoured Division while officers begin the long task of identifying each object and returning it to its owner.

Many of the articles came from the Rothschild collection. Others came from Kiev and Belgium. A number of oils are Rembrandts, Reynolds, Vandycks, Bonheurs, Marillos, Rousseaus and Gainsboroughs.

## "SPORT: GOD'S BEST WORK"

Vatican radio broadcast an address to sports associations by the Pope in which he emphasized that the church was "profoundly keen on fostering sport, God's best work, which as such must be cared for." He added, "Sport teaches us to get rid of petty rivalry and petty nationalism, at the same time it teaches us to bear our responsibilities with full consciousness."

Thus sport must be considered a necessary part of life but not as the reason of life itself."

## DHYAN CHAND, THE HOCKEY WIZARD

A dazzling display by Dhyan Chand, India's hockey "wizard", was the main feature of the match between the Services XI and a weak Bombay XI, which came off on April 25, on the Bombay Gymkhana ground. The former won by 3 goals to 1, thereby avenging their defeat the previous day at the hands of the United Bombay Services by an identical margin.

Dhyan Chand has no doubt lost his speed, says a reporter, but yet his display will still rank him among the foremost centre-forwards in India to-day.

## EDWARD ESMOND

Edward Esmond 71, a British sportsman and native of India, died at his home in New York on May 18, after a brief illness. Esmond played in international polo matches at the turn of the century and at one time held the British Senior Championship. He formerly operated racing stables in India, Britain and France.

## TEST CRICKET MATCH AT LONDON

Australia defeated England by six wickets in the unofficial Test cricket match at Lord's. The match was a three-day fixture.

The scores

England 287 and 294.

Australia: 455 and 107 for 4.

## Science

### NEW OUTLOOK ON SCIENCE

Sir S S Bhatnagar, Director, Scientific and Industrial Research, said in a talk from Delhi Station of the All India Radio that the greatest achievements of science during the war was the creation of an entirely new outlook on science by society. Men of science in the future must necessarily understand to control public affairs. At the same time, the ordinary citizen and civil servants must be given an insight into scientific matters. Whether the scientist likes it or not, he will be called upon to play an important part in the administration of a civilization which is based on applied science.

Referring to the defensive and offensive weapons invented during the war Dr Bhatnagar said that even the V1 and V2 weapons would have their usefulness in peace time. It was quite possible, said Dr Bhatnagar, that pilotless planes might be used in peace time for quick transport purposes. The element of danger involved in such a method of transport might one day be even less than in conveyances piloted by erring human beings. The V2 might, perhaps, be harnessed for new scientific conquests on this earth and even on planets, while poisons of the most virulent type might help in destroying insect pests and wild beasts and help us forward towards better agriculture and forestry.

Sir M O FORSTER

The death occurred on May 23, of Sir Martin Onslo Forster, a former Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and a chemist of international repute, at Mysore, at the age of 73. Sir Martin was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir J C Ghosh, the present Director of the Institute, in an interview, said that Sir Martin Forster was not only a very able chemist, but also an able administrator and that during his Directorship, from 1922 to 1932, the work of the Institute went on smoothly.

### TRAINING INSTITUTE OF FILM INDUSTRY

It is learnt that efforts are being made for the establishment of a Central Institute for the training of technical talent in a research laboratory in India to assist the promotion of the film industry and to put it on a much wider and stable foundation and also to enable this country to stand on a self supporting basis in regard to the manufacture of raw films, technical machinery and other accessories. The Committee of the independent Film Producers' Association is moving in the matter and has passed a resolution on the subject. Mr K S Hulekar, the Honorary Secretary of the Association, has been authorized to take steps for the constitution of a fact finding body of persons to investigate into the possibilities of starting the training institute and the research laboratory.

### MANUFACTURE OF RAW FILMS

An Industrial Panel was being set up to investigate and report on the possibilities of manufacture of raw films in India after the war, said the Finance Member, in the Central Assembly.

The Finance Member indicated that a company applied for registration for the manufacture of raw films and other photographic goods and equipment in India after the war, and that Government held that it was premature to invite the public to subscribe capital, for experimental work had not been carried to such a state that it was possible for the Government and the public to form some sort of judgment as to the prospects of the venture.

### VIVEKANANDA'S LIFE TO BE FILMED

The special correspondent of the India Press Service learns that efforts are being made to film very shortly the life story of Swami Vivekananda. Application for the necessary licence has been made to the Government of India by Mr Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, the Indian poet. Harin is at present busy working on the script. The cast of the life story will be drawn, it is stated, from the nearest surviving relations of the great saint.



## MOTOR UNIONS CONGRESS

The All-India Motor Unions Congress, which concluded its three-day session, at Nagpur on March 30, adopted a resolution suggesting that the Congress stood for progressive schemes of co-ordination in the matter of road transport. The resolution requests that the All-India Motor Unions Congress and its Provincial branches should be taken into confidence by the Central and Provincial Governments should be given reasonable opportunities to discuss official schemes.

The resolution criticizes the road rail transport policy of the Government and regrets that neither the Central nor any of the Provincial Governments, in spite of their claim to co-ordinate or nationalise the transport service, have put out officially practical schemes, so that operators might be in a position to adjust themselves as practical businessmen.

## NUFFIELD CARS IN AUSTRALIA

The Nuffield organization has formed an Australian subsidiary with a capital of one million sterling to start manufacture of Morris cars in Australia. The Australian Company is starting with the manufacture of motor bodies only but will progressively extend and Nuffield ultimately envisages the production of complete motor cars in Australia when suitable conditions are assured.

Following Nuffield's recent similar arrangement for manufacturing Morris cars in India, this appears as further instalment of similar establishments in other parts of the world as the formerly less industrialized countries now insist on manufacturing the less complex industrial products domestically.

## GENERAL MOTORS AND LIGHTER CARS

The General Motors Corporation has disclosed plans for a lighter and more economical motor car to be ready for production after the end of the war against Japan. The revelation of this programme points to a keen competitive battle between the General Motors' Chevrolet car and the Ford car in the low-price field.

## GIANT AIR LINERS FOR BRITAIN

Britain's first giant post-war airliners, the largest in the world to operate, the Indian, Dominion, Atlantic or other routes, will probably be ready in 1947 and not 1949 as was earlier anticipated.

Named after Lord Brabazon, the former Minister for Aircraft Production and pioneer flyer, these mammoth Brabazons in the early phase of production, will have eight engines, each of 2,000 h.p. but those produced later in 1947 are expected to be jet-propelled.

These airliners will have sleeping berth accommodation for 70 people or, if used on day work, will be able to carry approximately 100 passengers in comfort and at a high speed.

## WORLD CO OPERATION IN AIR TRANSPORT

Lord Swinton, Minister for Civil Aviation, said in a broadcast on the Southern Africa Air Conference at Capetown: "We believe that each country should be free to organize its own air transport as it thinks best. And we know that any type of organization can co-operate with any other. In our Commonwealth air partnership there is nothing exclusive. Ordinarily air co-operation in air is the good neighbour policy and because so many foreign countries feel as we do, I know they will welcome that co-operation."

## U S AIR SERVICE TO SOUTH AFRICA

A United States Air Service to Johannesburg is at present being negotiated, the Minister for Transport, Mr. F. C. Sturrock, told the South African Senate. Mr. Sturrock said the United States had complete right to come to South Africa with her aeroplanes and when the time came he would be prepared to suggest starting of a Johannesburg United States Service on a fifty-fifty basis. Air agreements with other countries, apart from British territories, would be made separately with each country.

## Industry

### INDUSTRIALISTS VISIT TO UK

Dr P S Lokanathan, Adviser and Secretary to the Indian Industrialists Delegation to London and America in a statement stated that there was no warrant for suspicion and distrust entertained in some quarters about the visit

Dr Lokanathan recalled that about eighteen months ago the Viceroy proposed that a group of industrialists should visit Great Britain and America to study industrial conditions and technical advance made there. Only a few could then go but now with altered conditions he asked why the advantages of an exchange of ideas should be thrown away. He asserted that there was not the slightest ground for the feeling that the visiting team was either officially sponsored or advised or tutored. The delegation had no direction or suggestions from the Government. Any attempt to find some hidden purposes behind the visit of the industrialists was not merely wrong but wholly futile. Knowledge and experience gained by the delegation would be most valuable to the country as a whole particularly in regard to its post war plans.

We may add that Mahatma Gandhi has withdrawn his condemnation of the industrialists' mission on their explanation that they will not be a party to any 'shameful deal' and has given his blessings.

### GOVT'S INDUSTRIAL PLAN

The industrial plan of the Government "constitutes an important milestone in the advance of the country towards industrialisation," said Sir Ardeshr Dalal Member for Planning in an interview, to clear up some of the misunderstanding caused by the summary of the Government *communiqué*.

While in a criticism Mr Bhulabai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, says that 'it will lead to a great deal of favouritism and corruption, and instead of serving the country at large, it will only create a special class, like the contractors during the war regime

### TAX ON AGRICULTURAL INCOMES

Strong opposition to the proposed levy of a tax on agricultural incomes by the Government of Madras was voiced by several prominent publicists at a meeting held under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation at the Ranade Hall Madras on May 15. Sir N Gopalaswami Iyengar presided.

The meeting adopted a resolution condemning the proposal and expressing the view that the new tax would be an intolerable burden on agriculture in the province and it 'lacked financial justification'.

Sir N Gopalaswami Iyengar addressing the gathering said that the proposals of the Government for taxing agricultural incomes raised a big question. He was not an opponent of a tax on agricultural incomes but what he really objected to was the levy of a tax on the lines proposed by the Madras Government. Examining the proposals, the speaker said that there had been 'a singular lack of detailed justification in respect of the proposals. The Press *communiqué* issued by the Government attempted some sort of an explanation but it was unique in that it was very brief. It began with a hope—that the public would be convinced of the need for withdrawing the exemption from income tax hitherto enjoyed by one section of the community—and ended with a hope rather fugitively expressed that it would be found possible to relieve the poorest class of ryots from the burden of taxation. It was he said a mis statement to say that agriculturists enjoyed any exemption from income tax. On the other hand the tax burden on this community, without any exemption at the bottom or graduation at the top worked out to a fairly heavy percentage rate ranging between 20 to 30 per cent. of their total net income. Even assuming that it was only 20 per cent—it represented a very heavy percentage to impose as a tax on any kind of income

## BRITISH LABOUR PROGRAMME

The Labour Party's greatest Conference for 22 years was opened at Blackpool, on May 21, in an atmosphere of great tension, by this year's Chairman, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, cables Don Kimche, *Reuter's* special correspondent.

One thousand one hundred delegates who heard Miss Wilkinson throw out the challenge that "Labour is ready" knew that the Prime Minister's challenge to Labour to stay in Government or face early election has been accepted by Labour leadership.

This fact now dominates the Conference, Labour Party leaders are insisting that they do not want the July election and they would prefer to wait until some of the demobilised men and women were back home. Miss Wilkinson argued for a more decent end to the Coalition, and an election therefore in Autumn.

Labour has accepted Mr Churchill's challenge and is out to win at the elections now fixed for next month.

## WELFARE SCHEMES FOR COAL MINES

The Mines Welfare Fund Advisory Committee at a recent meeting recommended that a sum of Rs 27 lakhs should be spent immediately to build for coal miners, a township of two-roomed tenements on the outskirts of coal areas in the Ranigunj coalfields, says a message from Dhanbad, dated April 19.

The colony is to be provided with educational, medical, and recreational facilities.

The lady welfare inspector made a statement on the progress of labour welfare work among women miners. The representatives of Mine Owners' Association accepted the responsibility of developing creches and bathing arrangements.

The Committee recommended that Provincial Governments should be asked to carry out welfare activities in Orissa and Baluchistan, on behalf of the Fund.

## SIR PHEROZE SHAH MEHTA

Tributes to the memory of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta were paid at the birthday-centenary celebrations in Bombay, Calcutta and other centres on May 24. Presiding over a similar function at the Young Men's Crescent Society, Madras, Mr. G. A. Natesan, who had the privilege of knowing Sir Pheroze Shah intimately, said that Mehta was a born leader of men who had a genius for picking the right men for the right place.

Sir Pheroze, said Mr. Natesan, was one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in the country who regarded himself as an Indian first and a Parsi next, and the services he rendered at his time were most praiseworthy. His unflinching devotion to the Indian National Congress was well known and till the day of his death he worked for it. His activities were varied. Sir Pheroze was the maker of modern Bombay. He devoted his whole life to the civic improvement of the city. He was the greatest critic of the bureaucracy in his days, but one of the outstanding traits of his character was that he never allowed political differences to interfere with his social relations.

Men like Gokhale and Wacha looked on him as their leader. Incidentally Mr Natesan revealed what is not generally known, that Mehta found fault with Gokhale and Gandhi over the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. Though Mr Natesan had then supported Gokhale he confessed that he now thought that Pheroze Shah was right in insisting that the right of free entry into South Africa, which as British citizens Indians possessed, should not have been given up.

## KASTURBA TRUST BOARD

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust concluded at Mahabaleshwar on May 21, after being in session for 17 hours spread over five days. The Committee sanctioned grants for a number of uplift and welfare schemes, in different Provinces, subject to approval by the Board of Trustees.

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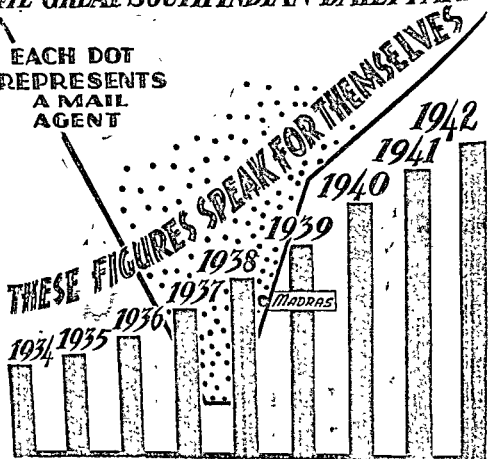


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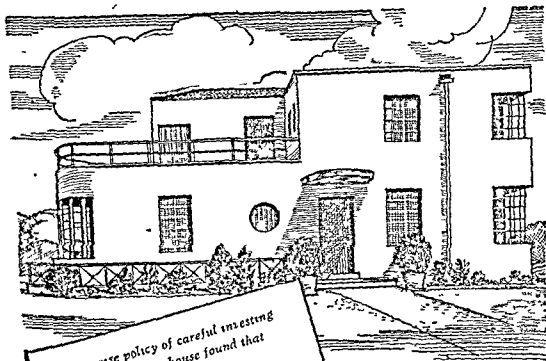
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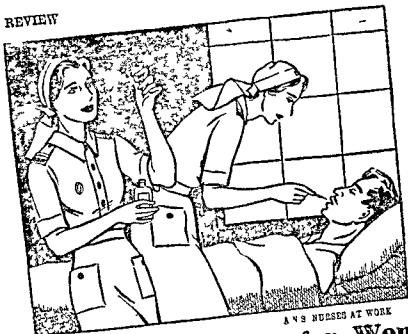
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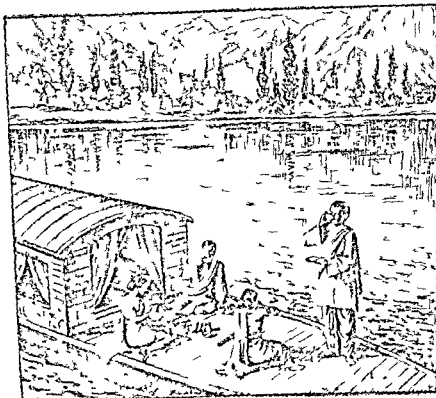
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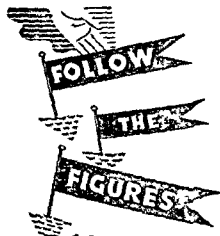
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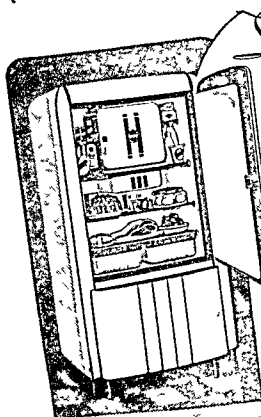
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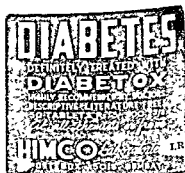
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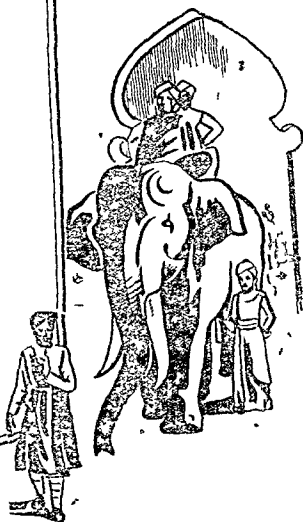
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## Indian Judges

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES WITH PORTRAITS

WITH A FOREWORD BY  
SIR B. L. MITTER, K.C.S.I.



This is a collection of famous Indian Judges who have adorned our courts during the last half a century. Indians have distinguished themselves in various professions under British rule but nowhere have their talents risen to such heights as in our law courts, where it is indisputably proved that they have held their own with honor and distinction on the Bench as on the Bar. The sketches of Indian Judges are designed to present not only a record of individual achievements in law, but also to throw light on the evolution of Hindu and Muslim Law under British administration and with them the growth of



social and political institutions and the modernization of an ancient and deep rooted civilisation.  
CONTENTS — Sir T. Madhuswami Aiyar, Nanihai Narayan, Dwarkanath Mitter, Mahadev Ranade, Sir Subramaniam Aiyar, Sir M. J. Somayajulu, Badruddin Tyabji, Sir Gurusadas Bannergjee, Sir P. C. Banerjee, Sarada Charan Mitra, R. Hon. Anur Ali, Kashinath T. Telang, Justice Mahmood, Sir Romesh Ch. Mitter, Sir N. C. Chaudhary, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Justice Dhanu Lal, Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, and Sir Abdur Rahim

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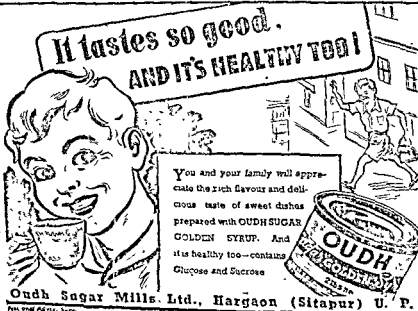
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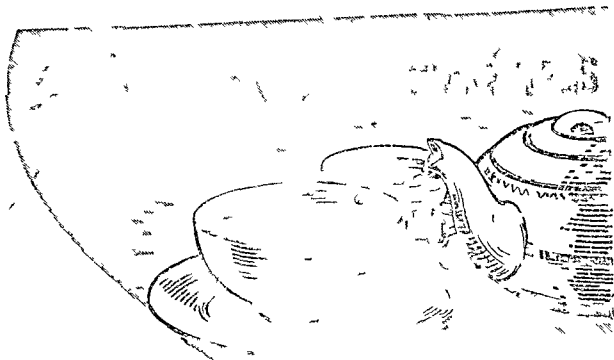
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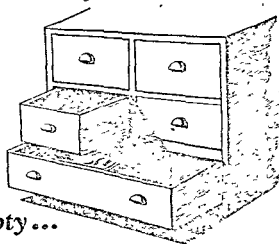
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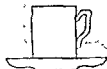
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round Buckingham Palace in times of great joy, sorrow or stress. It is for the same reason that I creep all the way down my back when I see Their Majesties passing in a procession. I once attended a London Theatre at which Queen Mary was present and we stood and cheered, and never have I seen anything like the dignity of Her Majesty's acknowledgment—the slightest inclination of the head, but with all the dignity of the ages behind it, the personification of the royal tradition. And so if tradition and antiquity have much in common perhaps also tradition and loyalty go hand in hand.

Where does tradition come from? What is its background? Religion? To some extent, as those will agree who remember the grandeur and nobility of the Coronation Service. History, of course, is the mother of tradition, and many present-day ceremonial customs—and extremely odd some of them are—date back to the knights errant of old. The navy and the army, of course, are full of traditions, most of them connected with battle honours. The regiment which is permitted to drink the King's health without rising cherishes the tradition, though the custom reflects little credit on the monarch whose convivial proclivities are supposed to have given rise to it. The navy's tradition is silence and there have been times in the last five or six years when we have felt that those in authority have rather overdone things. There is a century or two of tradition behind the saluting of the quarter deck. But all regiments and ships have their own traditions, arising nearly always out of old battle honours. I believe, for instance,

every newly joined subaltern of a certain north country regiment has eaten a rose on Minden day. I wonder if you saw Mr. Noel Coward's Film "In which we serve". It had, to my mind, one supreme moment. It was after the evacuation from Dunkirk and we had seen streams of bedraggled soldiery disembarked, and they were standing on the quay, unshaven, heavy eyed swaying on their feet with fatigue, and then an NCO appeared, and marched down the quay, his footsteps echoing, and called them to attention. In one brief moment they were transformed from a weary rabble to a regiment of guards on parade and as they marched away one was left with a feeling of great pride.

Tradition in England is not confined to the army and navy and you will find that nearly every little village has its old customs, the origin of which is sometimes lost in antiquity. Some listener will be able to tell me which town—is it Ilford? I can't remember—perpetuates the ceremony of the Dunmow Flitch. To qualify for this piece of bacon a married couple have to satisfy their fellow citizens that they have lived in complete harmony, without an angry word, for a period of twelve months. Whether in these days of reasoning the custom is continued I don't know, but perhaps some dehydrated substitute has been found.

Our law courts, of course, are full of traditions, and there is nothing nobler in the English language than the clerk of the court's charge to the jury. If the official who administers the charge is not called the Clerk of the court I apologise,

Stratford-on-Avon the Mecca of tourists from the new world? Was it, do you think, because they said to themselves "What is this English tradition", and having seen it I am sure they thought it, though I shudder to have to say it, O K. There is nothing that our orators have said for generations that was not better said by Shakespeare 320 years ago. Could anything be more appropriate to England's lone struggle before her mighty Allies came to her aid, when all the world thought

she was lost, than the words given to Old John of Gaunt by William Shakespeare.

This Royal throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle  
This Earth of Majesty, this seat of Mars  
This other Eden, Demi-Paradise  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war  
This happy brood of men, this little world  
This precious stone set in the Silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house  
Against the envy of less happier lands  
Against the envy of less happier lands  
This blessed plot, this Earth, this realm, this  
England.

That's tradition

—A Broadcast Talk from Malins.

## SPIRITUALISING POLITICS

By Mr. B. G. KHER,

(Ex Premier Bombay)

WHEN collective power whether in the form of imperialism or class domination exploits weakness, it can never be dislodged unless power is raised against it. If conscience and reason can be insinuated into the resulting struggle they can only qualify but not abolish it. I came across this proposition in Reinhold Niebuhr's "Moral Man and Immoral Society." It appears to me on the whole a sound proposition. Struggle is the *staple* *qua* *non* of progress and it is obvious that imperialism or class domination cannot be dislodged, unless power is raised against it. Yes, but must this power always be the force of arms? Even if conscience and reason may not be able to abolish the struggle, that is to make it unnecessary, will they not be able so to qualify it as to eschew an appeal to Arms—make it successful even without war and violence, —at any rate, make the power raised

against imperialism,—the coercion involved in the struggle non-violent—make the inevitable conflict such that while the dominating power indulges in brutalities, those who resist may be able to do so successfully without resorting to violence and even by remaining non-violent. This is the question.

Among many human desires, there is a unique desire—"the desire to do right" and taking his stand upon this, Mahatma Gandhi has for over 20 years tried to raise a power among the people to oppose the imperialism of Britain, which does not involve an appeal to Arms. He says "workers should definitely realise that the constructive programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning Poorna Swaraj" and further "civil disobedience, mass or individual is an aid to constructive effort and is a full substitute for armed revolt. Just as military training is

necessary for armed revolt, training in constructive effort is equally necessary for civil resistance. And just as the use of Arms becomes necessary only when occasion demands it, even so is the use of civil resistance only occasional". Not content with this, he further observes about the constructive programme that "its wholesale fulfilment" is "complete independence". The constructive programme, as originally drawn up, consisted of the following thirteen items, *viz* : (1) communal unity, (2) removal of untouchability, (3) prohibition, (4) khadi, (5) other village industries, (6) village sanitation, (7) new or basic education (this has now been expanded so as to cover pre-basic and post-basic education), (8) adult education, (9) uplift of women, (10) education in health and hygiene, (11) propaganda of Rashtra-bhasha (common national language), (12) love of one's own language, (13) working for economic equality. To these are to be added (14) organisation of Kisans, (15) of labour, (16) of students and (17) work for the Aboriginal tribes but the programme is not exhaustive. The economic principles on which Kisans and labour are to be organised and the objective of such organisation do not eschew but emphasise the ethical element. "A labour worker's aim should be to raise the moral and intellectual height of labour." "In the non violent way, the Kisan or landless labourer cannot forcibly eject the absentee landlord" Now the question is—is the fulfilment of this programme likely to generate the power which is necessary to oust British domination

Will its working out by a band of earnest workers with an indomitable will" which is Gandhiji's hope create the strength which will make the sanction of civil disobedience behind it effective, *ie*, powerful enough to compel the British Imperialists to quit India—in the sense in which Gandhiji has used the expression? I claim that it can. If we organise the Kisans and workers on the lines suggested, it will be unnecessary to resort to force of Arms. Their determined opposition and non-co-operation will compel any Government to yield. But if it cannot, must India go the way other subject countries have gone—America's or Ireland's way, for example? The prospect is not attractive but if Gandhiji's way is impractical and ineffective, what could be the alternative to perpetual slavery? It is only too evident that the British have not learnt any lesson from the history of Ireland. By the way, I think no one could give a better description of what we are fighting against than that given recently by Dr Valera—*viz*, Britain's naked imperialism, when he stated that according to the British Prime Minister, Britain's necessity must be the world's moral code—what else does any other dictator claim? Gandhiji's movement is based on his faith in our ability to rouse the moral fervour—strengthen the moral fibre of the people and unite them into a mighty unbreakable opposing force; as against this, is the confidence of Britain in her ability always to be able to bribe, deceive or buy enough Indians to help them to perpetuate their domination and consolidate their rule. Gandhiji's constructi-



programme aims at what Aldous Huxley refers to as the "radical and permanent transformation of the human personality,"—without which political action, however beneficent, is not likely to produce the beneficial results expected from it. It is to use his (Huxley's) own expression an essay in the art of what may be called "goodness politics" (as opposed to "power politics"), which, he says, is "the art of organising on a large scale without sacrificing the ethical values which emerge only among individuals and small groups". More especially, it is the art of combining (1) decentralization of Government and industry, (2) local and functional autonomy and (3) smallness of administrative units with enough overall efficiency to guarantee the smooth running of the federated whole". This must be our objective and our means, the constructive programme referred to above, even if hostile critics call it a futile attempt to spiritualise politics. Sceptics may not quarrel with this objective but doubt the efficacy of the non-violent means chosen

by Gandhi. We cannot find the case explained more fully than has been done by Nriehur in a chapter entitled "the preservation of moral values in politics". The chief difference between violent coercion and non-violent coercion, according to him, is in the aggressive character of the one and the negative character of the other. "Non-violence is essentially non-co-operation." "Ahimsa" "requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer." At any rate, the attempt is worth making. There is no problem of political life to which religious imagination can make a larger contribution than the problem of developing "non-violent resistance". It is our proud privilege to lead the experiment for "it is no accident of history that this spirit of non-violence has been introduced into contemporary politics by a religious leader of the Orient". This is spiritualising politics and even if doubters scoff about its practicability, let those who have faith, do their best to carry out the task.

## Muslim Contributions to Mediaeval India

BY MR S K BANERJI, M.A., L.T., PH.D., D.Lit (LONDON),

*Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow*

**T**HOUGH the Arabs were the earliest Muslims to arrive in India, in common parlance their advent is dated from Mahmud Ghazni (1000 A.D.). They continued to stay ever afterwards, held the Punjab from 1000 A.D. and Delhi from 1200 A.D. It is a surprise to the historians that though they stayed in the country for

such a long period and their sway was of such an overwhelming character, they could not imprint their political or social dominance for all times, as they seem to have done in Iran, Turan, Constantinople or North Africa. After Aurangzeb's death their influence declined and in the 18th century a considerable portion of the

Muslim kingdoms was wrested by the Marathas, Bundelas, Jats and Sikhs

Our object here is not to trace the rise and fall of the Muslim States but rather to describe how far the Muslims contributed to the building up of the Mediaeval Indian Society.

In the first place the advent of the Muslims put an end to the isolation of the country. It is a lesson sometimes forgotten that no nation can lead an entirely isolated life in this world. Socially and economically one nation is intimately linked with the other nations of the world. Thus the contact of India brought about by the Muslims with the rest of the world along with disadvantages brought some signal advantages also. The vast resources of India were known to the rest of the world and Multan, Lahore, Kabul and Kandahar formed the chief emporiums for the exchange of Indian goods for those of Western Asia, Europe and Africa. This exchange of goods benefited India because they fetched excellent prices and hence large riches to their Indian owners.

The conquests of the Muslim kings of Ghazna and later on of their Ghori successors, including most of North India, resulted in a greater unification of the different provinces. After Harshavardhan's death in 648 A.D. India broke into innumerable principalities each forming a separate political unit. This dissolution into political atoms introduced weaknesses of a very serious character, for not only did it lead to the multiplication of the states but also of ideals in politics, religion, etc. With the advent of the Ghoris, North India once again formed one single empire

and the solidarity in politics led to its strength and stability in other fields also. Though the invasions from the north-west still continued, the invaders were generally repulsed, e.g., the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries and India was left to carve its destiny in its own way.

There were other consequences also, e.g., the unification of the peoples of the different provinces in language and culture. Though originally Turki was spoken by the Muslim conquerors, soon after, Persian became the court language and Urdu the *lingua franca* for the kingdom and in the growth of the latter several of the dialects of the country contributed. Again the Turki culture at first predominated and people of the provinces adopted it. Thus it may be said that the existence of the Muslim government led at first to the fusion of the peoples of North India and later on of the whole country linguistically and culturally.

The Muslims very often behaved towards each other more cordially or with greater consideration than the people of India. Among the Muslims the lowest, even the oft-despised slaves, had a chance to rise to the highest office. Hindus, on the other hand, were divided into innumerable castes, sub-castes and still lesser castes and made meticulous distinction between the twice-born, the Shudras and the untouchables. Deeper learning, superior knowledge of the state craft and the comforts and realisation of the beauties of life reserved for the twice-born the S and the Patshahs having no claims to them. The Muslims with the clarion call of brotherhood of mankind brought hope

these millions of lowly Shudras and the Panchamas. In the mosque the votaries, whether they were rich or poor, literate or illiterate, blue-blooded or the despised, all stood in serried ranks to worship the same Allah. This equality was emphasized in many other ways. The result was that many of the untouchables and the Shudras, *etc.*, those belonging to the more physically active sections of the Hindu society abandoned their unsympathetic Hindu brethren and joined the more democratic Muslims. These Muslim converts proved more active and turbulent than the Hindus living in their neighbourhood and hence weakened the Hindu society by their desertion. It may be asked why then the Hindus did not adopt Islam wholesale like the Parsees after their first impact with Islam. The historians point out that Zoroastrianism had decayed beyond redemption hence it gave way to Islam which formed a new centre of hope for the Pahlavis of Iran. On the other hand, Hinduism had never become so barren and lifeless as to make its votaries look to other religions for spiritual satisfaction. Again and again reformers had arisen from among them to purge Hinduism of its abuses and to make it accessible to the people.

Also the needy Muslims of West Asia, in their zeal for conquest committed indiscriminate atrocities and wholesale ravages demolishing temples and massacring the inhabitants of villages and towns they passed through. The result of course, was that those inoffensive villagers who survived the massacre, shocked at the insensate behaviour of the victorious

Muslims formed, in spite of the Muslim cry of brotherhood of man, such a poor opinion of their capacities and general character that Islam ever afterwards suffered from the effects of such prejudices and was rejected by the majority of the Indian population and it has ever since remained confined to a mere section of the population.

In the domain of thought the Muslim ideal of monotheism led to a reaction among the Hindus also. Some of their reformers were far-sighted enough to introduce salutary reforms in religion and society. Against the dominant and hostile influence of the Muslims, the need of such reforms was urgent and they were introduced in several ways. One was to acknowledge the God of the Muslims and give Allah a place in the pantheon of the Hindus. Allahopani-shad written in 13th century is an illustration of this. Secondly, the Hindu beliefs and doctrines were made more popular and its chants and practices were thrown open to all classes. Sikhism as preached by Guru Nanak, Kabirpanthism of Kabir and Vaishnavism of the devotees of Krishna and Rama, especially as preached by Chaitanya, all emphasized the equality of men and helped in forming a brotherhood of all the members of the sect. These social reforms are a direct effect of Islam in India.

Also Vedantism or monotheism, became more popular as it came into contact with that highly intellectual and emotional Muslim sect known as Sufism. The glorification of God, as noticed among the newly-formed sects, had to some extent neglected the divinity in man. Vedantism

had long preached the sanctity of the human soul so that while it drew attention to God and His almightiness, it also insisted on the greatness, immortality and essential goodness of the human soul. Since the Sufi Muslims also preached similar doctrines it seemed possible that India would solve its religious and even political problems by the fusion of Sufism and Vedantism and Jahangir and Dara made earnest efforts—the former unconsciously and the latter consciously—for its accomplishments. But the Hindu masses steeped as they were in polytheism and the orthodox Muslims wedded to the cut and dry dogmas of Islam could not tolerate this fusion and hence with the advent of the fanatical Aurangzib and the death of Shah Sarmad the fusion stopped and the two communities ever afterwards drifted apart from each other and to day the breach is wider than it had ever been.

In the field of language also there appeared a way of bringing together the various peoples of Asia. In Delhi could be seen the immigrants from Turkistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Khwarizm, Kurdistan, Asia Minor, North Africa, Zanzibar, Spain, Turkey in Europe and other countries in Europe besides those from the different corners of India. The rulers being foreigners treated the different provinces of the country on an equal footing and hence could not entertain the idea of patronizing any single dialect except of the region round the two capitals, Delhi and Agra. So, gradually Urdu the camp language, formed mostly out of Brij Bhasha (Hindi) with a goodly mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turki and Sanskrit became the

common language of the different immigrants to the land. As the object of Urdu was to enable the soldiers and those others who came into contact with them to conduct their daily transactions without much difficulty, at first it contained a large number of words spoken by the natives of Delhi and Agra provinces termed Hindavi and indistinguishable from the Hindi of the Gangetic doab. When the cultured Muslims took keener interest in Urdu they soon Persianised it, using not only the more common expressions of Iran but also the forms of poetry and figures of speech prevalent in Western Asia. With the passing of time, the differences between Hindi and the newly developed Urdu became so marked that to day they stand as widely differing dialects each being advocated by a dominant community and the wellwishers of India do not know how best to reconcile them with each other.

The Muslims in mediaeval India, though a small minority continued to assert their superiority because their Hindu subjects were divided into myriads of separated entities. Still the Muslims were forced to make many compromises in their outlook on life. As explained above, they took to the language of the land, adopted some of the practices and customs of the Hindus, e.g., the rulers adopted Jharokha, Darshan or the Tuladan, their birth days and the Muslims the celebration of the festival of Holi, Raksha Bandhan. They also adopted of the architectural features of the buildings, e.g., Mahapadma Panch or Na Ratna, decorations of the interior

exterior walls, conversion of a morose mausoleum into a delightful pleasure resort. Again while the orthodox Islam does not encourage painting, the Hindus doted on this form of art. The Mogul rulers established highly specialized schools which flourished from Babur to Shah Jahan; but the more orthodox Aurangzib suppressed them as in his eyes the cultivation of art was not in consonance with the spirit of Islam.

Similarly the Muslim rulers allowed many of the practices of the country unknown to the 'Shara'. A host of the temples were built in the Muslim period and most of the Hindu fairs were held under the protection of the Muslim officials of the state. Thus the iconoclastic Muslims were gradually becoming more tolerant. The present splendour of Muttra and Brindaban dates only from the Moghal days as the older cities of Lord Krishna's time had been reduced to ashes by Mahmud Ghazni and his soldiers and the two cities had been deserted almost immediately after. It is possible that under a more tactful ruler and less of a spiritless translator of Muslim Institutes than Aurangzib, the Muslim influence would have been more telling and lasting.

Again the great feature of the Muslim government in India was its nationalistic tendencies. Some of its administrative institutions were directly adopted from those of the country, e.g., the land revenue system and the officials of the revenue department and the department of law and order. Kotwal, Patwari, Chaudhari, Zamindars, all continued to function as they did in the earlier Hindu period. Also

along with Arabic the Muslim rulers patronized Turki, Persian, Urdu and Hindi. Again the Indian rulers did not always acknowledge the hegemony of the Sultan of Constantinople or the Sharif of Mecca but reserved for himself the Imamship of his people. With such an outlook on the part of the rulers, the Muslim subjects also looked upon their non-Muslim fellow-subjects with a more friendly eye. If only a Dara or Aurangzib had not stepped in, India would have in time solved its socio-political problems in spite of vital differences in its religions. Dara with his preachings for the union of the two communities and with his attempt at hastening the progress of fusion and Aurangzib with his advocacy for Arabian Islam and for the absolute separation of the Muslims from the Hindus—both did untold harm to the growth of a national India. Though Dara was more correct in his attitude he was less able while Aurangzib was more able but less discerning. What India then needed was neither an idealist like Dara nor an ultra-puritan like Aurangzib but a fairly inactive ruler who would himself stand aloof but allow the two communities to learn by degrees to appreciate each other and prepare ground for their fusion in the natural course of time.

In the end, it may be said that Islam had not only set the Non Muslims a thinking hard as to how they could remedy some of their political and social ills, but it made possible for a novel but virile culture to be introduced, of which the Hindus and Muslims both would have been the beneficiaries and which in time would have like Iran differentiated itself from the orthodox cultures of the other Muslim lands.

# ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT SANCHI

BY MISS H B KHOKHAR

— 0. —

IN the vicinity of Bhopal, one comes upon many traces of Buddhist India and, as though seated on a magic carpet, one is transported back a couple of thousand years to the devotional fervour which inspired the grandiose structures of the pre-Christian era. Viewing these edifices, which have withstood the vicissitudes of ages, one is conscious that the art of thoroughness in building has been lost, amid the storm and stress of modernity. Of all the architectural treasures which India boasts, probably there is nothing more impressive than the Great Tope at Sanchi, where one bridges the gulf of twenty centuries, and comes in contact with the life and work of King Asoka the impress of whose magnetic personality is felt, two thousand years, and more, after his demise.

Asoka was to Buddhism what Constantine was to Christianity—he transformed Buddhism from a sect into a state religion, and promulgated the tenets of his faith by means of edicts graven on pillars, and rocks, throughout the length and breadth of India. A short, mutilated Asokan record may be seen on a fragment of a pillar at Sanchi. It serves to tune in the ear of the listener, enabling him to distinguish the message whispered by the magnificent carving surrounding the Great Tope, for the inscription exhorts Buddhists to live at peace with one another, and to avoid religious schism. Although Gautama, the Buddha, was nowise directly associated with Sanchi, the buildings in this locality

are the finest illustrations of Buddhist constructional genius in the whole of India.

To begin with, the Great Tope itself, with its vast dome, surpasses in size, and dignity, the many other stupas, or reliquary mounds, erected in its vicinity by pious Buddhists as an act of grace. The original stupa of Asoka was smaller and less imposing in dimensions than the present edifice, which was encased in stone, and attained its actual size, a century or more after the famous Emperor's death. Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology, has achieved wonders at Sanchi as regards both the excavation, and restoration, of numerous monuments constituting a legacy of priceless value, which members of the present generation will leave to posterity. The Buddhist rail which surmounts the tope, together with the magnificent gateways, enable one to visualise the pilgrims circumambulating the stupa, as they reflected upon the incidents in the life of Gautama, and the episodes of Buddhist history, illustrated in bas-relief on the pillars and superstructure of the portals.

The Sanchi sculptures are supposed to cover a period beginning with Asoka's reign, down to about 140 B.C. They provide a most wonderful picture of life and thought. The visits of the pilgrims to the sacred shrines, the stories told at the campfires, the fabled pre-existences of Buddha in the form of bird and

and all the mysteries of the untrodden primeval forests, are revealed in a series of sculptures which, besides being most valuable for historical purposes, makes a most delightful, original Indian jungle-book. The men and women represented are ordinary human beings, the carvings are fragments of life executed in stone and, in consequence, the sculptures are of vital interest, not merely to the archæologist, but also to the humanist.

In Sanchi, the ancient Chaityagiri,—the "Chappel or Cathedral Hill"—one glimpses the soul of Buddhism whilst the numerous topes, in its immediate vicinity, at Sonari, Bhojpur, and Andher are mere extensions to the vantage-ground from which one gazes backwards down time's highway. Fergusson's remark, respecting the three small topes at Andher, that "there seems no reason for assuming that any of them are earlier than the age of Asoka, 250 B.C., nor is it probable that any of them can be of later date than, say, the first century before our era makes one feel the youthfulness of the bulk of European art work."

About six miles from Sanchi another interesting monument is the Heliodoros Column, situated in Gwalior State, near the confluence of the Betwa and Bes rivers. This monolith bears a Brahmi inscription, stating that it was erected about 150 B.C. by one, Heliodoros, a Greek Ambassador from Antialcidas, of Taxila (in the Punjab) to the court of Vidisa (Bhilai). It is the only stone record in this part of India containing reference to the Indo-Greeks. Heliodoros

styled himself a Bhagvata, or member of the Hindu sect of that name, and the pillar is an important link in the chain of evidence relating to early converts to Hinduism.

While at Sanchi, folks interested in rock-cut temples should not fail to visit the Udaygiri caves, some five miles distant. The eighteen Hindu and two Jain excavations date from the fifth century after Christ, and contain some delightful sculptures, which include a colossal "Varaha" (the boar incarnation of Vishnu)—one of the finest specimens of its kind in the whole of India.

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# BRITISH INDIA AND PRINCES' INDIA

By RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M V KIBE, M.A., INDORE

A RECENT Government of India Report on the Industries in Post War Reconstruction declared that owing to the disparity in taxation, labour legislation and such other matters favouring the capitalists, heavy industries were tending to favour location in Indian States and therefore it implied that there should be similar, if not the same, legislation and taxation throughout India. A Political Department letter is alleged to have informed the Indian Princes that progress in the line of consolidation of the jurisdiction, if not the territories of the Indian States, particularly referring to the Gujraht States, cannot be retraced and that the instruments of relations between the paramount power and the States have to be interpreted in the light of modifications brought about by practices, environment, and existing circumstances. Some Princes as members of the Chamber of Princes, in their own right, according to its constitution or elected as representative members, on behalf of the so called minor States resigned from the Standing Committee of the Chamber at a time which made its working come to a standstill and have formed themselves a Committee of action. Mr M N Roy, who is reported to have helped in the formation of Soviet Republic in Russia has, in a scheme recently formulated by him, fore shadowed the disappearance of the Indian States, by the amalgamation of their territories with the all India State.

The Indian States are an unique body. Since Mr Jinnah raised the cry of Pakistan,

which by the way is offensive to Indians, the expression "Indian India" seems to be standing in the background. As a matter of fact, there is nothing common between the conception of Pakistan and the States. The latter have some similarity with what were the Federal Malaya States, although not federated like them. The doyen of Indian States, the Nizam's Dominions, might easily have been in the position of Egypt, if not of Ethiopia.

By a steady process of conquest and consolidation, the East India Company, backed by the Government of Great Britain, eliminated or isolated, the hold of European States like the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French on the Indian soil. By the treaties made with the Indian Rulers of States, which at first survived conquest and later the policy of lapse, they were isolated, all communication with even the brother Princes, living across the borders of their States, having to be made through the Political Agents, who were bound by the rules and directions laid down for them by the department. General Sir John Malcolm's instructions to the members of this service are still followed in substance.

There have been vicissitudes in the policy pursued by the paramount power towards the Indian States. There have been periods of relaxation in the control over them. But the trend has been the same. It has been not many years ago since it was authoritatively laid down that paramountcy cannot be defined, after a meticulous examination of the, *de jure*



rights possessed by the Indian States, by some of the keenest and renowned lawyers and men trusted by the Princes for their wide experience, wisdom and devotion to them.

The vasalisation of the Princes, the strict isolation imposed upon them, the restriction on their correspondence and meeting, and their equipment, prevented the Princes from making any concerted effort to resist encroachments on their treaty rights. When at last there was relaxation in these matters, after much expenditure, labour and research, four bulky volumes were produced giving specific instances of such breaches. The highest legal opinion was availed of and an eminent counsel for enormous fees was engaged to prepare a case for the Princes. As indicated in a previous paragraph, the mountain of labour brought out not even a mouse.

Most of the Indian Princes had been accustomed to be subordinates, or even servants, of the Mughal Emperors. The grip was such that many Princes sought protection of the East India Company which, in the beginning of the 19th century, became the paramount power in India. Some others, which had as late as 1793, shared it with the Company, were forced into accepting subordinate alliances, after they had been crushed piecemeal. The name alliance was a sop, really they became subordinates, as a direct result of which the policy of lapse became prominent. Although it has been given up, it was preceded, and has since, been followed by the policy of bestowal of States, even resulting in the creation of new dynasties.

It is recorded that after the announcement by Lord Lytton of the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of Empress of India in 1877, great tension prevailed in the Darbar, until His Highness Maharaja Scindhia rose from his seat and welcomed this emblem of suzerainty, displayed by the paramount power. He was followed by others, some in similar, some, like Maharaja Holkar, in restrained terms. The shrewdest among them realised that the creation of the orders of Knight-hoods and their bestowal on the servants of the Crown and the Indian Princes, symbolically brought them to the same level.

His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwar, who was a boy then, realised in due course of time, that the foundation of the States was displaced. He publicly advocated the federal structure as the goal to be reached. The Chamber of Princes was the response. In a letter which he wrote to His Highness Maharaja Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, he recommended:

States should be fully autonomous, the agenda of the Princes' Chamber should be framed by them and not by the Political Department, the officers should also be elected by them, they should be allowed to put interpellations as regards the actions of the Political Department, a federal Court be established to decide disputes between the States and the Government of India, the States should co-operate with the Central Legislature in the matter of making laws and, lastly, in case of any differences between the parties a joint conference of the representatives of them be held to resolve them.

One wishes that the States had stuck to these points, instead of taking the expensive and inappropriate course of seeking legal assistance. Perhaps even now it is not too late to develop the points made by the doyen of the Indian Princes.

Under the stress of the War, the interdependence of the Provinces and

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States and the indivisibility of India under the guidance of a central administration have been revealed. Resolutions centrally made are enforced or passed in the shape of normative legislation, as is done by the Provinces of Canada, in the case of some measures. The system once established and in an increasing manner cannot easily cease. In fact it has shown what all India affairs are and how they can be managed. Not only the Provinces, but even the biggest States which hitherto were critical of their rights have to follow the regulations, in the making of which their voice is heard. Many of these matters used to be referred to the Princes' Chamber for discussion, examination and adoption. Now to that body remains only the consideration of high Politics. But the suggestions made by His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda, not having been implemented the direction is not in its hand in spite of its paraphernalia of Secretaries and Publicity Officers.

The Princes have many times affirmed and loudly declared that they do not wish to stand in the way of the attainment of Dominion Status by India. They do not wish to be a Pakistan, as vaguely, on the point of complete separation not yet definitely talked by its protagonists. The circumstances seem to be leading them to the natural path of cooperation if not full amalgamation with the rest of India.

The most intriguing question for consideration is the preservation of their dynastic interests. It has never been claimed that they should be a cover of inefficiency in administration, nor can they embrace

inequitable distribution of the income of the State. On the other hand, promotion of the interests of his subjects has been the first duty of a ruler since ancient times.

The present tendencies are towards the formation of bigger States, if United India can be one of them. It has always held the position of the brightest jewel in the British Crown. The Indian States claim to have treaty relations with the Crown. That term includes not only the august person wearing that emblem but his government or governments, in different dominions when India becomes a dominion, there will be his government in India. Logically it will have the supreme power over the Provinces and States. It is not possible to wink at this fact.

The federal structure fitted in the Government of India Act of 1935 has raised many constitutional legal and national questions. As regards the States, the question of parting away with sovereignty in federal subjects has been the stumbling block. They have to part with something *de jure*. The Provinces stand to gain in power and authority. The former who are constitutionally free from the jurisdiction *de jure* although not *de facto* of the commonwealth of India are apprehensive of the unimpaired continuance of their rights and especially, privileges. The Princes have also the additional task of maintaining and safeguarding their dynastic interests. Their joining the federation will in due course if not immediately lead to the Princes becoming constitutional rulers and later of the practical elimination of States whose owing to area, income or population will

be unable to maintain themselves as individual units. The moment the States join the India Federation the questions touched above will come to the fore-front and will demand a solution. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Commonwealth of India Bill and the Nehru Report had foreseen these difficulties and complications. They had by-passed the question of States. The Congress seems to be of the same opinion. The Leaders of the Muslim League also seem to endorse this sound policy. The procedure which the world war forcibly brought into existence, and which is bound to continue for sometime after the war, seems to offer a solution and suggests the solidification of the Federation of the Provinces, which in many matters, is proclaimed to be in force in many matters. It is in the interests of India to modify the Act of 1935, suitably by by-passing the States, who are now becoming accustomed to co-operate with the Central Government. The bigger States are given the voice to state their views in all-India policies, which are framed by the Central Government and

the smaller ones follow suit *ipso facto* on a communication from the Government. What is lacking is supervision, as to whether the orders issued by the States are really and faithfully enforced, the doubt regarding which being due to the machinery at the disposal of the States. But that is bound to come later; in the meanwhile, any obvious breach can easily be detected and checked by diplomatic pressure. The procedure envisaged here will by-pass intricate questions and achieve the object, viz., uniformity in all India policy, maintaining the position of the States as being in diplomatic relations with the Central Government.

Questions like the degree of the autonomy enjoyed by the constituents of the Federation of the Dominion, or the Commonwealth of India, or whether it consists of two, or one State, in legal or treaty relations, can be solved later. They cannot stand in the way of the attainment by India of the status *vis à vis*, the British Empire, such as would be settled by negotiations or by the course of events or even by the efflux of time.

## THE PORTFOLIO SYSTEM

By PROF R J VENKATESWARAN, MA

IN the early days of British rule in India, the method of transacting governmental business was fundamentally different from what it has been since. The control and management of all departments of government were vested in the Governor-General in Council in their collective capacity. Neither the Governor-General nor any other member of the Council was head of any department. The law recognised only a

Governor-General in Council and by the Governor-General in Council all business was carried on.

The members of the Council had no initiative in any matter. They had no departments under their control and no right to issue any orders. The secretaries of the various departments would circulate among the Governor-General in Council all the important and unimportant papers.

## THE PORTFOLIO SYSTEM

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Everything, small and great, must have the sanction of Government and must be actually stated and the orders given in Council "A declaration of war and an estimate for an addition to a barrack a thousand miles off, may come next to each other in the Secretaries' bundle" The Governor-General had a very heavy responsibility to discharge, for "he had to lead off in every case, not only with an opinion, but by setting out the issues on which the opinions must be recorded In the words of Lord Dalhousie, 'A Governor General is unlike any other Minister under heaven—he is the beginning, middle and end of all Every thing is the business and everything that is in progress must be begun by him and is invalid unless it is concluded by him

This sort of working in a mass resulted in enormous delay Administration became very inefficient, cumbersome and expensive The "incident" of 1857 clearly convinced the Home Authorities that there was something radically wrong with the working of the Indian Government. They now realised the urgent necessity to make the Indian Government more regular and efficient so that it might be able to cope with the similar situations more effectively in future

Lord Canning, therefore, introduced the portfolio system in 1861 He distributed the ordinary work of the departments among the members and laid down that only the more important cases were to be referred to the Governor General or dealt with collectively Under this system each member in regard to his own department, has the final voice in ordinary departmental matters Only subjects of special importance and those in which it was

proposed to over rule the views of a Provincial Government were to be referred to the Viceroy

The introduction of the portfolio system ensured greater speed and efficiency in the transaction of governmental business It was now possible for the Council to deal with important matters with greater effectiveness Many matters which formerly came before the Council were now disposed of in the departments Besides, the Governor General was relieved of a great deal of relatively unimportant work and he was now able to concentrate his attention on the really important work

The introduction of the portfolio system had no doubt given the Members of Executive Council some measure of independence and initiative but still the Governor General occupies a predominant position He is the head of the Indian administration in the real sense of the term In the words of Sir Basil Blackett,

The Governor General is the administrative head of every department of the Central Government', and as such he has the indubitable right, if he thinks fit to take part personally in any administrative problem". The functions of the government have in recent times enormously increased owing to the totalitarian nature of the war and so the number of portfolios have of late been increased But no amount of reshuffling the present portfolios or creating fresh ones will solve the problems of the country The Government of India is still 'swathed in red tape and slow in movement'. Thorough democratisation of the constitution is the only way to rid the administration of the rubbish of red tapism and make it strong and efficient

# THE WAVELL PLAN

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[H. Lord Wavell, broadcasting to the nation on June 14, explained the new proposals to resolve the Indian deadlock and announced that orders had been passed for the immediate release of those members of the Congress Working Committee who were still under detention. He also said that he was convening a Conference of leaders at Simla, on June 25, to take counsel regarding the setting up of an interim Government at the Centre. The Viceroy also hoped that Coalition Ministries would be set up in the Provinces, and appealed to the leaders for support. The following is the text of Lord Wavell's broadcast speech.—ED. I.B.]

I have been authorized by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self government.

These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention, in this broadcast, is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block, but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I, therefore, propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of central and provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to forming a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion.

## HINDU MUSLIM PARTY

The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except

for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member.

It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realize, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will, for the first time, be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's foreign affairs. Moreover, members will now be selected by the Governor General after consultation with political leaders, though their appointment will, of course, be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; but there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control, though it will, of course, not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will, in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

## THE TASK OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be

(1) To prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated

(2) To carry on the Government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post war development in front of it until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force

(3) To consider when members of Government think it possible the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long term solution and that the present proposals are intended to make a long term solution easier

## INVITATION TO LEADERS

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me

(1) Those now holding office as Premiers in provincial governments, or for provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held office of Premiers

(2) The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly the Leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party in the Council of State, as also the Leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly

(3) Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah as recognised leaders of the two main political parties

(4) Rao Bahadur N Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes and Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to day and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on June 25, at

Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future

## COALITION MINISTRIES

If this meeting is successful I hope we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these ministries will be coalitions

If the meeting should unfortunately fail we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward and a stride on the right path

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative

## THE RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS

With the approval of His Majesty's Government and after consultations with my Council orders have been given for the immediate release of members of the Working Committee of the Indian National

Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention, as the result of the 1912 disturbances, to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depend on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at International Conferences have won high regard for their statesman-like attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick. There is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

## THE AESTHETICAL NECESSITY IN LIFE

By MR. K. CHANDRASEKARAN

IN an age of unrelenting racial hatreds and total destructions, to talk of æsthetical necessity in life would seem impracticable, if not preposterous. But yet we cannot sufficiently admire the courage of conviction of Dr. Cousins in prescribing æsthetics as the panacea for all ills amidst us. Indeed his arguments\* are so cogent and carefully worded, that he brings home with force "the æsthetical aspect of a New World Order is at least as important as the economical or the political".

Anything from the pen of Dr. Cousins, we can unhesitatingly conclude to be of a wholesome variety for our mental fare. His own outlook on life is integral, and, hence, his visions of a better world realistic. His knowledge of arts, not of one but many lands, claims for him our unstinted homage. We would do well, of course, to profit by his rich experiences and thoughtful utterances.

He takes us along with him on a voyage on the high seas of Art and Poetry. Very often we get the refreshing breeze of his own reflections blowing right in our faces. Let us follow him in one of such engaging observations of his: "But the arts, that are the materials, of Æsthetics, are not essays in logic; their demands on the intellect are mainly analogical; and beauty is not the end of an argument, but the beginning of an experience." Again how very true of artistic perception, when he says: "A single stroke (the figure one) is not esteemed a work of art: neither are three strokes side by side. The single stroke does not reveal anything beyond itself, and so does not reveal even itself; for nothing can exist of itself or be understood alone: the three strokes are equally unsuggestive, a mere triplication of the unexpressive single stroke. A unity of similars does not make a work of art: a unity of similars in life would make it a dull affair indeed; no interchange, no

\*THE AESTHETICAL NECESSITY IN LIFE. By J. H. COUSINS, Kitabistan Allahabad. Price Rs. 3-12.

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variety, no stimulating controversy" Passages, like this one, should not fail to act as curatives to the prevalent disease of uniformity from the West, which is tending to take a tight grip of the Indian minds, despite their age long conception of the fundamental necessity of art as diversity in unity

Dwelling upon the influences of objective and subjective arts (for convenience, Dr Cousins groups architecture sculpture carving and painting under objective or immobile arts and drama dance music and poetry under subjective or mobile arts) he has many interesting points to make. In India, the home of a wonderful tradition in the arts much that was once our pride has been reduced to almost nothing by our utter indifference. Let us listen to the Lecturer's telling words upon these and allied topics. The attentions of warfare have not yet laid inartistic hands on her (India's) cities or her country side, and please God never will. But other forces, not less powerful than their immediate operation, have played the Devil's sappers and miners so well in the hidden places of her æsthetical life, that the vast masses

of her people have been brought down to an innocent degradation, and her educated classes to a sophisticated degradation, so deep that it takes pride in itself"

The treatment of poetry in the subjective arts cannot go without a word of appreciation. For he has realised the fulfilment on the side of the Universe in a recognition of its own "creation" and its "own eternal harmony" through the pellucid eyes and vibrating ears of the poet. And more than that he has realised what many of our English educated countrymen have failed to realise that "the effect of so exalted a view of art is seen in every line of Rabindranath's poetry in a clear sweetness that is never sentimental, a calm that is never stagnant, a courage that is never braggart, a power that is never tyrannical, a beauty that is never sensuous, a figuritiveness that is always intelligent and illuminating, qualities each of high value for the purification of thought and feeling and action and together an extraordinary gift from one man in our time in this favoured land for the regeneration of humanity"

## THE SYRIAN CRISIS

THE explosion which took place in the Levant States some time ago startled the world by its apparent suddenness but it was in fact the culmination of tension and intermittent crises spread over more than 20 years. In order to see the problem in perspective, we must examine its origins. French interest in the Levant is of ancient standing and in the latter part of the 19th Century, when the Turkish Empire showed increasing signs of breaking up, the French tended to concentrate their interest upon Syria, which was then Turkish territory. This development in French policy was supported by Britain and in 1912 Poincare was able to state

In Syria and the Lebanon we have traditional interests which we intend to have respected. The British Government has formally declared to us that in those regions it has neither intentions, designs nor political aspirations of any sort.

### LIBERATION OF SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

In 1915-16 the Ottoman Turks repressed their Syrian and Lebanese subjects with savage ferocity and the Arabs waited for their day of deliverance. It came with General Allenby's victorious advance through Palestine in September, 1918. The liberating army was British, for the French could spare only a token force. The Arabs in revolt against their Turkish masters rendered most valuable assistance and their leader, Amir Faisal was everywhere received with enthusiasm and



"Big Three", and the unfortunate tendency developed to play off Moscow against London and Washington and assert French "greatness" by chauvinism and truculence. This was particularly the case in the Levant.

In February, as Mr. Churchill has recently stated, the British Government renewed its pressure on the Levant States to reopen negotiations with the French and this the Arab leaders were prepared to do. In April it became known that the Provisional Government in France were contemplating an increase of their local military strength, presumably to bring the Syrians and the Lebanese "to their senses." Repeated British representations that the sending of armed reinforcements would be bound to vitiate discussions by giving the impression of duress were ignored.

On May 22, the Syrian and Lebanese Governments issued an official *communiqué* stating that in their view the arrival of additional French troops was an infringement of their sovereignty, that the new French treaty proposals were incompatible with independence and that the two Governments had, heretofore, refused to negotiate and had decided to unite for the defence of their freedom.

Tension mounted rapidly. On May 27, severe fighting broke out in Hama and in Hama. The British Government continued to urge the Syrian authorities to do everything possible to retain control of the situation and the French to refrain as far as possible from displays of armed force or other action which would prejudice an amicable solution by diplomatic discussion. Nevertheless, on May 29, after some Syrian outbursts the French began artillery bombardment and air bombing of Damascus and this continued with considerable loss of life until May 31. It matters little whether de Gaulle ordered these attacks to stop some hours before Churchill sent his "request" to cease fire or not, they should never have begun. Intervention had become inevitable.

#### ARAB NATIONALISM

The root of the trouble in the first place appears to be that French imperial policy is still dominated by their 18th century instead doctrine of "assimilating" dependent peoples of 20th century concept of "indirect rule". Indirect rule means the training of dependent peoples for self-government along their own lines. From this basic difference in policy arises the failure of the French authorities to grasp the significance of what has been happening with regard to Arab nationalism during the last 20 years. The formation of the Arab League, which is working for the formal federation of all Arab States in the Middle East, is a new fact of utmost significance in world affairs. It is not only articulating the Arab world but it is also bringing the entire Muslim world to its support.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRANQUILLITY

This movement can be either a danger to international tranquillity or an important stabilising factor according as it is handled. Realising this the British (and apparently the Americans as well) hope to see stabilised group of friendly, independent Arab States in the Middle East. On the other hand, the pre-1914 outlook which is unfortunately in the ascendant in the de Gaulle administration, regards this attitude as deriving from a sinister desire to oust France from her traditional interests in the Levant.

France is facing an internal situation which may become extremely grave in the near future. On the other hand, the peoples of France are closer to the peoples of the United States and Britain in mutual appreciation and understanding than they have ever been. Upon the continuance of that accord largely depends the vindication of Western democracy in the reconstruction of Europe. When tempers in Paris and Damascus have had the time to cool the problem of Syria can perhaps be best handled by America, Britain and France in discussions with the Arab League.

12th June 1945.

# THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING his broadcast talk to the nation on June 14 (see page 418) Lord Wavell sent telegraphic invitations to the parties and persons mentioned in the speech which included among others Mahatma Gandhi and Mr M A Jinnah. In a message to the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi declared that he had no *locus standi* as the recognized representative of the Congress and that that function belongs to the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. At the same time resenting the use of the expression Caste Hindus by the Viceroy in his broadcast Gandhi in a statement expressed the hope that Lord Wavell had used the expression in utter ignorance.

Telegraphic exchange of communications between Gandhi and the Viceroy followed as a result of which Maulana Sahib the Congress President was also invited to the Simla Conference.

An emergent meeting of the Working Committee met in Bombay on the 21st which after hearing Mr Bhabha's account of the De la—Lagunt draft agreed to accept the Viceroy's invitation. In accepting the invitation the Congress President made it clear that the Congress would under no circumstances accept its being termed a Hindu organization or a sectarian or communal body.

It would appear that Gandhi and Maulana Azad were given full and plenary powers by the Committee to deal with all phases of the negotiations arising out of Lord Wavell's proposals to end the deadlock. The President was also authorized to take whatever action was necessary to implement the results of the negotiations. He would of course be advised by Mahatma Gandhi in any decisions he took.

In Simla the Viceroy had long talks with Gandhi, Maulana Azad and Mr Jinnah on the 21st clarifying the position of the parties on the eve of the Conference.

In his two hour interview with the Viceroy the Mahatma told His Excellency that in view of his (Gandhi's) unrepresentative character and in view of the fact that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the

Congress President was attending the Conference he would not be present at the formal Conference but would remain in Simla to continue to tender such advice as necessary to all parties, including the Viceroy. The Viceroy it is understood accepted the position he had taken and had asked him to remain in Simla till the Conference was over.

The Leaders Conference opened at the Viceregal Lodge at 11.30 on June 27 according to schedule all the invitees being present except Mahatma Gandhi. Lord Wavell's opening speech was brief to the point and contained no verbiage. The outcome of the Conference he said will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India. There was what may be called the Wavell touch in his opening speech when he repeated the appeal in his broadcast that on all sides there was something to forgive and forget.

We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities and of all party and sectonal advantage and think of the goal of India—the good of 400 million people [See page 418.]

Except for the Viceroy's brief and businesslike inaugural address the proceedings were confidential. From all accounts the opening days deliberations left little to be desired.

Next day the Conference addressed itself to the various aspects of forming the Executive Council such as the number and the proportion of the various elements. Having expressed support to the other aspects of the Wavell plan the Conference reached a crucial stage when the leaders engaged themselves in an effort to reach an agreement on the composition of the proposed Executive Council.

The Conference was adjourned to meet on the 27th and again on the 29th so as to enable the leaders to carry out private negotiations among themselves. These included prolonged talks between Pandit G. B. Pant on behalf of the Congress and Mr Jinnah while the Congress President himself was in continual discussion with leaders of the Unionist group who were urging for representation

for Muslim soldiers of the Panjab in the Executive Council. Compromise talks between the Congress and the League were proving a difficult task, and the Conference threatened to break on this crucial issue. Gandhi was definite in his enunciation of the Congress position. He told Mr. Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America

This much I can say, that the Congress can never become a sectional organisation. Not that there are not communal minded people in it but the Congress can never work communally. There fore, normally speaking the parity principle should be distasteful to everybody

The League claim, on which Mr. Jinnah and his associates are equally firm is that it alone has the right to name the Muslim members of the Council and that no Nationalist or non League Muslims can find a place in it

Five nationalist Muslim organisations, consisting of the Jamiat ul Ulama Hind, the All India Muslim Majlis, the All India Muslim Conference, the Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan and the Independent Party of Bihar, at a joint meeting presided over by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, President of the Jamiat passed the following resolution

\* \* The meeting further considers it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League is not the only representative organisation of Muslims. In addition to the Muslim League there are other organisations of Muslims which have been working for the attainment of Indian freedom and have been making sacrifices to achieve their goal

It is futile for Mr. Jinnah to contest the Congress claim to nominate a nationalist Muslim or a member of any community to the new Executive Council as it has always been the tradition of the Congress to voice the hopes and aspirations of All India, irrespective of caste or creed. This claim has been rightly recognised by Mr. Amery when he explained in the House of Commons that the Congress could nominate its Muslim President to the Executive Council. If the Conference should break on this issue, it would be disastrous for all concerned. For it would mean a premium on minority intransigence. It is unthinkable that a minority, however powerful or influential should be allowed to hold up the country's progress at every stage and

continue to sabotage the freedom movement. It is hoped that the soldier-Viceroy, who has begun so well, will not be deterred from completing his task. Much as one would prefer an agreed solution among the parties, it is difficult to see what alternative there could be for an imposed agreement.

The Viceroy has, therefore, tactfully adjourned the Conference for a fortnight—to meet on July 11.

As efforts made outside the Conference to reach an agreement among the parties had not succeeded, the various parties represented at the Conference were asked to submit their list of names to the Viceroy for him to make the final selection.

The Muslim League and the Congress have been permitted to submit eight to twelve names each from their own respective parties and additionally they can suggest other names outside their own parties. Other parties represented at the Conference have been permitted to submit three to four names each from their own respective parties with additional right of recommending any other name.

Accordingly Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively have decided to call meetings of the Working Committees.

Congress determination wholeheartedly to co-operate with the Wavell Plan and to make it a success by suggesting the names not only of Congressmen but of the best men in the country irrespective of their membership of the Congress organisation has been voiced by all front rank leaders

Strangely enough, it is at such a juncture that Mr. Jinnah, who claims to be equally avid for freedom, has thought fit to strike a jarring note by harking back to his slogan of Pakistan. In his interview with Mr. Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America, Mr. Jinnah asks the Mahatma to drop the present Conference and work out his Pakistan scheme! It is the old story again. The riddle is not hard to read and Mr. Jinnah will soon realise that he has made the stunt once too often.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## The Release of Congress Leaders

**W**HATEVER the upshot of the Simla Conference there is general relief and a sense of thankfulness that members of the Congress Working Committee who have been under detention since August, 1942 have at last been set free. Of course the Wavell proposals would not have a chance of being considered by the Congress or Gandhiji in the absence of these leaders who should have been released long ago even if there was any need for their detention at any time for reasons of security. It is a pity, however, that even this release at so late an hour has not been done with the grace and generosity that the occasion merits. Consider what fine and dramatic effect the magnanimous gesture of a complete release of all politicals would have had on the minds of the people. It would have touched the imagination of the people at large and created an atmosphere which would certainly have made a decisive difference in the reception of any political plan. As might be expected almost the first public utterance of Pandit Nehru on his release was tinged with grief.

My first thoughts are with those who are still rotting in prison. Against that grim background of suffering and humiliation it is not a matter for rejoicing that eight members of the Working Committee have come strutting out of prison. It is a matter for shame and sorrow that so many of our comrades are still behind prison walls.

## The League's Claim Challenged

Mr Jinnah, in a recent statement, claimed that 99 per cent of the Mussalmans of India are with the League. This is a tall claim in the face of certain well known Muslim leaders outside the ranks of the League fraternity. The general Secretary Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan himself admitted that the League holds only 420 seats of the total 600 Muslim seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. When more than one fourth of the Muslim seats are in the hands of the non-League how can Mr. Jinnah ask for the right to nominate all Muslims on the Council? In the last General Elections, says Prof Humayun Kabir, the League obtained only 4 per cent of

the Muslim votes cast and no Party or organisation can claim members except those returned on its own ticket.

Of the four Muslim majority Provinces the Frontier is represented today in the Conference by a member of the Congress and the Punjab by a member of the Unionist Party and is represented by Sir Ghulam Hussain who holds his office at the pleasure of the Congress Party in the Legislatures and has often changed his allegiance. The position of the Premier of Assam is identical with that of Sind.

Bengal alone is represented by a member of the League but he has hardly the right to speak on behalf of the province after his decisive defeat in the Legislature.

Further light on the League's position in Bengal is thrown by Mr Fazlul Haq in a telegram to the Congress President challenging Mr Jinnah's claims. Says Mr Haq:

In 1941 when I formed a National Cabinet in Bengal with representatives of all parties only 42 Muslim Leaguers stood aloof in opposition out of a total Muslim strength of 123 members. I maintained the strength till I resigned in March 1943 when many of my adherents were won over by the League by most questionable methods. In the last voting in the Assembly, when the League Ministry was defeated I had 51 Muslims in the opposition against 61 Muslims in the League, the rest being absentees on both sides.

How then could the League claim to represent the main body of Muslims even in Bengal?

Mr M Yunus, Ex-Premier of Bihar, in a telegram to the Congress President recalls that

not a single candidate was returned to the Bihar Assembly on its League ticket in 1936. At present out of 42 Muslim members only three are returned on the League ticket.

No less emphatic is Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi M.L.A. (Central) and President of the Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta in a telegram to Lord Wavell. After referring to the fundamental difference between Muslims in and out of the All India Muslim League Sir Abdul Halim says:

It would be an act of gross injustice to a large number of Muslims who stand for the ideal of united India for the future if they are not represented in the Executive Council.

Finally, this Association submits that the All India Muslim League cannot and does not represent all the Muslims in India.

## Indians in South Africa

The Judicial Commission of inquiry into matters affecting the Indian population in Natal, more popularly known as the Broome Commission, has at last published its report which in a sense may be said merely to refer the whole question back to the Government. While it has attempted to probe into the causes of the trouble—and its findings are unfortunately coloured by the same racial bias which taints the Afrikaners' vision—no specific remedy is suggested. But we welcome its suggestion that the Government of India should send representatives to discuss this subject with the Union Government. For after all the Indian question, or any aspect of it, can be solved only through negotiation and agreement—and not, by a mere fiat of the Union legislature.

But when the Commission suggests that the basis of such negotiation must be the recognition of the inherent right of the white people to a position of permanent superiority it obviously oversteps the limits of decency and fairness. The Commission cannot be oblivious to the widespread resentment and indignation at the Union people's obstinacy nor ignore the growing volume of world opinion against S. African intolerance. To suggest, as the Commission does, that

Natal Indians should be granted franchise on the common roll with Europeans, but that qualifications for the registration of Indians should be more stringent than in the case of Europeans, so as to ensure that the electorate should comprise a permanent European majority,

may be a clever attempt to hoodwink world opinion but it cannot succeed. It means while franchise to the Indians is conceded in a way, European hegemony is permanently safeguarded. "So long as Indians continue to demand adult suffrage" we are told "a compromise or even discussion is out of the question." Why? Indians do not seek special privileges but they can accept no humiliating terms. It is no good arguing that Indians living in S. A. are materially much better off than in their homeland.

When you have denied a man the right to vote in even municipal elections, when you effectively prevent him from entering the higher professions, when you deny his children education,

and his community decent housing, when you deny him admittance into hotels, cinemas and other places of amusement, you cannot justify yourself by the argument that he may be earning more money than some of his poorer compatriots in India.

The report is on safer ground when it says that there is room for greater understanding between the people of South Africa and the people of India. It rightly recognizes that there is no use talking wildly about reparation. Thousands of S. African born Indians who have never seen this country and have no roots in our soil cannot be transplanted to order. It will be nothing short of a cruelty to ask them to quit what to them is still their native land. The Report therefore truly says

that, since they cannot be assimilated or repatriated they must be accommodated and permitted to live with other groups with the minimum of friction.

To that end then must the two delegations address themselves and hit upon a course of action that must ensure lasting peace in South Africa.

## Independence vs. Dominion Status

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, is a clever man; but he attempted to excel himself in his exposition of the relative merits of Dominion Status vs. Independence. Speaking on the Government of Burma Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Amery explained that Dominion Status is in no way inferior to Independence.

"I am not sure myself," he said, "that the meaning of that term is fully understood. It is sometimes contrasted with Independence as if were something short of Independence and inferior. The Dominion Status is not one of Independence minus certain rights or privileges but of Independence plus the rights and privileges and practical advantages accruing from a world wide association of nations like the British Commonwealth."

If that is really so, why should he fight shy of "Independence" and refuse to incorporate it in the Bill? It will be noticed that word is studiously avoided in his recent statement on India. If Dominion Status is a superior privilege, let him try it nearer home; Indians and Burmese are apt to say "Independence is good enough for us."

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY CHRONICLER

## British Government Election

THIRLL will be 1672 candidates in the general election. This does not include the three men who were returned unopposed and are therefore the first members of the new Parliament.

The candidates are fighting for 637 seats. For only three candidates to be returned without a contest is thought to be an all time record. In 291 constituencies three candidates are in the field for a single seat. There are also 7 five cornered fights. They are at Chichester Handworth (Birmingham) Newbury Shettleson (Glasgow) Glasgow Central and Putney.

There will be a record number of women candidates the total nominated being 88. Labour is the Party with the biggest individual candidature. They have got 601 men and women in the field. This is probably a record for a single Party. The Liberals have nominated 80, Common Wealth, 22, Communists 21, Independents 12, the Independent Labour Party 6 and Scottish Nationalists 7. In several places women are opposing each other. Mrs Van der List the opponent of capital punishment is standing for Hornchurch Essex as an Independent.

## Solve Syrian Deadlock

New moves in the Syria deadlock are reported. Firstly General Sir Bernard Paget British Commander in the Middle East now back in his Cairo headquarters is stated to have stopped at Damascus on his way back from Persia to talk with the Syrian President M. Shukri Konatly.

Secondly, new French proposals to ease the situation may shortly be in the hands of the two Levant Governments while the joint note which the Syrian and Lebanese Governments are sending to France is being given final form.

Thirdly, the internal problem in the Lebanon has been solved and steps are being taken to set up a new coalition government in which the former Premier M. Riad es Solh will take part.

## A New World Charter

A World Charter setting up a new international Organisation has now been approved by the San Francisco Conference. The Headquarters of the Organisation will be in London.

The purposes of the new Organisation which is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members are to maintain international peace and security and take effective collective measures to that end and to achieve international co-operation in solving world problems of economic social cultural or humanitarian character.

The Organisation will have

1 A General Assembly composed of all members with power to discuss and make recommendations.

2 A Security Council consisting of 11 members—the five Big Powers as permanent members and six non permanent members elected by the General Assembly. On non procedural matters the permanent members have the power of veto.

3 An economic and Social Council consisting of 18 members elected by the General Assembly to study and make recommendations to the Assembly on international economic social cultural educational and health questions.

4 A Trusteeship Council including States administering trust territories and other members elected by the Assembly in equal numbers. This Council will have power to pay periodic visits to Trust territories.

5 An International Court of Justice to succeed the permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

6 A Secretary General appointed by the General Assembly on the Security Council's recommendation. The Charter lays down that the Secretary takes his orders from the Organisation and not from any Government.

## The Polish Position

The London President of the Polish Republic M. Raczkiewicz has issued a message to Polish people in which he says:

The constitution of the Polish Republic imposes on me the duty of transferring the office of the President of the Polish Republic after the conclusion of the war into the hands of a my successor chosen by the nation in a democratic election free from violence and threats of any kind. I shall do it immediately our nation is in a position to hold such an election. For the time being I will remain at my post.



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**VERDICT ON SOUTH AFRICA** (The Tyranny of Colour) By P. S. Joshi, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 9 12 0.

To those who are interested in the problem of the Indian in South Africa and in the history of the struggle he has undergone for over a century, this book will furnish a mine of useful information. It is in fact a scathing exposition of the tyranny of the Whites over the Indians in South Africa.

Detailed information regarding the various disabilities which our countrymen have been subject to for nearly a century and full particulars of the measures and acts promulgated by the South African Government calculated virtually to drive the Indian out of South Africa, are also found in this volume.

The author of the book, Mr. Joshi, went to South Africa years ago as an educated entrant and settled in Johannesburg. He actively interested himself in public work for nearly a quarter of a century and held prominent positions in various social and political bodies. He can justly claim that his book "is the first big effort to study the most complicated Asiatic problem from the economic and political standpoint" as it is the fruit of many years of study of the Indian problem there.

**THE POSITION OF WOMEN** By Lakshmi N. Menon. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Oxford University Press. As. 6.

In this short and stimulating pamphlet Mrs. Menon has contrived to give an engaging account of the position of women in India. Education, health, birth control, medical aid, maternal mortality, diseases of women, re-education, marriage, property, divorce, franchise and the history of the women's movement are the chief topics which she has treated with much sympathy and understanding.

**WAR LEADERS** By Sarwat Jahan; MEN WHO RULE JAPAN, A DIARY OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION; THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN by Krishna N. Singh; Fascism—THE JAPANESE BRAND by Afja Khatun. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. As. 6 each.

Students interested in the present war find these booklets published by the Kitabistan under the "New Horizon Series" extremely useful and informative. The first of these gives a brief and readable account of about 21 military leaders of the United Nations, comprising Britain, U.S.A., China and Russia whose names have become familiar in this war. An attempt has been made to be as factual and objective as possible. The second deals in a similar strain about 20 leaders of Japan, who are responsible for the war in the East with China and America, while the third is a short chronicle of the record of Japanese aggression since 1885 up to 1918, revealing the trail of Japanese Militarism. The last two booklets briefly survey the traditions, the philosophy, and history of the Japanese people and their way of life. They give us an insight into Japanese religion and character.

**INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY PLANS** By Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. Second and revised edition. S. Chand & Co. Delhi. Price Rs. 3 8.

The author points out that though the Indian delegation at Bretton Woods pulled as one team for the acceptance of the Major demand set out in this book (that of the inclusion of the liquidation of war-time balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund), it did not succeed. Nor has the Conference conceded India's claim to a permanent seat on the Executive Committee of the Fund. In spite of these disappointments and drawbacks, India, he says, should accept membership of both the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

JULY 1945]

REFLECTIONS ON THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION By Y G Krishnamurthi  
Vora & Co Publishers Ltd 9 Round  
Building Kolbadevi Road Bombay Re 18

An ardent believer in Gandhian ideals and philosophy Mr Y G Krishnamurthi sets out to analyse basic trends underlying the non violent resolution in this provocative booklet. He passionately attacks what he calls negative Gandhism. He critically examines the temper of the Revolution and the quality of the Indian National development and comes to the conclusion that the destinies of our society now depend upon the upshot of the conflict of Gandhi with Gandhism and that the one form of resistance to evil which does not deplete the resources of moral action is the Gandhian technique

GANDHISM A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH By  
A N Agarwala Kitab Mahal Allahabad  
As 10

Amidst the spate of books on Gandhism this tract with its approach to the subject from a socialistic angle is extremely illuminating. Though Gandhism has grown into a mighty movement in this country the main ingredients of this school of thought have not yet been clearly established. Nor has the position of Gandhism vis a vis socialism been regarded with a sympathetic and co-ordinating angle. This booklet makes an attempt to deal with the main tenets technique and methods of Gandhism and the close relationship it bears with socialism in many respects with special reference to this country and shows the happy amalgam that is taking shape between the two

## BOOKS RECEIVED

YOUR FOOD A study of the Problem of food and nutrition in India By M R Masan (Tata Studies in Current Affairs) Palit & Co Ltd Bombay Re 1

THE GANDHI PLAN By S N Agarwal Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi Padma Publications Ltd Bombay

THE HEADMISTRESS A Novel by Angela Thirlwell (Hamish Hamilton) Thacker & Co Ltd Bombay Re 78

SUPPERTIME TALES By A T Mackay Thacker & Co Ltd Bombay

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY IN INDIA By Prof Dr N N Godbole All India Manufacturers Organ aton Bombay

THE CHIEF PRODUCE By Prof J C Dasuvala Hind Kitab Publishers Bombay Rs 48

IS PAKISTAN NECESSARY By V B K Karikari II Kitab Bombay Rs 312

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM The wisdom of God Translated by Swam Prabhavananda Sr Ramakrishna Math Mysore Madras Rs 38

GURUDEV By Raj Paroth An Essay on appreciation of Post Rabindra Nath Tagore Sadhana Publishing House Hyderabad (Dn) 68

TO WOMEN By Amrit Karna An English House Ahmedabad

THE COW IN INDIA VOL I By Satish Chandra Dasgupta (Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi) Khatra Pratisthan 10 College Square Calcutta Re 10

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEMS By A Nationalist Punjab Gram Seva Mandal Book Depot Lajpat Rai Bhawan Lahore 68

FROGS END Translated from Bengali by H enrinath Mukerjee Mitalaya 10 Shyam charan de St Calcutta

THE NATIONAL FLAG AND OTHER ESSAYS By Dr Smiti Kumar Chatterji Mitra and Ghosh Calcutta

OFF THE MAIN TRACK By Dr S reninath Sen - Mitra and Ghosh Calcutta

HISTORICAL TAMIL READER By P S Subramanya Sastri Annamalai University Annamalai Nagar

RACE AND CULTURES OF INDIA By D N Majumdar (Lucknow University) Kitabstan Allahabad

TOWARDS FREEDOM By Nara N S Mehta Bar at Law Kitabtan Allahabad

JANAKES LIBERALISM DECENCY AND FALL By N J Nanpura Kitabtan Allahabad

GANDHI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT 1912-41 Navajva Publishing House Ahmedabad

COMPLETE INCOME TAX RECAP RECOVER 1945 By R C Doodhmal G D A Empire Terrace Lamington Road Bombay

TRIBUTES OF THE PEOPLE By P R Ramachandran Rao New Book Co Bombay 314

FOOD POLICY FOR INDIA By S G Tiwar MA Nand Kishore and Bros Benares Re 1

THE 20 CENTURY GAZETTEER OF INDIA Hindustan Commerce at Bombay Rs 20



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

—) O (—

- June 1. "Cease fire" in Syria following British intervention.  
—Lord Wavell leaves London for India.
- June 2 Moscow rejects compromise on Veto issue.  
—Soviet urges pacific settlement of Levant dispute.
- June 3. Bharati Memorial foundation stone laid by C R at Ettiapuram
- June 4 Lord Wavell returns to India.
- June 5 Churchill denounced by Trade Union leader.  
—Big four agreement on occupation of Germany.
- June 6 End of Third Reich  
—Austria and Sudetenland separated.
- June 7 Second reading of the Government of Burma Bill in the Lords.
- June 8. Big five agree on Veto issue.  
—Assam Government lifts ban on Congress bodies.
- June 9. Spanish Government agrees to extradite M. Laval.
- June 10 Arab League supports British view in Levant dispute.  
—Subject People's Conference in London demands application of Atlantic charter and representation at Peace Conference.
- June 11. Mr. Bhnlabhai Desai meets Gandhiji for discussion on Wavell proposals.
- June 12. Freedom of London conferred on Gen. Eisenhower.
- June 13. Mr. Churchill replies to Mr. Bevin on the break up of the coalition. Mr. Attlee explains.
- June 14. Birthday honours. Victory honours to high ranking generals.  
—Viceroy broadcasts his plan.
- June 15. Congress Working Committee members released.  
—The King prorogues Parliament.
- June 16. Von Ribbentrop captive at Hamburg.  
—Gandhiji and Viceroy exchange telegrams re Simla Conference.
- June 17. Congress President, agreeing with Gandhiji, calls an emergent meeting of the Working Committee At Bombay on June 21.
- June 18. Maulana Azad, Congress President, invited to Simla Conference.  
—Gen. Eisenhower welcomed in U.S.A.
- June 19 Gandhiji—Viceroy exchange of telegrams re parity.  
—Pandit Jawaharlal urges need for change of Government.
- June 20 Burma Governor promises self Government for Burma without delay.  
—Agreement on trusteeship reached at Frisco Conference.
- June 21. Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay accepts Viceroy's invitation to Simla Conference.  
—Okinawa battle ends.
- June 22. Britain explains intervention in Levant dispute.
- June 23. Pandit Nehru gives his reactions to Viceroy's offer.  
—Maulana Azad meets the Viceroy.
- June 24. Gandhiji and later Mr. Jinnah meet the Viceroy.  
—Viceroy agrees to Gandhiji's proposal that Mr. Azad should represent Congress while he himself will be available at Simla during Conference for advice.
- June 25. Lord Wavell opens Simla Conference.
- June 26. World Nations' Charter adopted at San Francisco.
- June 27. Leaders' Conference adjourned till 29th.  
—San Francisco talks end.
- June 28. New Polish Government formed.
- June 29. Simla Conference adjourned to July 14.  
—Congress President invites Working Committee members to Simla.
- June 30. Mr. Amery defends his India record.  
—Mr. Jinnah springs a surprise by asking Gandhiji to accept Pakistan first!



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS

## INDIA AND BRITAIN

In the *Arjan Path* for June, Miss Elizabeth Cross, an English educationist, raises certain questions to glimpse a pattern in the web of Indian politics. The editor passed them on to Mr T R Venkatarama Sastri CIE, who points out that nations like individuals are very much alive to others' faults and not so to their own. Each lives in the midst of known faults and is too accustomed to them, he says, to realise how they would strike a stranger.

The Greek historians found great virtues among our people here. They had no interest in overpraising us or underestimating us. Even the early British administrators had good words to say of us, Indians. But we are now committing the unpardonable sin of asking for our freedom and our faults and inadequacies have to be studied with the most minute care to justify the denial of freedom or its very qualified admission. Incidentally it may suggest to far-seeing thinkers, how demoralising domination is, corrupting alike to the ruler and the ruled. Indians maintained their character with the Greeks who were their equals but lost it with the British dominators.

Miss Cross goes on to talk sneeringly of the caste system that there is "some thing definitely cruel and dangerous about this." She says in a superior way that the idea of the untouchables shocks her. Sastri points out:

The caste system had its admirers among the early British administrators. It served a good purpose in its day. Perhaps its day is done. I am witnessing every hour of the day numerous acts which under strict caste rules would be very, very improper. Where such rules have been found intolerable in modern conditions they have yielded. Where any features still remain no one feels them intolerable. And they are slowly softening now. Without entering upon its origin or its rationale, I will only say that if caste was not an unmixed blessing it was not an unmixed curse either, but in so far as it had the potentiality of the

present friction, it had an unrecognized defect from the beginning. The system may urge in extenuation that no device for meeting a present undeniable need can ever be free of unanticipated possibilities of evil. Is not Science benevolent and beneficent? Has it not to defend itself now against the charge of responsibility for the present day atrocities?

The really important point for Miss Cross is that she worries about us and also feels uneasy at the ancient doings of her ancestors in this land. She intends well. But her recipe for all the ills we suffer from—our high birth-rate and infant mortality and amazingly primitive agriculture—is yet more British rule after a century and a half of it! Mr Sastri asks:

If even so perfect a country as Britain can only plead that she has grave problems of her own with which she is grappling, should not other countries be allowed to grapple with their own? Some day all tutelage must end, even though it may seem grievous to guardians that wards should attain age and claim their own.

As for us, we have received the blessing of British Rule and along with it the further blessing of not being able easily to extricate ourselves from it. Is not coming under foreign domination in itself a serious fault inexcusable at any time and for all time?

## INDIA AND THE LEVANT

"Frank as Mr. Churchill has been and admirable as is his demand—that the guarantees of Syrian and Lebanese independence shall be implemented by the British policy, he cuts a poor figure when India is drawn into the picture," says the *Cavalade*, an important news weekly commenting on the Levant crisis.

The paper adds, "It is certain that anti-British elements all over the world will make the comparison."

"India is not another story, but an integral part of this piece. So long as independence is sauce for the Levantine goose, but not for the Indian gander, a charge of hypocrisy can, and will be levelled against Britain."

## MILITARY DESPOTISM IN INDIA

"It is hardly necessary to remind the readers of the *New Leader* that the Government of India is perfect, pure, military and bureaucratic despotism and has been so ever since the now far-off days of its founders, perhaps the two arch-thieves of all colonial history. Robert Clive and Warren Hastings," writes the eminent socialist, historian and writer, Mr. F. A. Ridley, in the *New Leader*, organ of the Independent Labour Party, under the title "How is the Empire?" the words supposed to have been uttered by King George V on his death-bed.

Mr Ridley says:

If it is not accurate to describe the British Government in India as Fascist, that is only because Fascism is twentieth century in its methods. But it is actually a distinction without a difference.

At present British rule in India hangs only by the proverbial thread. Independence has been promised to this so long 'occupied' country. And though it would be nothing new for the English 'gentlemen' to break his word, it is difficult to see how even Messrs Churchill, Amery and Company will be able for long to avoid quitting India, at least in the political sense.

It is, of course, just possible that British imperialism might be able to hang on by sheer brute force for a time in the teeth of revolt or even revolution by unarmed India masses. British imperialism in India today is in the unique position that all its allies, for entirely different reasons, want it out of India. For China wants Asia for the Asians and Russia wants her chief European rival (England) out of Asia, while the economic imperialism of the U.S.A. desires herself to exploit the fabulous potential market opened up by the coming industrialisation of the Far East.

Consequently, so far as India is concerned, it may be safely assumed that the alleged question of King George V will shortly cease to have relevance. For different but effective reasons, the whole world wants the British out of India. And, peacefully or violently, out of India the British will soon go. Is Lord Wavell the last of the White Sahibs?

## AMERICAN INTEREST IN INDIA

A friendly constructive attitude on the part of the United States towards both Britain and India in their attempts to reach an agreement is recommended by Edward C. Carter, Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, writing on "the Pacific Basin and India" in a special British Commonwealth issue of *Survey Graphic* magazine.

Americans have India very much on their conscience. Many of them express opinions similar to those of Tommy Atkins in the malarial jungles of Burma when he grouses about British Imperialism, writes Carter.

Nonetheless it is well to realize that Britain has far greater responsibilities in Asia and the Pacific than the United States has ever assumed either prior to Pearl Harbour or since. Britain has dug deep into this vast area. Responsible Englishmen know that they simply cannot clear out overnight.

Progressive Americans can best aid their own country, the subject peoples of India and Great Britain herself by recognising these British responsibilities, by acquainting themselves with the unfolding of more progressive British policy and by backing every democratic British move in the whole Pacific area.

Under pressure from Indian opposition and from enlightened public opinion in the United Kingdom British authorities have shown considerable genius in the art of conciliation. By a friendly constructive attitude, Americans can aid both the British and the Indians in making those major compromises and readjustments for which the whole world waits.

If Sir Stafford Cripps had had more latitude and the Indian leaders more statesmanship, the world might have witnessed yet another example of constructive British compromise.

JULY 1915]

## REMINISCENCES OF SRIRAMAKRISHNA

Sri Mahendranath Dutta, the younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, who leads a secluded life of study and meditation in Calcutta met Sri Ramakrishna for the first time about sixty years ago, and several times afterwards. He has related some of his most interesting reminiscences of Sri Ramakrishna in his latest book in Bengali excerpts from which translated by Swami Jagadishwarananda, have appeared in *Human Affairs* for February, referring to his first meeting with Sri Ramakrishna he says

My first meeting with him took place in a summer evening of 1832 or 1833 in the house of Sri Ramachandra Dutta,—my neighbour and relative. Hearing that the Paramahansa of Dakshineswar had come a crowd of about fifty persons of whom I was one, gathered in the house almost out of curiosity. All eyes were fixed on him. He was very simple and unassuming like a villager

As I sat near him, I felt like keeping quiet. The assembled people felt a similar mood and sat silent. He himself was speaking a few words now and then. His mind was always in such a high plane that when he used to speak, he brought down his mind by force from its dizzy heights. All present slowly got overpowered by his august presence and felt uplifted. After sitting for a while he began to murmur a song on Kali or Krishna. I had heard previously expert singers but the song of Sri Ramakrishna was wonderfully inspiring. How sweet his voice was! He used to be absorbed so deeply in the ideas underlying the song that he appeared to float in the thoughts of the song as it were. Our minds got tuned with his mind. I forgot hunger and thirst and also all my engagements. His words were soft and convincing, forceful and intoxicating. When the time drew near for departure, I felt a sort of strong attraction for him. This attraction was neither affect nor love nor respect. It was the heart's desire to be in his holy company.

A kind of intoxication which overtook us all in his presence lasted for full three days at least in my case. Though I followed my daily routine as usual I did not get any interest in them—my mind was away from them; it was with

Sri Ramakrishna as if he had snatched it away. This in short, is the impression of my first meeting.

Mahendranath Dutta particularly remembers the states of divine ecstasy (*samadhi*) in which Sri Ramakrishna would often be found, and giving a vivid description of one such state, observes

Once in the house of Ramachandra Dutta Paramahansa-dev had come. As soon as Sri Ramakrishna was garlanded he hummed a hymn in low tone and passed it to *samadhi*. Such a heavenly atmosphere of holiness and calmness peace and blessedness was created that none wished to move his body or limbs. Our breath became rhythmic and slow. Our minds lost their outgoing tendencies and turned inward. Those who never practised meditation in their life experienced a meditative mood. Effluence that emanated from his body filled up the room like the fragrance of a flower and overwhelmed us. I have travelled in many countries of Europe and Asia but I have nowhere come across such a strange man such a God intoxicated soul. To him God was all in all and everything else was trash.

In these reminiscences we get a glimpse of the sublime nature of Sri Ramakrishna's influence over the group of sincere young men who were gathered round him knit together in the bonds of spiritual fraternity. Those who visited Sri Ramakrishna even casually became friendly and talked of him whenever they met.

## INDIAN HOME

The *Indian Home* has now become a well established monthly catering to the taste of all members of the modern home in India—male and female alike. One evidence of its growing popularity is to be found in the publication of an Urdu edition—which is now issued in attractive style, printed in Roman characters. The May and June issues of this attractively got up edition contain articles and pictures of versatile interest. They will be of particular value to the young for whose special benefit many attractive features are included.

The English monthly is a miscellany of varied and striking interest. One notable feature is the publication of classic thrillers like those of Dumas and the more modern stories of Tagore and Chatterjee.

## THE ART OF KHASTGIR

Writing in the May number of *New Horizons*, Mr. Maurice Lee offers a judicious appreciation of the work of the Bengal artist, Sudhir Khastgir:

In the main his inspiration comes from the very homely and simple source of the life of the country folk. There is no place in his art for sophistication. The story he has to tell is that of life in its simplest and most genuine forms, the relationship of the peasant to his own environment. Sometimes it will be his religious ceremonies or practices, or the characters and deities who people his mythology, sometimes his harmony with or his struggle against the elements sometimes the simpler human emotions joy, grief, childhood, youth, courtship, marriage, motherland, old age. All these combine in his portrayals of simple village life women going to the well, a party in a bullock cart going to the pica, a band of villagers trekking through the rain or through the night, a *Santal* playing the flute in the clear spring sunshine while a young girl dances. The dance is very favourite subject of Khastgir's, in the portrayal of which he excels, and which has resulted in some of his finest compositions.

Khastgir's choice of media, as befits his versatility, is most varied. From line drawing with pencil ink, charcoal and with the brush, he works with equal facility in both oil and water colour. Although he is a colourist of considerable ability and originality, his chief pre-occupation seems to be with the beauty of line, whether he is working in colour or in monochrome.

It was at *Santiniketan* that Sudhir Khastgir first exercised his talent for modelling, and since that time his sculpture has developed alongside his painting.

For the most part his works are in clay. In the last few years he has produced a number of excellent portraits. To many, however, a greater interest is to be found in his studies and small figure compositions which, as with his painting, reveal his deep sympathy with the life of the common man.

## WAS GOKHALE A THEOSOPHIST?

*Triveni* has published the full text of a speech in which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri spoke of some little-known incidents of Gokhale's life. Touching the relationship between Gokhale and Mrs Besant, Mr. Sastri observed, basing his narration on "Gokhale's own account:"

During one of her (Mrs Besant's) early visits to Poona he (Gokhale) attended a meeting at which she answered questions from candidates for admission to the Theosophical Society. When his turn came he plied her hard and his manner perhaps appeared controversial. In her impatience she burst out: "Young man, when you come to be my age, these things will appear in a clearer light." That decided Gokhale against the Society. But 'thereby hangs a tail', as a wag has said. Long afterwards, Mrs. Besant, and leading Theosophists continued to claim him as a member. Questioned by me once, he became vehement and said, "When next anybody calls me a Theosophist, deny it in my name, I authorise you." The time soon came when I had to convey this unpleasant news to Mrs. Besant. For a fraction of a moment she appeared nettled, but she at once recovered composure and changed the topic. Inquiry showed that an intimate friend of Gokhale had paid the prescribed fee of admission and maintained his name on the register for two or three years. I guess Gokhale was aware of this fact, but he was not a consistent party, and the dubious status came to an end soon. In Theosophical circles one may occasionally find the belief still in his continued membership, but the emphatic disclaimer that I have recorded should give a quietus to the story. But I must guard against a possible misapprehension. Gokhale to the last minute of his life gave testimony without stint to her unparalleled services to the country of her adoption, and, in personal behaviour, showed every mark of respect for her eminence in the world. She, for her part, never missed an opportunity of praising the pure gold of his patriotism, declared more than once that the columns of *New India* were always at his disposal and that he might treat the paper

# INDIAN STATES

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Mysore

Hyderabad

## RESEARCH WORK IN ENGINEERING

The Nizam's Government has sanctioned a scheme proposed by Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, PWD Member of the Nizam's Council, for the establishment of a Department in Engineering Research estimated to cost about Rs 6 lakhs. Dr S P Ragu Principal Osmania Engineering College has been appointed as its head and he has been asked to draw up a five year programme in this connection. The subjects coming within the scope of this Department include irrigation soil mechanics building materials building and housing problems road research public health engineering hydraulic machinery agricultural engineering and industrial psychology.

The Department proposed is to be located at Himayat Sagar ten miles from the city and research work is expected to be started early next October.

Hyderabad till now had been handicapped for want of a research laboratory of its own. Minor researches however was carried out by students of the Engineering College.

## NIZAM'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

With the appointment of Dewan Bahadur S Aravamudu Iyengar MBE as Member of H.L.H. the Nizam's Executive Council in place of Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur certain readjustments have been made in the portfolios held by the Hon'ble Members of the Council. Says a Press Note issued by the Government. The Hyderabad City and District Electricity Departments have been assigned to the Hon'ble Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur. The Wireless and Broadcasting Department has been assigned to the Hon'ble Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur. The Observatory and the Fisheries Departments have been assigned to the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur S Aravamudu Iyengar.

## A SURPLUS BUDGET

The budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly was declared open by Pradhan Siromani N Madhava Rao the Dewan President.

The following is the financial position of the State in 1944-45 and the anticipated position in 1945-46.

	1944-45	1945-46
Total revenue	Rs 9,26,70,000	Rs 9,48,66,000
met from revenue	Rs 7,46,80,000	Rs 7,46,80,000
expenditure met from funds	Rs 69,85,000	Rs 69,85,000
net contribution to funds	Rs 1,01,46,000	Rs 1,01,46,000
making a total expenditure of	Rs 9,18,20,000	Rs 9,18,20,000
Surplus	Rs 8,50,000	Rs 8,50,000

The revised estimates for 1944-45 are as follows:

	Revenue	Rs	Surplus
Total expenditure	Rs 9,46,66,000		Rs 9,48,66,000
Rs 2,00,000			Rs 2,00,000
Excess Profits Tax exclusive of the sum refundable to assesseees	Rs 40,00,000		Rs 40,00,000
revenue from assigned tract	Rs 54,46,000		Rs 54,46,000
Excise and Abkari revenue showing a substantial increase is computed at	Rs 1,80,00,000		Rs 1,80,00,000
A fall by	Rs 36,67,000		Rs 36,67,000
is anticipated from the duty on gold			Rs 36,67,000

On the expenditure side in 1945-46 there is much increase on development activities. The expenditures are as follows:

	Rs
Education	Rs 1,11,00,000
medical relief	Rs 29,00,000
public health	Rs 8,00,000
veterinary	Rs 8,00,000
sericulture	Rs 4,00,000
irrigation	Rs 27,40,000
development	Rs 27,40,000
expenditure met from the Road fund	Rs 44,88,000

## 90 LAKHS FOR EDUCATION

The total expenditure on education in Mysore State has now risen to Rs 90 lakhs. The average cost of education per head of population now working out at Re 1.40. There is one school for every 326 square miles of area and 793 persons of population in the State. Over 4,83,900 students are studying in 9,043 public institutions in Mysore.

## Baroda

## BARODA SQUADRON

The Baroda Fighter Squadron, whose equipment was provided for by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar in May, 1941, has had a notable career.

Throughout its work the squadron was equipped with Spitfires, and one of its outstanding successes was the shooting down of five FW 190s in the course of a single sortie. In all, the squadron accounted for 29 enemy air-craft destroyed, four probably destroyed and 15 damaged. At the beginning of this year, the Baroda Squadron was one of those selected to reinforce the fighter bomber squadrons in action against V-2 launching sites. During this period the unit lost four pilots.

## CHILD MARRIAGE IN BARODA

The Baroda State Information Officer states that out of 3120 cases under the Child Marriage Prevention Act, 2968 were disposed of last year. The majority of the 5464 persons convicted under the Act were fined and a few sentenced to imprisonment. The Act is proving beneficial as the number of child marriages decreases every year. Sixty-five suits were filed under the Hindu Divorce Law. Nine marriages were registered under the Special Marriage Act.

## PRICE CONTROL ACT

The Price Control Act has been strictly enforced in the State. In 1943-44 113 out of 132 cases on file under the Act were disposed of, 48 out of these resulting in conviction. Four of the offenders were fined and the remaining 44 were given terms of imprisonment.

## DEVELOPMENT SCHEME IN BARODA

HH the Maharaja of Baroda has appointed Sir Cyril Fox to prepare a geological and hydro-electrical survey of the State. Sir Cyril has been asked to draw up a development scheme in the light of his findings.

## Travancore

## TRAVANCORE PUBLIC SERVICES

Members belonging to various parties in the Assembly participated in the debate on the report of the Public Service Commissioner on June 14 and 15. Every speaker pressed the claims of his respective community for adequate participation in the public services and the consensus of opinion was in favour of retention of the office of the Public Service Commissioner, assisted by an Advisory Committee.

Mr Nataraja Pillai, voicing the view of the Congress, said his party favoured the continuance of the Public Service Commissioner who, however, should not belong to any one of the communities in Travancore. They did not advocate the establishment of a Staff Selection Board, and felt it was more expedient to have a single individual to decide on the matter of recruitment.

## POLICE FORCE IN TRAVANCORE

An appeal for the continued co-operation between the public and the Police, with a view to ensuring that the work of the Police was best done in the interests of the public, was made by Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, presiding at the Travancore Police presentation parade, at the Council Chamber on June 14.

After presenting medals—two Maharajah's and ten Police medals—to the members of the Force for acts of conspicuous gallantry and meritorious service, the Dewan announced that Government have sanctioned permanent provision being made to the recipients of these medals, and their dependants, for a definite period in a manner analogous to that obtaining in British India.

## GRANT TO Y.M.C.A

The Travancore Government have sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3,000 to the Y.M.C.A. for the year 1945 for rural reconstruction work in the State.

JULY 1915]

**Cochin****CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN COCHIN**

The Cochin Government has issued a press note incorporating certain recommendations of the Cochin Co-operative Enquiry Committee for the efficient working of the co-operative movement in the State.

The Government agree with the Committee that in order to have better and efficient supervision, it is necessary that the non official side of the supervision is strengthened and re adjusted on a scientific basis so that it may really supplement departmental supervision. For this purpose the Government has directed that all societies should be compulsorily affiliated to Unions.

Each supervising Union will have a working committee of 5 members of whom 3 will be elected and 2 nominated by the Registrar. The annual contributions to the various Unions have been enhanced.

**COCHIN DEWAN'S TERM EXTENDED**

The Cochin Maharaja has extended the term of office of Sir George Boag as Dewan of Cochin for another 18 months from November 17, 1915 states a Government *communiqué*.

**Bikaner****NEW BIKANER LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

The first meeting of the new Bikaner State Legislative Assembly was held on May 28, 29 and 30.

When it was established over thirty years ago, the powers of the State Assembly were strictly limited but with the new reforms, it has an elected majority, with 29 elected and 22 nominated members.

Other features of the reformed Legislature are the appointment of an elected Deputy President, the appointment of Under Secretaries to Government from among non official members of the Assembly who will be attached to certain Departments, the enlargement of powers of interpellation, the right of moving adjournments, etc.

**Kashmir****KASHMIR ADMINISTRATION**

The Jammu and Kashmir State Administration Report gives an interesting account of the progress made by the State during the year 1914-15.

The total receipts during the year were Rs 386.65 lakhs and the total expenditure was Rs 376.63 lakhs. An outstanding event in the history of the judicial administration of the State was the grant of Letters Patent by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to the Honble Judges of the High Court the same status and independence as is enjoyed by the High Courts in British India and in certain respects higher administrative powers. The total number of Courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice at the close of the year under review was 158.

100 new educational institutions were added during the year bringing the total to 1,993 at the close of the year. 101,885 boys and 19,044 girls were on roll in these institutions. Though the number of Muslim boys receiving education is increasing year by year proportion to their population is yet small. The Muslim students numbered 62,341 out of the total of 101,885 students.

The total imports of merchandise during the year amounted to the value of Rs 4,74,23,000, while merchandise of the value of Rs 90,74,000 was exported.

**PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR**

It is authoritatively learnt that the Maharaja of Kashmir has acceded to the request of Sir B. N. Rau for relinquishing the office of Prime Minister and has appointed Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramachandra Kak, Army Minister, as the Prime Minister.

Rai Bahadur Kak will hold office during the pleasure of His Highness. He will be the first State subject to be appointed to the post of Premier.



# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### 'LOADED' FRANCHISE

A survey of Indian public opinion on the interim report of the Broome Commission shows that Indian left wingers consider that whatever the Commission offers does not go far enough, while right-wingers while not accepting "loaded" franchise as ideal feel that it is still better than nothing at all.

Mr P R Pather Secretary, Natal Indian Congress said "I welcome the discussion by the Commission of franchise, but I expected that the Commission would make a recommendation. I have no doubt that if loaded franchise were offered to the Indian community, responsible Indian opinion would accept it as the first step towards achieving full franchise rights."

Mr Pather said that he expected that the Commission would deal with such important questions as housing, education facilities and other social and public health problems "but it appears that, because the Durban City Council was not ready with its case on these questions, the Commission has thought it fit not to touch on them."

### SEGREGATION TACTICS

Indians are considerably perturbed over the Housing Emergency Bill which, while planning to meet the housing needs of returned soldiers, gives wide powers to Natal and other Provincial Councils for "Planning, re-planning or laying out of any areas."

This power, the Natal Indian Congress feels, takes the shape of planning on racial lines. Authority that was sought by previous Natal Ordinances, such as the Residential Property Regulation and Control Ordinances, for creating racial zones which were suspended as a result of Indian objections emerges in this proposed legislation.

## Trinidad

### INDIANS IN TRINIDAD

The most pleasing feature of Indian life in Trinidad as compared with that in the mother-country, is perhaps the harmony which has existed between the various religious and sectarian groups which go to make up the Indian community there.

During the hundred years of domicile in the Caribbean—there has been evident an unfettered social intercourse, a complete tolerance of one another's religious viewpoints and practices, which has strengthened the position and raised the prestige of the entire community in its relationship with the other colonial groups.

In the early days of their settlement here, the Indian population was predominantly Hindu, and that condition still maintains, although reduced because of the secession of converts to Christianity. In the beginning 90 per cent. were of the Hindu faith, while today there are perhaps 70 Hindus out of every 100, with the Muslims and the Christians sharing honours among the remaining 30 per cent.

## U.S.A.

### U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

Representative Clare Booth Luce, co-sponsor of the Indian Immigration Bill, disclosed that she and the former Ambassador to India, Mr. William Phillips, had testified before the Executive Meeting of the Immigration Committee strongly urging the Bill's passage. Mrs. Luce told *Reuter*:

I sincerely hope that partisan considerations will be set aside when the discussion of this legislation comes on the floor of the House and Senate.

The Indian Agent General in Washington, Sir G S Bajpai, said:

The decision of the Committee is most gratifying and I sincerely hope that the Bill will find favourable consideration by the House and the Senate, and will soon be enacted into law. Naturally, I am most appreciative of the goodwill and support of all those Americans who have favoured our cause.

### Questions of Importance

#### CONGRESS AND WAVELL PLAN

'In view of existing circumstances the Committee considered the proposals made by the Viceroy in regard to the Simla Conference fixed for 25th of June and it was decided that the President and other Congressmen invited to the Conference be not asked to attend. Certain directions have been given to them and they have been asked to see elucidation in regard to many matters which still require clarification,' says a statement issued by the Congress Working Committee after conclusion of its two day session in Bombay. The following resolution was adopted on June 22

"The Working Committee meeting after nearly three years of enforced isolation have to consider numerous national and international problems which have taken new shape and form. The Committee will meet again in the near future for this purpose

Meanwhile, while recognising the efforts being made to establish a new world order, the Committee regrets these efforts are being obstructed and vitiated by the ambitions and fears of the great powers who are often moved by motives of retaining their dominion over colonies and dependencies and preventing or delaying the freedom of these countries

The Committee are convinced that world peace and any new international order can only be based on the recognition of the freedom of all these countries and elimination of all traces of imperialist control by whatever name it may be called

The Committee reiterate their policy in regard to this matter laid down by the A I C C on August 8, 1942

#### SUBJECT PEOPLES' CONFERENCE

A demand that all political prisoners in the Colonies be set free, and that democratically elected representatives of subject peoples be invited to participate at the Peace Conference on terms of absolute equality with other delegates was urged at the opening session of the Subject Peoples Conference in London last month

The Conference was attended by representatives from Burma, India, West Africa, East Africa, Malaya the West Indies and other Colonies

The Conference assumed that it was imperative that the Atlantic Charter should be consistently applied to all Colonial peoples regardless of race, colour, or degree of social development, and suggested that at the Peace Conference, there should be set up an effective machinery in the form of a World Colonial Council"

This would consist of representatives of the Colonial countries themselves, and it should be entrusted with the following tasks:

Firstly, to formulate a policy and programme for the unconditional and immediate ending of all Colonial systems

Secondly, to supervise the establishment of representative and responsible constitutions based upon universal adult suffrage in the Colonies and such constitutions to provide full statutory safeguards for minority rights

Thirdly, to ensure that none of the territories at present under Japanese control are permitted to revert to dependent Colonial status after their liberation and that the former Italian Colonies in Africa are given full rights of self determination

Fourthly, to bring about the immediate abrogation of all racial and discriminatory laws, such as at present deprive Negroes in America, Asiatics and Africans in Africa and subject peoples generally of full democratic rights of citizenship

Moving the adoption of these proposals, the Indian writer Iqbal Singh said that, though the voices were different, and came from widely separated countries, they told the same story

# Utterances of the Day

## LORD WAVELL'S ADDRESS TO SIMLA CONFERENCE

Inaugurating the Leaders' Conference at Simla on June 25, H E Lord Wavell said

Before we begin on the agenda of this Conference, the outcome of which will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India, I feel there are a few words I should say to you

First, I welcome you as men who, by character and ability, have risen to leadership in your provinces and parties. I have called you together from all parts of India at this critical moment in her history to advise and help me in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness. I ask you to give me that help in a spirit of broad co-operation towards the good of India as a whole.

It is not a constitutional settlement, it is not a final solution of India's complex problem that is proposed. Nor does the Plan in any way prejudice or prejudice the final issue but if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement and will bring it nearer.

The statesmanship, wisdom and good will of all of us is here on trial, not merely in the eyes of India but before the world.

I said in my broadcast that on all sides there was something to forgive and forget. We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities, and of party and sectional advantage and think of the good of India, the good of four hundred million people and how we can best combine to implement these new proposals made by His Majesty's Government for the advancement of India, now and in the future. It will not be easy, and unless we can place our deliberations at a high common level, we shall not succeed.

You must accept my leadership for the present. Until there is some agreed change in the constitution, I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good and tranquility of India. I ask you to believe in me as a sincere friend of India. I will endeavour to guide the discussions of this Conference in what I believe to be the best interests of this country.

On the column which stands in front of the Viceroy's House crowned by the star of India are engraved these words

"Give us thought, faith in words, wisdom, in deed, courage, in life service, so may India be great." They will make a good guide for our Conference.

## PANDIT NEHRU AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Addressing a Press Conference in Bombay, Pandit Nehru gave his views on many subjects. Referring to the Indian Army, Pandit Nehru said:

It is a very fine fighting force. Wherever it had a chance, it has done exceedingly well. But I am convinced in my mind, that it would have done infinitely better, if it had been given a national colouring. National sentiment is bound to have influence.

Pandit Nehru said that, during the Cripps discussions, he asked Sir Stafford:

If we are in charge of Government, our first job is to infuse a national spirit in the army and make the soldiers feel they are a national army and make India feel that this is our army fighting for freedom and democracy and the freedom of our country.

Pandit Nehru had also told Sir Stafford that their first job would be to remove the barriers that isolated the people from the Indian soldiers. And Sir Stafford replied: "I am afraid that cannot be done. It is not a national army. It is not an Indian army. It is an Indian sector of the British army."

Pandit Nehru said that he asked Sir Stafford, "What about an Indian militia?" and Sir Stafford had replied that that was a matter for the Commander-in-Chief. Even the militia would have to function under the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Nehru said that when they used the word 'mercenary', it was not done in a disparaging sense of the army itself, but as a legal technical name.

As regards the August disturbances, Pandit Nehru said that he did not defend the actions of the people involved in the disturbances, but the normal reaction of an Indian would be to say:

"To hell with anyone who tries to push us out of the way." Violence or non-violence, it is more important for people to show courage than to be kicked and harried about by any individual or authority. If the British Government again launches an attack on us, if will be met and met by every man wherever he is attacked. It may be met by ten or a thousand. Many may take it lying down. A nation which submits to the kind of treatment is a dead nation. And I do not want my people to be a dead people. And therefore, if such a thing is done, it must be resisted.

## KING'S HOPE FOR INDIA

King George expressed his 'earnest hope' that the invitation to Indian political leaders to take part in the government of British India would be accepted

The King made this reference to India in his speech proroguing Parliament read for him in the temporary House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor Viscount Simon

The King said 'My Government have authorized the Governor General of India to invite participation of Indian political leaders in the Government of British India. I earnestly hope that this invitation will be accepted so that the immediate tasks of the waging of war against Japan and post war development of India may be undertaken with full co-operation of all sections of Indian public opinion'

## MR SUMNER WELLES ON INDIA

Enlightened quarters in America have been told the real truth by a timely publication entitled "Guide to peace edited by Mr Sumner Welles, containing short articles on all countries. The following observations on India are extracts from it

At the outset of the war when by a decree of the Viceroy India was declared at war with Germany resentment was keen because the Viceroy had failed even to consult them. When Japan attacked Britain and America Tokyo confidently expected that India would rise against her British overlords but Gandhi and Nehru took a patriotic stand. The Japs set up an opposition Government in Singapore under Subhas Bose but it had no following in India. The Japs record in China for which India felt sympathy, was enough to make Indians sceptical and distrustful of the Japs. In 1912 the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, but even this socialist resisted the demands of the Indian—that they be given effective control of their Government even during the period of the war—and offered instead freedom only after the war. Congress replied that if Britain entrusted it with real power now, it would fully support war effort otherwise it would resort to civil disobedience. Among the masses there was active support for the United Nations but little genuine enthusiasm. It is noted carefully Mr Churchill's assertion that he did not intend to press over the liquidation of the British Empire, and his statement that the Atlantic Charter did not imply

the Independence of India. Too much of India's economic improvement has been dictated by the need of profitable investment or by magnificent projects dear to the various Viceroy's but these have not touched the heart of India's economic problem

The article concludes with the following note on the future

Thus the Indian National movement which began by emphasizing its own needs under Gandhi will, under the guidance of leaders like Nehru also serve in the larger framework of a progressive Asia and thus India will take her proper place in the World Organization

## THE AGA KHAN'S PLEA

H H the Aga Khan has sent a cable to Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad suggesting that the Congress should take the lead in the final solution of all political differences in India, including the problem of Indian States. The Aga Khan commends for their consideration the constitution of an Indian Commonwealth of Nations based on a union of hearts and interests and not on majority force

The first step towards the establishment of such a Confederation would be the constitution of Muslim majority provinces in the west into one bloc and a united Bengal Assam bloc in the east, the federation of Indian States in groups and then their entrance into a great Confederation

The Aga Khan suggests that his proposal, if accepted, will solve the complicated problems of Indian States; Ceylon and Burma and possibly Afghanistan might join the Confederation later on

The Aga Khan concludes 'Please forgive my intrusion on your most precious time at this juncture and believe me the motive of my suggestion is sincere and motivated by profound feelings and no hostility towards the Congress. You are welcome to throw it to the waste paper basket'

The Congress President has sent the following telegram to H H the Aga Khan

'Thanks cablegram. Present problems concern interim period only. Hence no question of permanent structure arises. Awaiting pleasure our meeting near future'

## MRS. PANDIT'S APPEAL TO LEADERS

Attacks on "religious bigots," whom they accused of threatening the fate of the Simla Conference, were made by Mrs Vijayalaxmi Pandit and Dr Syed Hossain, Chairman of the National Committee for India's freedom to-day.

Describing the adjournment of the Conference as "unfortunate," Mrs Pandit said: "At this period of national and international crisis only one thing is important—that India should take her rightful place among the free nations of the world and thereby contribute her share to the solution of vital world problems. A special responsibility rests on her, because with her own freedom is linked the freedom of the other dependent areas. It must not be said that India's cause was held back because reactionary individuals and religious bigots failed to grasp the significance of world events. I hope Indian leaders, both Hindus and Muslim, will have the necessary vision and courage to submerge all minor issues and give the right lead."

## MISS BADEN-POWELL

Miss Agnes Baden Powell, who has died at the age of 86, was a marked individualist. Over forty years ago, she made balloon flights and was one of the first women in England to drive a motor car. Her progress down Bond Street, created something of a stir, especially since she was preceded by a man carrying a red flag. She also flew in gliders as early as 1903.

Miss Baden-Powell spoke nine languages, rode a bicycle almost up to the day of her death, slept under canvas with the Wadsworth Girl Guides when she was 80 and in her London house kept bees which were housed between an organ and a grand piano in the drawing room.

When at her brother's request she founded the Girl Guide movement in 1909, she did all the organizing herself and carried the movement to success in face of opposition which seems incredible to-day.

## MEMORIAL TO BEGUM AZAD

The Lahore Students' Congress have launched a drive to collect 2,00,000 annas for raising a memorial for the late Begum Azad, wife of the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Sixty per cent. of the proceeds will go to the construction of Begum Azad Ward in Kamala Nehru Hospital.

The fund was opened on June 23 by Dr Khan Sahib, the Premier of N.W.F.P. when he came to Lahore en route to Simla. The opening ceremony of the fund was witnessed by more than 300 students who had come to give Dr Khan Sahib a reception at the railway station. While giving a message to the organizer of the fund, he said, "In your noble work that you have started I wish you all success".

## MRS LEELA PATIL

Mrs. Leela Patil, a political convict, escaped on the 3rd of last month from the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, where she was brought for medical treatment from the Yeravada Central Jail.

Mrs Patil was undergoing a term of imprisonment for an offence committed in East Khandesh.

It appears that on the evening of her escape, Mrs Patil requested the police constable, who was kept to watch her, to allow her to go for a walk in the hospital garden. She managed to give the constable the slip while taking the walk.

A search is being carried out for her by the Poona Police throughout the district.

## THE LATE COUNTESS BALDWIN

Countess Baldwin, wife of Lord Baldwin, who as Mr. Stanley Baldwin was three times Prime Minister of Britain in the period between the two Great Wars, died suddenly following a heart attack.

**A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE**  
Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes

A New History of the Indian People continuing the fruits of the latest research and written by India's own sons in a popular style and priced so low as to be within the reach of all of our countrymen was planned by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar in 1938 as a much needed national undertaking. For carrying the work out a society named the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad was registered at Benares and steps were taken to distribute the chapters among suitable scholars. Owing to the war and the dispersion of scholars and libraries four years were lost. But now the most important and interesting volumes are ready for the press and a third is half complete. The complete volumes on the Maurya and Gupta Ages have reached my hands in manuscript and the press has agreed to finish printing them before the end of October next. The Gupta volume has been edited by Dr R C Majumdar and Dr A S Altekar and the Maurya volume by Profs Nilakanta Sastri and Dr H C Roy Chaudhuri. The volume on Akbar is in my own hands and I hope to finish its press copy four months after actually starting the printing of the other two volumes. Thus it is hoped that unless something unexpected happens we shall see two volumes (the Mauryas and the Guptas) offered to the public in November, 1945 and a third volume (Akbar) handed over to the printers in time to come out in May 1946.

## BHARATHI MEMORIAL

Laying the foundation stone of the Subramanya Bharathi Memorial Building at Ettayapuram Mr C Rajagopalachariar urged the formation of a Bharathi Sangham to celebrate Bharathi Day every year. The biggest memorial one could think of for a poet said CR is to make everyone sing his songs.

Recalling his early association with the poet patriot Mr C Rajagopalachariar paid a glowing tribute to Bharathi's prophetic vision, tolerance and self sacrifice.

## NEHRU'S NINE TERMS IN PRISON

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has so far served nine terms of imprisonment. In December 1921 he was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. Panditji was released 3 months later but some weeks after he was arrested again, and was tried and sentenced to 2½ years of imprisonment. He was released at the end of January, 1923.

Immediately after the special session of the Congress at Delhi he was sentenced to 2½ years for breach of order banning his entry into the State and for conspiracy.

In April 1930 he was tried in connection with Salt Satyagraha and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. He was again arrested near Allahabad and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs 500. On February 1931 he was arrested again and sentenced to 2 years. This time he served 13 months.

In November 1940 he was sentenced to 4 years, but was released after a little over 13 months. On August 5 1942 his ninth term of imprisonment began and ended on June 15 1945.

## RELEASE OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

After nearly 34 months of detention the members of the Congress Working Committee were released on June 14. Some of them had already been freed on medical grounds, but those released on the eve of the Simla Conference were Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Sankarao Deo, Acharya Narendra Dev and Dr Pattabhi Saramayya.

## NEW METROPOLITAN OF INDIA

The Right Reverend George Hubback, Bishop of Assam, has been elected Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

The eighty-two year old Metropolitan of India the most Rev Dr Foss Westcott who is retiring shortly has planned to remain in this country after retirement and carry on work in India.

## SOME TRIUMPHS OF SURGERY

Two persons who talked without a larynx, a man without a tongue who recited Lincoln's Gettysburg address and an elderly doctor, who, though his stomach has been removed, "works hard, has a good appetite and eats three good meals a day," were presented at the closing sessions of the annual meeting of the New York State Medical Society as examples of the triumphs of modern surgery and rehabilitation.

The meeting was addressed by an insurance salesman, who, despite the fact that his larynx had been removed said he was able to continue selling insurance and even to make a sales talk over the telephone. He was introduced by Dr. James S. Greene, Medical Director of the National Hospital for Speech Disorders, a unique institution where speech cripples laugh and talk, and normal voices are restored to men and women, who, through surgery or otherwise, have lost their speech organs.

## PIPE IN LUNG FOR 31 YEARS

Part of a pipe mouthpiece was lodged for 31 years in a man's lung—and he breathed normally.

The vulcanite, nearly an inch long, entered the lung when the man fell from his cycle and broke his pipe in his mouth.

The case is described by Mr. J. Lenin in the *British Medical Journal*.

No trouble was caused, he says, probably because the hole through the vulcanite remained clear and the man was able to get enough air through it to ventilate his lung.

## A NEW CURE FOR TYPHOID

According to an article in the *American Medical Association Journal*, preliminary tests of the newest penicillin type of chemical, Streptomycin, indicate that it cures typhoid and prevents a person from becoming a carrier of the disease.

## FOOD YEAST

The really nutritive part of meat, eggs and milk for 1 farthing daily, is the prospect held out by British experiments in yeast food production, according to Mr. A. C. Thaysen of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. These experiments, Mr. Thaysen said, have shown that food yeast can be produced in sufficient quantities to be produced in general public at less than Re 1 for 20 lbs. "Even under present world conditions it is likely to be a long time before a sufficiency of meat, eggs and milk will be available", he declared. "Food yeast can supply the missing ingredients at a price which comes within the range of even the poorest. One lb of food yeast will provide enough high grade proteins and vitamin 'B' concentrates for 45 days."

The Colonial Office has decided to make food yeast on a large scale in Jamaica.

The Indian Central Government has also agreed to build a food yeast plant in India, and South Africa is following suit.

## CAUSE OF CRAMPS

What is cramp and how is it brought about? A London physician writes:

Cramp is the sudden rigid contraction of a muscle, and is very painful and quite paralyzing.

It may be due to over-use of an unaccustomed muscle, particularly in swimmers. In other games, such as football, some sudden and severe effort may cause it, owing to the circulation not being able to carry off the excessive lactic acid formed when muscles work. Brisk massage and heat usually put things right.

People with cold feet are liable to cramp in the legs at night. This is best prevented by bed-socks and hot water bottles. Expectant mothers often get cramp and should take tablets containing calcium and vitamin D to prevent it.

## DECIMALISATION OF INDIAN COINAGE

The proposal of the Government for decimalising the coinage has been welcomed by the Andhra Chamber of Commerce. In a communication addressed to the Finance Department, the Chamber expresses the opinion that the decimal system has the unique advantage of simplifying accounting. In modern business quick and easy computation is essential. Mainly for this reason the decimal system enjoys a very wide popularity and other systems have been yielding place to it. There should be no sentimental or traditional attachment to the present system of coinage as it cannot be said that it has any special sanctity about it.

On the other hand opposition to the proposal is voiced by the Committee of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce in a communication to the Finance Department.

The Committee have expressed great doubt if the new system will be so beneficial in its effects as to justify its imposition over the present system which has identified itself with the arithmetic and economic fabric of the country, and has stood the test of times.

Such a violent break from tradition "will not be without vast repercussions which are likely to create new problems and more complications as the present Indian coinage system is so inextricably interlinked with other basic units of weights and measures that it will be very difficult to introduce a change in one unit without affecting other units.

## NO RETURN TO GOLD STANDARD

Mr Ernest Bevin, former Minister of Labour said in the House of Commons that the Labour Party and he took the line that neither directly nor indirectly should Britain again be anchored to gold in any circumstances at all but he would join with anybody in trying to secure on a rational basis an international price level properly organised, provided it did not reflect any depression in the standard of life in the home market.

## AMENITIES FOR PASSENGERS

The North Western Railways' post war scheme for providing amenities for the travelling public which is under consideration of the Railway Board, was explained by Mr W A Anderson, General Manager, N W Railway, at a meeting of the Railway Advisory Committee held at Karachi last month. The General Manager said that under the post war scheme the N W Railways propose to provide amenities at stations as well as in trains.

The plans for amenities at stations include

- (1) More commodious waiting halls with increased sitting facilities
- (2) More booking offices at large stations with separate windows for ladies
- (3) The provision of high level and covered platforms and foot bridges or subways
- (4) Suitable washing and bathing places at large stations

Regarding amenities in trains, he said the following improvements were proposed in third class carriages being designed for the post war period

- (1) Provision of latrine for every 12 passengers
- (2) Seventy to seventy five passengers to be carried in each coach instead of 66 as at present
- (3) Transverse seating arrangements instead of longitudinal
- (4) The width of each seat to be increased from 20 to 21 inches (present second class standard is 21 inches) and the depth increased to about 19 inches. The width of the passage between the seats will also be increased to a minimum of 21 inches.
- (5) Increase in sleeping accommodation by providing two or three tiers of bunks.

Suggestions for providing fans in the waiting halls and more latrines at large stations were also discussed at the meeting.

## RAILWAY TRAVEL AFTER THE WAR

A general levelling up of conditions of railway travel after the war is understood to have been recommended by the Central Advisory Council for Railways. It was agreed that there should be three classes, Third, Inter and Upper, besides a De Luxe class meant for tourists and others. The amenities at present available to the Inter Class will be provided for the Third Class and the amenities for the two higher classes will be raised correspondingly.



## FUTURE OF DANCING

What are the crying needs of the dancing world of the future, asks Minalni Sarabhai, in a recent broadcast. "First and foremost our need is that of a good theatre, that is built for stage shows, so that all modern technique can be employed at its artistic best. Decoration can then become a vital part of production. At the same time, great progress can be made to develop music as a background for the dance, helping the dancer to present the finest of her artistic expression, and for the whole presentation to be portrayed in its most dynamic form. The dance is a deliberate attempt to reach the spiritual consciousness of the audience and its effort is not merely to portray reality but to portray beauty and as such it reaches every man. The cultural contribution of dancing to the future, will remain a muddle, unless and until we do away with the mediocre and trivial, and present only that which is highly artistic. A dance performance should be that which lifts its veil from the hidden beauty of the world.

## UNIVERSITY OF INDIAN MUSIC

Plans for starting a University of Indian Music were disclosed by Pundit Omkarnath, noted Indian musician. The proposed university is to be started at Benares and will work in association with the Hindu University. Pundit Omkarnathji discussed the scheme with Gandhiji, Pt. Malaviya and Sir S. Radhakrishnan and embarked on the project with their blessings. A sum of Rs 20 lakhs is to be collected for the proposed university.

## NATIONAL ART COUNCIL

It has been decided to continue the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art—popularly known as CEMA—as a National Art Council for Britain. The decision will please many who disapprove of the British Government's past policy of leaving the provision of high-class musical stage entertainment entirely to enterprise.

## S. A. BOARD OF CONTROL FOR CRICKET

The executive of the South African Board of Control for Cricket considers it unwise to attempt to organise any tour away from South Africa next year. Furthermore it does not recommend that the M C C or any side, other than services teams, be invited to tour South Africa until the Japanese war ends and South African cricketers are given a chance to settle down. The executive does not favour the Currie Cup tournament for this summer. It recommends affiliated centres to arrange as many interprovincial matches as possible.

## BOXING AND WAR

Commodore Jack Dempsey, former world heavy weight boxing champion, apparently disagrees with most boxing experts, for he does not expect that this war will produce any great boxers. He says, "There are no real boxers that I have observed in this war, and anyhow it takes three or four years to develop a top-notch fighter.

"People say the last war produced great fighters. It did not. Gene Turney came along, to be sure, but it was seven years after the war before he became champion."

## BRITISH BOXER

Leading aircraftsman Mark Hart, British Amateur Heavy Weight Champion, has been suspended by the Amateur Boxing Association, who has informed the Imperial Services Boxing Association of the decision.

Consequently Hart cannot now defend his London and National Amateur Titles.

Last month Hart said he would defend his National title and then turn professional adding that he had met and beaten all leading amateur cruiser and heavy weights in the country.

## RUSSIAN ATHLETE'S RECORD

A Georgian woman athlete, Nina Dumbadze, established a new world record for throwing the discus with 489 metres (160 feet, 5½ inches), beating the previous best of 483½ metres held by the German, Gisela Mauermayer.

## Science

### SOVIET MUSEUM PLAN

A museum, deep underground in the Siberian northlands, which will be perpetually frozen, is planned by Professor M Sumgin, a Russian scientist

- He proposes to deposit in this immense museum human bodies of various races bodies of animals and objects of everyday life, such as clothes household utensils and furniture With them he wishes to preserve manuscripts by great writers historical documents and other things which will tell the story of this age for all time

There is no indication that the professor intends that the bodies so stored away should be embalmed The frozen earth crust would, he believes, render that unnecessary

### GERMAN SCIENTISTS

The inventor of the German jet aircraft, Henrich Oelerich surrendered with his wife to American Military Government Officers near Leipzig, cables Douglas Williams the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent at Shaeff

Oelerich said he wished to co operate with the American authorities and, perhaps in the hope that he might be allowed to work in the United States He offered to turn over to them designs and improvements in aircraft constructions He also offered designs for tanks and a new type of shell

- Oelerich declared that he had access to many of the secrets of German war industry He worked for five years improving the Me 109s and 110s In 1943 he went to Budweis (Czechoslovakia) where he supervised the building of a jet aircraft plant.

### SIR C V RAMAN'S RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust have made a contribution of Rs 15 000 to Sir C V. Raman's fund for the establishment of a Research Institute at Bangalore, under the auspices of the Indian Academy of Sciences

## Film World

### NEW INFORMATION FILMS

Ever since their inception, the Information Films of India have been at pains to bring the work of the Indian craft more into the public eye and to obtain him the tribute that is the natural due to his skilled artistry In their latest 'Potteries', they have endeavoured to something on the same lines for the industry that has sprung directly from ancient craft and has successfully hastened the production of articles hitherto supplied by the lone village potter on scientific and mass produced lines The film gives excellent and much needed publicity to the products of Indian potteries

Information Films of India have been importing foreign shorts to provide variety in their release programmes and many of these have been instructive in the

### FILM OF SLUM LIFE IN CALCUTTA

Melvyn Douglas, Hollywood film actor and actor, who is now in Calcutta as an officer in the American Forces is to direct a full length film on slum life in Calcutta

The film which will cost more than lakhs will depict the story of a well and highly educated young Bengali returning to Calcutta from England It will be to 11 000 feet and it is expected to be completed within a couple of months

Mr R G Casey, Governor of Bihar is taking personal interest in the film which is being produced by S Majumdar and N. Dutta

### INDIAN FILMS IN BRITAIN

Mr C L Katial, former Mayor of Bombay and Secretary of the recently formed Indian Film Society, told the United States of America that he was looking forward to the arrival in England of leading representatives of the Indian film industry The Indian Film Society, which has the bulk of Indians in London as friends in India, will do everything to make the Indian Film Mission a success

## AUTOMOBILE FACTORY FOR INDIA

Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, who has returned to India after a ten weeks' tour of America during which he had discussions with the Chrysler Corporation regarding the starting of an automobile factory in India, told the Associated Press that the Premier Automobiles Company, which has been formed with the object of manufacturing motor cars in India, would go into production some time in the second quarter of 1946. The programme of the company was to manufacture their own parts in India and produce automobiles within three years of starting the factory. The capital, control and management of the factory would be entirely in the hands of Indians.

Referring to the American attitude to Indian industrialisation, Mr. Lalchand said he did not think the majority of American capitalists were inclined to sink their funds in India because of the political conditions in this country. "American businessmen are very sympathetic towards Indian aspirations of industrialisation. They are ready to extend their co-operation to Indians. But they are not keen to gain control or management of any new work started in India. They are prepared to work with the Indians on a royalty basis."

## AMERICAN EXPORT OF MOTOR CARS

American motor car manufacturers will be unable to fulfil foreign demand for passenger cars, trucks and buses for at least four years after production is resumed in the United States, representatives of the industry maintain.

The first exports may be made before the end of this year but the number of vehicles consigned to Europe and elsewhere will be small. India is expected to offer a splendid market after the end of the Japanese war since it is pointed out that the thousands of new roads there and the presence of thousands of American cars and trucks brought by the army is likely to stimulate demand.

## INDIA'S INTERNAL AIR SERVICES

The internal air services now operating in India are:

(1) A seaplane service between Calcutta and Karachi operating twice a week;

(2) A landplane service between Calcutta and Karachi operating three times a week, and

(3) A Tata's landplane service between Karachi and Madras, with intermediate halts at Ahmedabad, Bombay and Hyderabad (Deccan) and thence onwards to Colombo, operating five times a week.

The frequency of all the services is the same in both directions. The Tata's service does not now halt at Bhuj, Poona, and Trichinopoly.

The public are advised to post their air mails every day, which will be sent by the first available service, unless the surface route is more expeditious.

A British Overseas Airways Corporation's inland plane service has also been introduced between Calcutta and Karachi, with intermediate halts at Allahabad and Delhi. The public can send their air mails between any two stations served by the three services in question.

## AVIATION AS A CAREER

The Nawab of Chhattani, President of the Nizam's Executive Council and Chancellor of the Osmania University, addressing cadets of the Indian Air Training Corps, appealed to young men to make aviation their career as it had a great future in post-war period.

The Nawab said that young men, by taking aviation as their career, would not only serve their country in the present emergency, but assure themselves a position in the post-war period. Geographically India, and particularly Hyderabad, was so situated that they would be placed in trans-peninsular airways.

In Hyderabad itself, the Nawab said, there would be so much expansion and development of commerce and industries that air transport would play an important part.

## HINDUSTAN METAL REFINERY

A pioneer industry in metal refinery was recently inaugurated in Madras. We congratulate Mr. Hirachand K. Shaw, Managing Director of Messrs. Jeevanlal, on his enterprise in starting this new industry.

This industry will be a modest beginning in a vast field of non-ferrous metal industries and aims at producing annually 2,500 tons of rolled metal out of India's requirements of 50,000 tons. Its production it is stated will increase as soon as conditions improve. The industry has programmed to utilise waste materials of this province which for want of facilities were formerly exported to other places.

Declaring the Hindustan Metal Refinery and Rolling Mills open, Mr. Radhakrishna Pillai, Mayor, said that the Madras Province which was behind other provinces in industrial development, should be thankful to the Hindustan Mills for their new venture.

The Mayor then announced a donation of Rs. 1,000 by the Mills to the Corporation Poor Home.

## TRAINING INDIANS IN BRITISH FACTORIES

Kirloskar Brothers, well-known pioneer engineering company in India, report the completion by their visiting representatives of important agreements with British engineers for the manufacture of vital electrical and other equipment in India.

Under the first agreement with British Oil Engines Export, Limited, Kirloskars will extend their plant to manufacture diesel and other types of oil engines up to 1,500 horse power. The British organisation, which embraces a number of prominent firms, will exchange all technical information and train Indian personnel in its factories. The second agreement with Brush Electrical Engineering Company puts Kirloskar Brothers in a position to manufacture rotating electrical machines, transformers, switchgear and other electrical equipment with the same provision for training Indian personnel at Brush Works at Loughborough.

## FACILITIES FOR TRAINING IN DAIRY WORK

The Government of India have allocated a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 to the Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore, to enable it to provide increased facilities for technical training in dairy work.

The Government of India, it is understood, have approved a scheme, which provides for extension of instruction at the Institute from 30 to 85 students drawn from all provinces and employment of a large number of technical staff. An attempt will also be made, it is learnt, to invite three experts from foreign countries to Bangalore to train students in dairy developmental work.

The scope of training will include not only the improvement of the existing system of dairying in this country, but also the study of the co-operative system of dairying, similar to those in other countries, and if necessary, the making of isolated experiments on the collective system now obtaining in Russia.

It is further understood, that the Government of India are considering a reorganisation of the Imperial Dairy Research Institute in the very near future at an estimated expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs.

## BOMBAY KUSHIKA PRIZE

Sir T. S. Venkatraman, the eminent sugarcane expert, has endowed a prize called the 'Bombay Koushika Prize' to be awarded to the person who is adjudged to have shown during the preceding year the greatest practical improvement in the cultivation of the sugarcane crop or in the manufacture of the product, including molasses and by-products of the cane and bagasse. A notification by the Sugar Technologists' Association of India. The last for the receipt of applications for the above award has been extended to July 1945. Intending competitors may write to the Secretary, the Sugar Technologists' Association of India, Cawnpore, for details.

## D. A TO AHMEDABAD WORKERS

A case concerning the continuance of dearness allowance to the workers of the textile mills of Ahmedabad was disposed of on June 15 by the Industrial Court presided over by Mr. Justice Divatia and Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha.

The Court giving the award declared that the workers of the textile mills of Ahmedabad were entitled to receive the dearness allowance for three months after the end of the European war after May 8 1943, in accordance with the scale fixed by the Court in the original award as modified subsequently in 1941, which was based on the agreement arrived at between the parties themselves.

The Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad made a petition to the Industrial Court, Bombay, to direct the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association to pay the dearness allowance on the present scale taking into consideration cost of living as prevailing. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda on behalf of the Textile Labour Association submitted that the workers of Ahmedabad were entitled to receive the dearness allowance for three months after the termination of the European war in case the cost of living continued to be affected by war conditions. He asserted that the cost of living continued to be affected by war conditions although the European war has terminated.

## UJJAIN WORKERS

Two thousand mill workers of Ujjain who had been on strike for a fortnight last month, have resumed work. The workers have also decided to refer the question of bonus to the Industrial Court and have expressed readiness to accept its decision.

## END OF STRIKE IN K. G. F. MINES

Nearly 15,000 out of about 20,000 workers of the Kolar gold mining companies, who struck work about a month ago demanding revision of rules of service, gratuity, etc., have resumed work.

## C.R.'s ROLE AT SIMLA CONFERENCE

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued the following statement on the eve of the Simla Conference:

"Pressmen have asked me about my position at the forthcoming Conference. Except as a Congressman, I should have no place at the Conference table. I am invited as an ex Premier and I was Premier as a full-fledged Congressman. I have accepted the invitation because I believe I could do justice to the Congress cause and work under the guidance of the Congress President. I have fully explained my position to the Congress President, and I am going to the Conference as one of the ex-Premiers representing the Congress attitude on Lord Wavell's proposals."

## INDIA LINKED WITH CHINA BY TELEPHONE

For the first time in history, India was linked with China by telephone and telegraph on June 11.

A pole line extending from Calcutta to Kunming, China, completes the vast telephone system extending from Karachi, through Burma into China. The line is approximately 1,750 miles long.

## 'EMPIRE LOSSES IN TWO WARS COMPARED

Although the second European war lasted nearly seventeen months longer than the first world war, the losses were very much lighter. The comparative figures supplied by the War Office show that British Empire casualties in 1914-1918 amounted to 908,371 killed and 20,90,212 wounded, while in the 1939-1945 war the figures were killed 306,984 and wounded 4,22,476.

## DELHI'S 30 CRORE NEW COLONY

Built at the rate of ten flats a day or a flat in every .48 minutes, Delhi's new colony, south of Lodi Road and near Aliganj village, is claimed to be a record for building construction in India.

The colony has been built to provide accommodation for 2,468 Government servants, mostly clerks—and will be ready for occupation this summer. It will be a self-contained colony with a dispensary, health welfare and maternity centre, etc.

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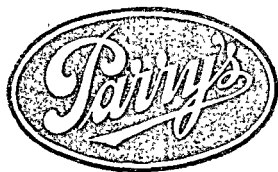
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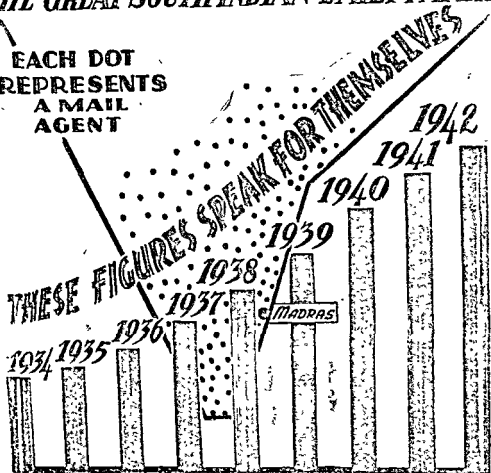


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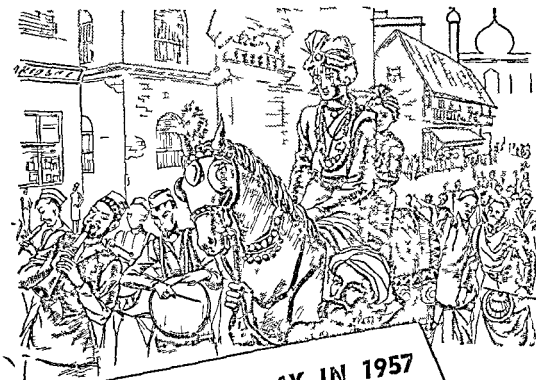
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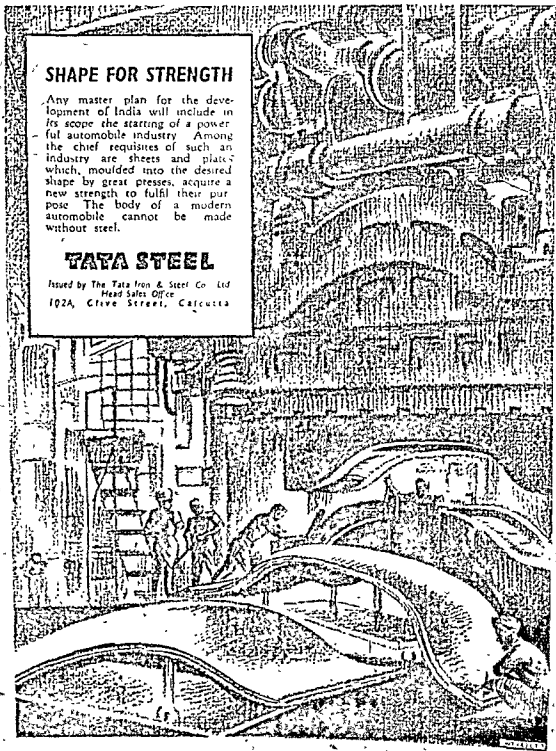
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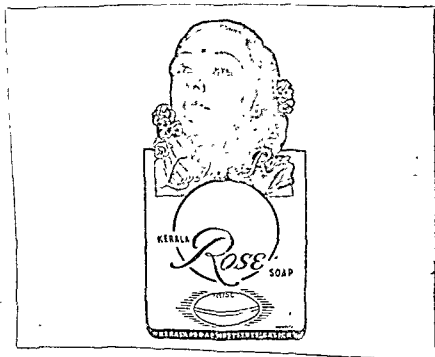
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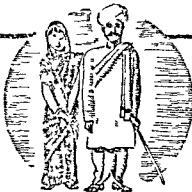
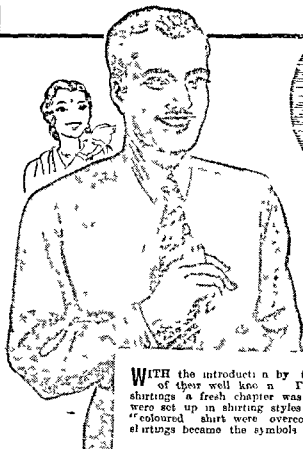
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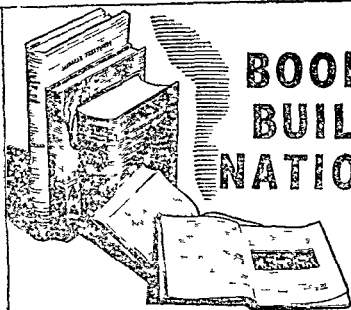
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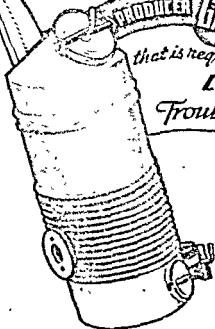
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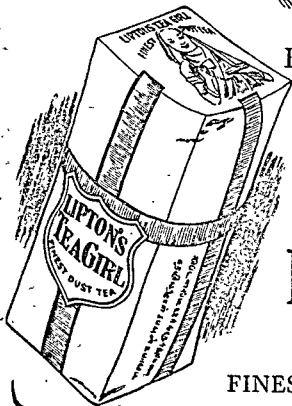
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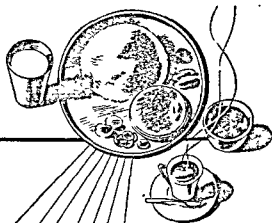
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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AUGUST 1945

[No. 8.]

## WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE HINDUS?

BY DR SIK GOKUL CHAND NARANG KI

WHAT is wrong with the Hindus? To some people this question may seem strange. It may be said that there can be nothing wrong with the Hindus. They are so far as numbers are concerned in an overwhelming majority in the country. From the economic point of view no other community can claim an equality with them. Almost all the Banks, Insurance Companies and other Joint Stock Concerns are owned by them. Almost all the Mills and Factories belong to them. Most of the big shops and stores containing merchandise worth lakhs are run by them. In education the Hindus are far ahead of other communities. Most of the non-Government Schools and Colleges are being financed and controlled by them. The Indian Universities are teeming with Hindu scholars and of Indian students at foreign Universities a great majority are Hindus. In art, science, literature and philosophy, etc., it is the Hindus who have won renown, not only in India but to a certain extent even outside this country. The press, both English and Vernacular, not excepting even Urdu newspapers is almost entirely controlled and conducted by them. In respect of political and military power they again

lead the other communities. Most of the feudatory States in India belong to the Hindus and the Hindus constitute about 66 per cent of the present British Indian Army. They have won the highest honours for their gallantry in all the battlefields so much so that out of twenty seven Victoria Crosses as many as twenty four have been won by them.

I concede all this and more. Still, however I think there is something seriously wrong with the Hindus as a community. One indication of the fact that all is not well with them is that in spite of all their economic advantages and cultural superiority their prestige has fallen very low. They do not command the respect and do not inspire the awe which such a large community with all its resources should be able to do. The strength of a community is rightly measured by the prestige it enjoys. It is by prestige alone that Communities as well as Governments are preserved and their authority maintained. In India the Collector is very often a single white man in a whole district. He would not be able to carry on for a day if he was not backed by the prestige of the mighty Government behind him.

Even a farmer's crops and cattle are protected by prestige. All would-be poachers and thieves know that once they are caught they would receive a thrashing they would never forget.

What is the case with the Hindus? Even in Provinces where they are in an overwhelming majority they live in constant dread of Muslims. The following quotation from Sir Colin Garbett's book "Friend of Friend", recently published, is an index of what others think of the Hindus. "A Muslim policeman in Jubbulpore", says he, "discussing local riots with me told me the communities were equally balanced. But surely, I protested, the Hindus are much more numerous. "Oh numerous! I thought you referred to comparative strength. In that we are about equal, in numbers, we are just about 5 per cent." This is about the Central Provinces where the Hindu population is 95 per cent. What happened in the Madras Presidency where the Hindu population is about the same? A handful of Moplas indulged unchecked in loot, arson, rape and murder and converted hundreds, if not thousands, of Hindus to Islam by force.

How does a small minority venture to insult, rob, loot and murder members of an overwhelming majority? The difference in the physique and physical strength of the individuals belonging to the two communities is not so great as to inspire one with terror and the other with courage. The real reason is the low prestige of the Hindu community.

The low prestige of the Hindus is due to five main causes. The first is to be

traced to the peaceful environments in which the Hindu religion and the Hindu community grew up. Strength comes by overcoming resistance. Hinduism grew up without opposition. It had no rival in the field as all other religions grew up thousands of years after Hinduism had become a well-established and well-organized religion. The same was the case with the Hindus themselves. For thousands of years they had no rivals and no opposition or resistance to overcome. They did not, therefore, develop the virtues which qualify a people for self-assertion and even for successful self-defence. Islam met with bitter opposition at its very birth so much so that the prophet had to flee and hide himself in a cave for several days before he could escape to Medina. There he rallied his forces, and when he felt he was strong enough, he marched back to Mecca and fought down his opponents. The prophet had to instil into his followers an intense devotion to Islam which created an equally intense opposition to everything and everybody non-Islamic. Islam inspired its followers with a burning zeal for vanquishing Islam's opponents either by conversion or extermination.

Whether from an altruistic and humanitarian point of view it was a good thing or not is irrelevant to the analysis, I am attempting but the fact remains that even today the Muslims, on the whole, are imbued with something like the same spirit. *Sikhism, an offshoot of Hinduism, had the same experience. Its apostles had to face the same kind of opposition, persecution and martyrdom with the result that the Sikhs, in spite of being no more*

than a little over one per cent in India, enjoy respect and prestige out of all proportion to their numerical strength. Hindus, on the other hand having in olden days nobody but their own people of various schools of thought to deal with developed an extraordinary spirit of forbearance which rendered them incapable of mixing any distinction between tolerating differences in religious views and foreign and aggressive intruders with different political aims and ambitions. Teachings like Sri Krishna's **ये यथा माम् प्रपद्यन्ते**, etc., were all right where differences related to distinctions subsisting e.g., between Yoga and Sankhya but the Hindus could not shake off this spirit even when rival organized religions of an aggressive and fanatical type entered the field and began to storm the citadel of their placid cosmopolitanism. A passive attitude and the belief that all religions are equally good, howsoever, commendable from a certain point of view cannot produce the stuff of which martyrs and defenders of their country and their faith are made. The result has been that the Hindus as a community have come to be looked upon by others as a goody goody people, extremely tolerant and indulgent from whom nobody has anything to fear. Such an impression, I need hardly say, is fatal to a community's prestige.

The second cause of our low prestige is our community's superstitious adherence to Ahimsa. We have made a fetish of it. It has been preached in our homes and in our temples and for the last 25 years no other principle of life has been dinned into our ears with such nauseating persistence. Propagation of this virtue may be necessary

in a country like Afghanistan or in the Tribal areas, and even in the war mongering countries of Europe but dinning it, in season and out of season, into the ears of a community, already notorious like the Hindus, for its mildness, was almost entirely out of place. Violence has never been one of the Hindus' weaknesses. In fact they have carried the virtue of non violence to a fault. Luckily it has not reduced our fighting classes to passive pacifists and they are still giving an excellent account of themselves in all the far flung battlefields of the world. It has, however, intensified the impression that the Hindus as a community are too soft and can be used as a doormat for anybody to tread upon without any fear of retaliation. Whereas the fear of retaliation prevents everyone from attacking Islam or its Founder. Miss Mayos and Nichols can say the most provoking things against Hindus and Hinduism and Dr. Ambedkar can indulge in insulting diatribes against them in public meetings without the slightest fear of even a hair of his head being touched by any Hindu. Ahimsa may win us an exalted place in the next world but it has almost rendered us unfit to keep any corner of this world safe for our community.

The third cause of our weakness is the absence of communal consciousness in our community. As in religion so in politics our outlook is too cosmopolitan and altruistic. I do not mean to condemn cosmopolitanism but if a community is largely cosmopolitan or even too national in its outlook and in practice while rival communities are bitterly communal, it cannot be strong as a community. The

present position in Politics is that most of the Hindu leaders are mortally afraid of being considered communal, and in order to show that they are great patriots and ardent nationalists, they lose no opportunities to run down all Hindu organizations. The Congress leaders, as is natural, go much further. They condemn the Hindu Mahasabha but bow to Muslim Communalists in order to display their broadmindedness. Their conduct in this respect is like that of some Hindu officials who in order to show that they are free from communal bias go out of their way to favour Mussalmans at the expense of Hindus. During the last twenty five years the self-abnegation of the Hindus has been one of the most outstanding features of Indian Politics. The Mahatma raises a crore of rupees and most of it is spent in furthering the Khilafat cause and in organizing the Muslims. Thousands of Hindus who would have considered it a shame to do anything for any purely Hindu cause went to Jail to support the Khilafat movement. When the Communal Award came, our political leaders considered it a cup of poison, but refrained from opposing it for fear of offending the Mussalmans and Mr. Jinnah carried his resolution of approval in the Assembly without any dissent from Congress members. The subsequent activities of Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in offering Pakistan in one form or another to Mr. Jinnah and equal representation to Muslims with the Hindus in the Government are all evidences of the lack of communal consciousness in the Hindus. Some people may consider this

policy of appeasement an act of generosity patriotism or, as Rajaji put it, "courageous yielding to kith and kin". No one, however, who is communally conscious and who loves his community would tolerate that his community as such should have no voice in the affairs of its country and should be ruthlessly reduced from an overwhelming majority to equality with a community hardly one-third of its own numbers and far behind it in cultural and economic resources. Would even the most patriotic Muslims have tolerated such an injustice for a moment? This utter lack of communal consciousness in our political leaders has produced in our community a sad inferiority complex and has reduced its prestige so low that neither the Government nor any other community feels any hesitation or compunction in treading rough shod over our rights and interests.

The fourth cause of our loss of prestige is our caste system which has stood in the way of necessary solidarity in our ranks. In olden times in all parts of India, except the Punjab, it kept up invidious restrictions of caste even in politics and prevented the combination of Rajputs and Mahrattas and others for purposes of national defence. The Brahmins hesitated to recognize even the great Shivaji as a Kshatriya and even in the 20th century the Brahman priests of Maharashtra refused to confer that dignity upon the occupant of his throne. The Brahman and non Brahman problem in Madras and Maharashtra is as acute as the Hindu-Muslim problem in the Punjab. The Vedas never prescribed any caste system. The only verse referring to

Brahmans and others, the one in the Purusha Sukta, merely refers as I take it, in a casual way to the four natural divisions of mankind, viz., the scholars, the soldiers the producers and distributors of wealth and the wage earners, all representing as it were, the *Virata Swarupa* of the Supreme Being. On this slender basis has been raised a stupendous superstructure of innumerable castes and sub castes. It has led to extreme superiority complex on one side and extreme inferiority complex on the other side so that the distance between the top and the bottom of the Hindu Society has become almost immeasurable. The result has been two fold. The first was that the so called lower classes, some of whom in process of time came to be branded as untouchables, fell an easy prey to the proselytising zeal of the Muslims and later on that of the Christians thus reducing the strength of the Hindu community by many millions. The second result which is now unfolding itself with tragic clearness has been the bitterness existing in the minds of those of the depressed classes who have not yet gone over to other religions. The fulminations of Dr Ambedkar and his likes are the natural products of this bitterness. The treatment meted out to the depressed classes more or less in all parts of India has been a favourite topic of comment by the critics of Hinduism and Hindu community. Happily the Hindu community has been awakened to this sad state of affairs and efforts are being made by Hindu organizations for the removal of the grounds of this bitterness and for the uplift of the depressed classes. Nevertheless we

cannot shut the mouths of our critics unless the attitude of the Hindus towards caste as a whole and towards the depressed classes in particular undergoes a speedy and revolutionary change. Our prestige with other communities as well as with the Government of India and in international circles will immensely increase if we can show to them that all Hindus are one and no one among them is looked down upon simply because of his caste or profession.

This naturally leads me on to consider the fifth and the last main cause of our low prestige, and that is the picture which popular Hinduism presents of itself to the outside observer. I casually came across the word 'Hinduism' in an authoritative dictionary. Hinduism, as far as I can recollect, was described there as a sort of bundle of superstitions enjoining the worship of stocks and stones, trees and rivers etc. With this general impression about our religion, how can we expect to command any respect or prestige at the hands of other communities? It is not sufficient to say that the impression is based on utter ignorance or on malice. There are many things in popular Hinduism which do invite adverse criticism and even ridicule which has often been poured upon it. The outside critic has not the time for any sympathy to go into our Vedas and Upanishads or even to read the Bhagvad Gita to form a correct opinion about Hinduism. A casual observer can only see stones covered with vermilion lying at the bottom of Pipal trees here and there, odd looking and sometimes revolting images of gods and goddesses being worshipped by crowds of men and

women. He can only see heaps of bedraggled flowers covering the floors of our temples being trodden under the feet of worshippers flocking after their baths with their dripping clothes to make their offerings to the images attended to by semi-naked priests quarrelling with them over their fees and doles. Their visits to the temples of Kali with bodies of slaughtered goats strewn on the floor besmeared with blood and the stories they still hear of Devadasis cannot inspire them with any respect for Hinduism. There was a time, as we find in Manu, when invitations were issued by the sages of India to all

the people of the earth to come to India and receive instructions for the regulation of their conduct. If we want to re-establish our prestige, we shall have to set our house in order. Religion is a delicate matter and I do not want to dilate upon this point at any length but I do hope that our religious leaders would turn their immediate attention to this matter and make their religion look more presentable. If we have recourse to the Vedas and Vedokta Shastras, we shall find no difficulty in jettisoning many of the current practices which are mere later accretions and form no essential parts of real Hinduism.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE TRANSITION

BY MR C. W. B. ZACHARIAS,

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NOW that final Victory to the United Nations is assured and peace may return at any moment, businessmen and economists are rightly concerned over the nature of the situation likely to develop in the country on the termination of hostilities. It is that situation that has to be faced and properly handled before any of the post-war plans can be put into execution. If history should repeat itself, a post-war boom is definitely in the offing. But history may falsify expectations, and in economic matters more than in other aspects of human relations "by-gones are forever by-gones". Whether a slump or a boom will come in the wake of war is a question that needs study, for an *a priori* determination of it is altogether precluded by the complexity of the developing situation.

Obviously the most desirable course for the economy would be to pass imperceptibly from war to peace subject only to such frictions as the liquidation of the war effort and the restoration of a scale of values appropriate to peace time would impose. If this can be effected without invoking either a deflationary or an inflationary movement, the major problem of the transition will be solved. To do this, however, in the context within the country of a war-induced inflation and an ill balanced economic structure and in the international sphere of unsettled conditions generally would require the formulation of the most appropriate financial and economic policy and the utmost co-operation between the Government and the people. To the extent that our insight into the working of economic forces and our sense of

responsibility and discipline makes this possible, may we hope to escape the major calamities of the transition

To keep the economy on an even keel and stabilize at the existing level of activity, providing nevertheless for essential readjustments, aggregate expenditure must be maintained constant, whatever be the pace of demobilization. As Government expenditure gets reduced, private expenditure must increase to fill the gap. This is the simplified, perhaps over simplified, version of the correct theory of the matter. The division of private expenditure into investment and consumption does not materially affect the position, for investment equally with consumption is a demand for goods and services and will lead to productive activity in much the same way. Constant aggregate expenditure, however, will not dispel problem of reconversion—of industry or eliminate the mal-adjustment of demand and supply in particular lines. Its legitimate service is the prevention of those shortages, bottlenecks and other frictions caused by technical and technological requirements from losing their essential nature by getting magnified or unduly prolonged by monetary factors. Once the decision to wage war is taken and the economy is put on a war footing the retransformation of it later with all the attendant strains has to be faced under any circumstances. All that may be attempted is to provide the environment favourable for a quick and painless transition. In the provision of such an environment constant aggregate expenditure will greatly help.

The question to be examined, therefore, is to what extent there is the

probability of aggregate expenditure being maintained without involving the wastage of resources inflicted by a too gradual process of demobilization or delaying too long the relaxation from controls which the people have a right to expect with the return of peace. In a frictionless economy the best course of action for the State would be to straight away cancel all war contracts on an equitable basis, to stop war production immediately and effect demobilization within the minimum period required by administrative convenience. But where there is friction the process has to be tapered in relation to the growing capacity of peace time industry to absorb the men, and it may even be necessary for the State to embark on projects of national utility if unemployment should threaten to raise its ugly head. Still the operative principle should be to consider State expenditure, of the kind under review as supplementary to private expenditure, and justified only in the event of private expenditure falling short of the demands of full employment.

The case is, however, different if the policy of the State should alter in the direction of socialistic enterprise or of a forward movement in economic development for which the State has necessarily to be the spearhead. In the event the new policy of the State is superimposed on the transitional problem and the resultant State expenditure is rightly regarded as the composite of the two needs. One and the same action may, under favourable circumstances, satisfy both requirements, but the greater probability is, even when it does so, the needs of economy are not adequately met. Dovetail



development with transformation, unless properly timed, is likely to create more problems than it solves, and in the particular case of India where transformation involves only a change from military to civilian demand except in a few cases such as ordinance factories, the proper time for giving effect to plans of development would be after and not during the transition. In view of this, the right policy in regard to the transition is to make State activity subservient to private industry and to determine State expenditure on the basis of the magnitude of private expenditure. If the probable increase in private expenditure in the immediate post-war period completely offsets that part of defence expenditure caused by the war, there can be no reason for delaying the liquidation of the war effort. It is undoubtedly incumbent on the State to retain mobilization as long as necessary, but not as long as possible. A state of affairs can easily be visualized where delayed mobilization far from being an aid acts positively as a hindrance. The wisest course, therefore, for the State is to determine the pace of general demobilization in relation to the growth of private expenditure, rather than try to control private expenditure in the light of a pre-planned scheme of demobilization.

It is not possible now to state what the scale of war expenditure will be in the final year of the war, but taking the current year as basis the defence expenditure of the Government of India, including what the Government spends on behalf of His Majesty's and other Allied Governments, together with the civil defence expenditure

at the Centre and in the Provinces comes to nearly Rs. 768 crores. Of this Rs. 36 77 crores represent the basic normal defence budget and Rs. 15 05 crores, the allowance for rise of prices. Deducting these from the earlier figure, we get Rs. 717 crores as the increased annual expenditure due to the war. It is certain that Rs. 443 crores of this, which represent expenditure on behalf of other Governments, will altogether cease with the termination of the war, and it is also to be reasonably expected that some part of the remainder will sooner or later stop. Will this reduction be compensated by increased private expenditure?

There can, however, be no doubt that private expenditure will very greatly increase in the traditional period, but what its magnitude will be can only be a matter of speculation. Sufficient grounds exist for thinking that the pent-up demand for consumption and investment of the war period will surge up in an unprecedented scale and make use of all available funds for the purpose. The funds saved by Corporations and individuals and the larger margin available out of current income over the war-time scale of private expenditure once Government borrowing stops, would naturally find their destination, given the opportunity for it, in investment or consumption. The fact that most of these savings are invested in Government loans issued during the war period may in some cases militate against their utilization, but with the help of the banking system it is always possible to transfer these holdings from the public to the banks and release the funds they represent for private spending. In fact the increased liquid position of the banks is a

definite pointer in that direction. In one event however this may not happen if the expectation of a fall of prices in the future. But the generation of such an expectation should be effectively countered by the State by publicly enunciating its policy of maintaining full employment and stabilizing at the existing level. It is incumbent on the State to engineer a revival of activity on private account consistent however with its policy of post war development.

In addition there are two other dangers to be guarded against the frittering away of funds in abnormal importation of consumer goods and the excessive increase in private spending. Abnormal importation of consumer goods would be so much reduction of activity within the country which from the point of view of full employment will be as disastrous as a reduction in aggregate expenditure. On the other hand excessive increase in private spending in the initial stages of the transition under conditions of general scarcity would only lead to the dissipation of financial resources in rising prices. Much the same will be the result of unrestricted exportation. Foreign demand unless strictly controlled would in the context of a world shortage of all kinds of goods mean an incalculable addition to expenditure within the country which it should be the duty of the State to ward off. The constitution of the International Monetary Fund provides special facilities for importation without immediate payment in gold or goods and to a country like India this would involve a strain additional to the effective demand andogenous

to it. Control here should, however be exercised in a manner appropriate to the discharge of the just obligations of the country to the rest of the war stricken world and the maintenance of outlets for her exportable products.

For the formulation of the correct governmental policy a quantitative estimate of the probable growth in private expenditure is absolutely necessary. This at present is possible only for the Government. If in the sequel it turns out that a gap in the aggregate level is created, governmental expenditure should be maintained at the required level. The accumulated funds at the disposal of the Government the margin available out of current tax revenue over normal expenditure and the proceeds of any loans that may be issued should be unhesitatingly utilized for this purpose. Even a recourse to credit or currency inflation will be fully justified as long as Government expenditure does not contribute to an increase over the aggregate of the existing effective demand.

All this will involve a continuance of the war time level of taxation and the structure of economic controls existing now. Controls would be needed for ensuring the requisite expenditure for correcting possible maladjustment of demand and supply in particular lines and for preventing a rise in the price level. Problems of reconversion also would need them for such purposes as determining the rates of consumption and investment allocating available resources between several uses and planning the easy reinstatement of war workers in peace time occupations.

But controls appropriate to a transitional period are themselves rightly viewed as transitional and capable of effecting a frictionless disappearance. They should, to the extent possible, be derived from consumer demand and should eventually lead to the restoration of free choice and free enterprise in those parts of the economy not demarcated by the State as its own province. In working these controls and in the use made of the power of direction vested in the controlling authority the essential difference between war-time controls and these should be brought out. Preparations for planned development after the transitional period do not alter this special need, for the nature and form of the economy as it emerges from the transition serve as given data for the subsequent plan and should, to be acceptable as such, reflect a position of equilibrium. Harmonizing consumers' preferences with the structure of the economy and the character of the activities carried on there is as much a need of a planned economy as of a system of *laissez faire*. This notwithstanding the possibility of modifying consumer demand through regimentation. Regimentation really succeeds in the measure in which it helps to attain this harmony, and fails if through imperfect operation the plan is frustrated. In fact this harmony should more deliberately inform every aspect of the plan, both as a ruling principle in its progressive realization and as an ultimate end in the view. Transitional arrangements when dovetailed into the subsequent plan get virtually transformed into the first stage of the plan, the completion of

which should be as much characterized by the establishment of this harmony as the completion of every subsequent stage.

But the superimposition of an ulterior aim into the structure of transitional controls, though legitimate to a degree, should not be carried to the extent of changing their essential nature. Their principal objective of facilitating the transition should at all events be accorded primacy. On some points there would, however, be common meeting ground for the two aims, inasmuch as transitional arrangements properly conceived are intended not to lead the economy back to a pre-existing state, but forward to a new plane which while consolidating the gains of the war period will nevertheless integrate the whole on a rational basis and give it new elements of permanence. This may involve expansion in some directions and contraction in others and a general revision of the scale of values, making it possible for a harmony to be established between the transitional process and the future plans of development. The development possible in the transitional period, however, belongs as much to transitional measures as to overall planning and serve as useful and necessary links between them. Their inclusion in the transitional programme does not therefore alter the original character of the programme or render the original purpose superfluous. In fact it is imperative that the disproportions of the war period should be corrected before a long range plan is put into operation.

# WHICH WAY TO WORLD-PEACE?

BY MR B M BHATIA, M.A.,

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[Since this article was written the war in Europe has ended with the complete surrender of Germany, and the big three have met in Conference, more than once. But the writer's plea that we must not be caught napping when peace comes holds good. The war with Japan will soon be over and how are we going to meet the approaching post war period? Are we ready for peace which may be with us any time?—ED I R]

THE Atlantic Charter, which appeared in the World Press on the 14th August, 1942 was hailed as a laudable attempt on the part of the late President Roosevelt and Mr Churchill to define war and peace aims of the Allies. It was a Charter of freedom, both political and economic, for all countries of the world. It raised hopes that Great Britain and America would endeavour to make the world safe for democracy after the War and prevent the re appearance of the conditions which gave birth to Fascist ideology in the inter wars years. But the way how the question of Indian independence was by passed, the settlement of Polish problem and the tragedy enacted in Greece made many people doubt the sincerity of the professions of those behind the Charter. And then came the X'mas 1944 present of President Roosevelt. There was no Atlantic Charter we were told, except a scrap of paper which nobody signed! It was a happy past time in which the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England indulged in their meeting on the Atlantic. A fine joke indeed for the credulous world! Who would not compliment the two gentlemen on their sense of humour? And yet who, among the peace loving people would be not sorry to think that even at such a late stage as in the sixth

year of the War, the Allies are without a Peace Policy or if they have one, they have not made an authoritative statement of it?

While there is no authoritative pronouncement there is no lack of evidence as to how the British and American mind is working on the subject. The British would stand by any Charter guaranteeing democratic form of government to all countries so long the British Empire remains unaffected by this guarantee. They want to treat the colonial question as a domestic affair between the colonies and the mother country. The Empire has stood by the side of the mother country in the hour of trial. It cannot be liquidated. In fact Mr Churchill declared two years ago that he did not become the First Minister of the King to "preside over the liquidation of the Empire". In the economic field there is a reversion to the free trade policy. But here again, a scheme of imperial preferences within the British Empire is envisaged not only to find market for British goods in competition to the goods of the rival countries but also to enable Britain to discharge the financial obligations that she has incurred during the War. Thus both in the political and economic field the Empire countries are to continue to hang around the mother country. Consistently with this policy, the British Government would not mind the emergence of

similar blocs with U.S.A. and Russia as central powers.

The Americans are credited in several quarters to be thinking along the lines of universalism and international liberalism. Every country is to be given complete freedom to choose its own form of government and equality of all nations is to be recognized. An International Council of Nations on the lines of the Wilsonian League of Nations to settle political disputes, and an international system of free trade and free exchange to ensure economic development of all nations have been thought to be the guiding principles of Roosevelt's post war policy. But the appearance of two books last year simultaneously, one by Walter Lippman and the other by Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State in U.S.A., has raised doubts whether the popular reading of the American mind has at all been correct. These two undoubted authorities in American politics want to divide the world into three or four regions every region centring round one great power. The Atlantic community consisting of Great Britain, France and other powers of Western Europe which have fought against Germany together with U.S.A. will form the first region. Another region will centre round Russia and will include countries in the Eastern Europe and others coming under the Moscow ideology. China with Far Eastern countries will form the third region and the fourth region called "Hindu-Muslim region" will include India, Ceylon, Afghanistan and countries of the middle East. Each region will be autonomous. They may have their own

councils to settle their mutual differences. Countries in each group may be kept together not only by the political alignment between them but also by commercial and currency ties. An International League of Nations will be set up or we may say, the old League will be resurrected but the League will settle disputes between different regions only. Every region will have to present a united front in the League of Nations.

The regional solution of the world economic and political problems is clearly a concession to the British idea of Empire. A compromise between the two countries on these lines is very likely if it has already not been reached. A region would work smoothly so long as there is equality among various States in a region and every State is given an effective voice in the settlement of regional as well as international problems. But nothing has been said about creating these conditions, especially among backward and politically slave nations. If the whole region revolves round one central power which is all-pervasive in a region regionalism would degenerate into imperialism. And that would not end wars but would pave way for new conflagration.

The plain fact is that the idea of colonies, dependencies and "regions of influence" is out of accord with the democratic ideal of equality of mankind and nations. The world has advanced too far to admit of any nation being governed or exploited by another nation. Parcelling out the world into regions of influence is just another name for the Fascist

' Co prosperity spheres'. The way to end Fascism does not lie through Fascism. If the extinction of Fascism in some quarters is followed by its ascendancy in others, all the bloodshed of this war would go waste. We would once again create the chaotic political and economic conditions which gave birth to Fascist ideology in the inter wars years. The solution of world problems must be sought along the lines of the Atlantic Charter. President Roosevelt declared that there was no Charter yet he stood by the principles associated with it. Let the Big three draw up a Charter on the lines of the old Charter and sign it to affirm their solemn adherence to it.

But political justice is not enough. The world has suffered in the past more from economic than from political ills. In fact the desire for Empires and 'regions of influence' is in itself directly traceable to the scramble for markets. The War has no doubt brought about great sufferings. But the sufferings brought about by the trade restrictions, currency manipulation, depression and consequent unemployment, hunger and misery in the last decade though invisible were by no means small. The world has long been organized on the joint stock principle. The largest stockholder got the maximum dividend. The principle has failed to work. Let the world be organized now on co-operative principle. The Atlantic Charter laid down an economic policy of great importance. Clause 4 of the Charter runs as follows —

They (Great Britain and U.S.A.) will endeavour with respect for their existing obligations to further enjoyment of all States great or small, victor or vanquished of access on equal terms to the trade and to the materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

And in the fifth Clause it is stated that

They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

A reversion to the principle of free trade and equal opportunities for all nations to exploit the materials of the world for their economic advancement is thus envisaged. The agreement reached at the Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods in July last also embodies the same principle. The principle is sound only if all countries are equally developed economically. This is hardly the case at present. The acceptance of the principle by industrially backward countries like India would for ever banish the hope for 'improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security'. The industrially advanced countries should not only allow such countries to develop their industries behind walls of protection but should even actively help to promote industrialization and enable them to catch up with the standards achieved by them. For as long as some countries remain on the low standard of living that we have in India and China and so long as millions of people suffer from want of food and clothing there would be a permanent drag on any advance made by the rest of the world. The foundations of permanent peace would be laid when want, ignorance and disease are banished from all lands when economic nationalism gives way to world co-operation and when the world is organized as one unified whole rather than a group of countries with conflicting ideologies and interests. You cannot carve out an international order out of national planning. All must co-operate to plan a better, a happier and a prosperous world after the War.

# INDIAN SOLILOQUY

By MR. F. T. CASTELLS

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ARRIVAL at Howrah Station, the great Calcutta terminus, synchronized with a besiegement of wildly gesticulating coolies all vying for the privilege of carrying my luggage. Ali Bux, my bearer, with pretentious dignity attended to this latter matter, giving instructions with the assurance of a Nabob whilst I paid off the heavily bearded Sikh taxi-driver, sitting back with a complaisant smile on his lips, white teeth gleamed happily when he received his fare, together with a solatium for services rendered.

It was a relief to enter the dimly lighted station an asylum from the blinding glare of the streets, hazy vistas of shimmering dancing heat.

The scene inciting my eyes was fantastic, overcharged by a languid atmosphere permeated with the peculiar suffocating smell of the East admixed of sweat, musk, spices and exhalations from exposed fruit, an amalgam sweetly nauseating overhead the roof of the huge cavern was invaded by a canopy of smoke, a floating misty cloudiness of purple blackness, I became enveloped in a deafening noise, ever reverberating in its intensity, a maddening but weirdly haunting scordatura, blended of vociferously shouting and gabbling crowds pouring out a *mélange* of Hindi, Bengali, Tamil and a score of other languages, and dialects, all inextricably interwoven into a strepitous babel of meaningless vibrations. Here and there could be heard occasional words of English stabbing the endless state of words. Above all and yet interlaced came the

clamorous obligato of all railway stations, the play of shrieking whistles, puffing, snorting engines, clanging bells and a hundred other tumultuous interceptions: a weltering turmoil of chaotic uproar. Peeping through the skylights, the sun shed its light in gorgeous patches of gold embroidery about the seething masses of dark-skinned people, the majority of whom were sitting cross legged in tight little groups, co-centred about their few belongings wrapped up in gaudy coverings. A medley of dress provided an exotic orgy of subdued colours, an infusion of vivid hues softened down by the dim illumination into the light and shade of rembrandtish effects. I glanced around in bewilderment at the scene: in the chattering throng could be traced many of the numerous nationalities of the sub continent. Madrasie, clad in white from head to foot wearing small round turbans, North countrymen bearing huge gaudily coloured head-dresses. Here and there a Pathan glaring around almost insolently, resplendent in baggy trousers and waistcoats of dazzling contrasting colours, picked out with golden threads, and there in the middle distance a priest, his shaven head held erect, austere and dignified, wrapped around in a long saffron coloured robe and muttering to himself with gently moving lips, as he fingered the long string of orange tawny beads resting around his neck.

I commenced walking through the packed mass of humanity: a coolie covered by a scanty loincloth ran past me, his body beaded with perspiration, I gave a muttered imprecation, and then something impelled

me to look down my glance rested on an Indian girl, her eyes enlarged with kohl, wondrous brown pools set in an oval face, scrutinized me with a puzzled look replete with half-ashamed coquetry, the smooth satin-like texture of her skin showed faintly through a diaphanous pale green saree, adorned with a shining silver border. A concatenation of conflicting forces generated within me in lilting vague-like currents of speculation. I seemed to be grasping at an exciting intangibility compounded of the gossamery magic from which dreams are woven. Those eyes held an insinuating urgency, a magnetic attractive allure. With an effort I held my course brushing past a knot of unsophisticated villagers staring round with bleared eyes at the unaccustomed sight, I jostled against a group of Muhammadans with jaunty red fezzes, sitting immobile and motionless, evidencing the complacent indifference of oriental boredom. Stumbling on I nearly fell over a recumbent group of women reclining in a circle, enswathed in sarees co-mingling festively in a contrast of vividity, they lay composed like a huge weird moving flower of varied, delicately coloured petals, their arms resplendent with bangles and trinkets tinkling musically as they confabulated gaily. Immediately on noticing my curious glance, as if motivated by a primeval protective call, they all suddenly covered their faces, tapering henna-stained be-ringed fingers gently and elegantly moved in a graceful gesture like a well-drilled ballet, small slender feet drew upwards instinctively. I passed by and turning, lit a cigarette and through its bluish haze surveyed the

scene. The atmosphere was saturated with a wild impelling Eastern luxuri-ancy, and as I listened I sensed an enchanting semi-barbaric litany, enthralling but strangely remote. My soliloquy was rudely broken as a beggar passed by cringing and crying, his emaciated body a mass of sores, hastily I threw him a silver coin and with muttered incoherent blessings he went on his way whining a piteous lament.

Again I looked at the twirling spectrum and its fairy interplay of ravishing colours: the noise seemed to gather force within itself, savage swaying passionate cadences rising to a blaring crescendo suddenly to fall into a murmurous lethargized wail, breaking out anew in a rhythmic discordant extravaganza, a tempo of wild uncontrollable ecstasy punctuated by an insistent pulsating, vibrant thrumming, out of this river of confused mingled clamour floated streamlets of sounds, each distinguishable in their inflexible persistence, rain and thunder, a whistling of winds through the pines, the singing insistent harmony of waterfalls, chirruping of birds, the call of temple bells and the monotonous wash of the sea. Suddenly, as if emerging from a mist, with gently tinkling anklets a girl swayed by me wearing a light green besilvered saree, her kohl blackened eyes gave out a momentary ir-radiant flash of semi-recognition as the deep brown unfathomable wells of loveliness almost talked in their shining bewitching allure, my senses were benumbed in a feverish delirium an impelling entreating emanation flowed through me, sweet and intoxicatingly seductive and then, very slowly, she closed her half-averted eyes like hurried



tender shadows vanishing from the sunlight and passed; for ever.

As if in a dream I hurried to the train a vague dull ache clutching at my hearth a strident piercing whistle blew its message of farewell and the train commenced its long tedious journey through the arid plains of Hindustan. With an effort I rose and looked back through the open window, the already diminishing phantasmagoria of lavish pageantry gradually disappeared into a meaningless blur, and with it the penetrating din drew away, dissipating and submerged as in a

plaintive faint hum until it faded away altogether.

I lay back, my emotions in a tumbling jangled discordance of incoherency; in the mazy lavishness of confused thought I could only trace an oval face with burning enigmatical eyes, a half smile from carmined lips, and the passing rapturous flowering scents of a half opened bud; my eyelids were beaten back with a leaden weariness as I floated into the clasp of sleep, and dreamt that life was but an illusion, a current of ephemeral appearances, lost in the mists of eternity.

## A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

BY MR A C BANERJI, I.E.S.

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THERE are immense possibilities for Astronomical Observatories in India. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky in India is clear and very suitable for telescopic observatories and photography of heavenly bodies. But unfortunately there are only two observatories worth mentioning in India, *viz.*, the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. In Great Britain having a population of about 50 millions, there are at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. In these countries the support of astronomical investigations by the Universities is quite generous. On the same scale as that of Great Britain India should have at least 130 observatories

Astronomy, although it bears less directly on the material interests of life than some other sciences, is undoubtedly of great practical interest. The latitude and longitude of places on earth's surface are determined by means of Astronomy. Such determinations have made it possible to conduct extensive aerial and oceanic navigations. Moreover, all the surveying operations on a large scale depend on astronomical observations. Those operations for which an accurate knowledge of time is essential must require help from Astronomy.

Astronomical investigations undertaken for the sake of pure knowledge and for intellectual satisfaction led in the past to the discovery of the laws of dynamics and to the invention of calculus. Recently Astronomy is responsible for the development of the physical theory of Relativity.

The study of Astronomy has also immense educative and philosophical value. The simple laws of Astronomy lead to most far reaching results and, these reveal to us the beauty and grandeur of the universe which in turn stimulate our imagination and gratify our poetic sense.

To the historian even the astronomical records have great value, and the earliest of such records relate chiefly to eclipse and the position of planets whose dates can be accurately calculated.

It need hardly be pointed out that popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on a much more extensive scale and much wider publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post war reconstruction on Education. In Britain due partly to war conditions a keen popular interest in Astronomy has been awakened recently.

Mr D S Evans writes in the *Observer*, October, 1944, "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black out and military, air force, Homeguard, Observer corps and fire watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over ninety per cent of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the BBC are either definitely astronomical or closely related

to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest."

In Sargeant's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post war reconstruction of Education in India. I venture to suggest that in any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad and Calcutta, valuable research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such Observatories would cost about half a crore of rupees, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the post war period.

# Inferiority Complex—is it Curable?

BY MR. PREM NATH, M.A.

THE majority, if not all, of us suffer from the "Inferiority Complex"; and I make this statement without any doubt of uncertainty. This disease is no less serious than any other for the very reason that it reduces the patient to a helpless and restless condition. Worse still, the disease is knitted with the consciousness of it, ever present and torturing the mind which therefore can never rise equal to the demands of society.

## EARLIEST ENVIRONMENT

For tracing the causes of this disease, we have to go as far back as the very birth of a child and examine whether he is born as the eldest, young or the youngest. Thus every child has an environment peculiar to him and therefore we must study the individual cases to find out as to which period of life has contributed the more for the development of this disease. If he is the eldest child naturally enough, he has to depend upon his parents; from this dependence, the inferiority feeling is but the next step. Then with the birth of a younger one, the attention or at least some of it is withdrawn from the elder, with the result that it leaves him grumbling that all is not well with him. The world comes much short of his expectations and the poor fellow sits in a corner all alone. The youngest child, although no doubt he may be the centre of all attention, holds fast the feelings in his breast that he is a mere tool in the hands of his elders. However, in every case much depends upon the attitude of the parents towards their children.

But this is only the immediate environment of a child, in fact much lies beyond it. It is the blessed privilege of a mother to introduce the child to the society she wills; and if she fails to perform this function properly, evils must follow.

## ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Out from the house, the child embraces a wider atmosphere, he plays with his fellows and enjoys life. But soon the pleasure is over, and he feels the economic inequality. Mark a child of poor parents coming home and crying for a car or a radio, surely he has seen his fellow-creatures sitting in a car or hearing a radio. What have the parents to answer if not to brood over their misfortunes? Both the parents and the child are racked with the same problem, almost like killing two birds with one stone. Now, what 'attitude' the child would come to have we could well imagine. If then the child carries jealousy or hatred against the rich, who is to blame?

In India girls have enjoyed a very low status, economic as well as social; and that is one of the main reasons why they are more neurotic than men.

## HIDDEN FEAR

Most of the psychologists are agreed that there is some sort of fear hidden deep in a person's sub-conscious which upsets the whole balance of his personality. How many of us would not shudder to think of a dark night, how many of us would not take bushes as masqueraded robbers and retreat our paces? Why? Mothers have much to answer for this; perhaps,

most of us do remember our mothers' conditioning fear in us when we did not obey her.

#### THE "HEAVY FATHER"

It is evident that the father's dominance has ever remained a characteristic of the patriarchal society. 'Heavy father', as he is called by some psychologists, is to a very great extent responsible for generating the inferiority feelings in the mind of the child. He has misunderstood the child mind if he feels that no amount of authority would provoke any resentment from the child.

#### PAMPERING

If the child, on the other hand, is pampered too much by his parents, surely he would imbibe the idea that the world would be as favourable to him. He would like to be the centre of all attention and the pivot of all appreciation. But "things are not what they seem"; and he has to face the stern realities of the world. He begins to shun society and remain alone and in no time grows anti-social; and there results a serious neurosis. Girls are more likely to go neurotic in the homes where there is a male dominance or where they are not appreciated. No wonder then if such girls run away from homes to seek respect and appreciation abroad.

#### ORPHANS

The conditions are still worse in the case of orphans who are neglected and tortured with the result that they soon begin to feel their worthlessness and this feeling haunts them day and night. They wander as if "babes in the wood", while their fellow-creatures enjoy the comforts of the parental roof.

#### PHYSICAL DEFORMITY

Besides these causes and many more which it is not possible to lay down within the span of this article, physical defects are another cause which carries with it the trade mark of inferiority. Broadly speaking, it will include anything wrong with the body which may give the sense of awkwardness.

#### RESULTS

The main result or rather the symptom of this disease is nervousness and mal-adjusted personality. In acute cases, the patient would tremble and perspire if he has to attend some social function. He would be over-self-conscious, feeling awkward either about his dress or the place where he is sitting. But perhaps there is a "Law of Compensation" in human nature, your arm would not break twice at the same place! Naturally, therefore, there is a drive in the patient's mind against some anti-social 'compensations' such as fear, jealousy, conceit, and the so called superiority. I am just reminded of this truth by the conduct of an English Principal of some college (I need not name him) who in order to compensate for his very short stature would wear high-heeled shoes and top hat! Moreover, he would sit in his office in a raised chair which he had specially got ready. This is how the patients tend to compensate their shortcomings. Likewise we often come across persons who are always showing off, but in fact they are only compensating the inferiority feelings at the bottom!

#### CURE

Much less remains to be said now for bringing about a cure. "Know thyself",

and the cure would follow. Try to recall when you sit calmly, your past history, the environment you were brought up in and consider in that light some of the more outstanding episodes which gave you emotional shocks. Plunging deep into your sub-conscious, you would discover that there had been some events to which you had attached undue importance. Now, you would easily laugh away that burden and much of the disease would soon vanish. Fear that has a strong hold on you now, may have had its growth when you were startled to see a dog approaching you madly and so on.

If you have a friend to whom you can relate your story with confidence, do it by all means. While you relate the story of your life, there would certainly be many episodes which would touch you to the core of your heart, and you would find a

sort of emotional relief. They say that the unconscious is nothing but the unconfessed, whether true or false, this method does give you relief as also the confidence of a friend.

#### SOCIAL ACTIVITY

I have already referred to the 'anti-social "compensations"'. To counteract these the next step should be that you must employ your time in social activities, for there you would find the true compensation for your shortcomings. You would soon begin to feel an important part of society and your social self which had been suffering in prestige would come to its own. If as a child you did not enjoy social dignity, you would surely find it now, for society does appreciate selfless work.

Besides, this would provide some objective interest and would take you out of your narrow self bounded by idiosyncrasies.

## The Failure of the Simla Conference

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THE Simla Conference, which was adjourned on June 29, met on July 14. But it was only to record its breakdown. The fortnight's interval was utilized by the Viceroy in meeting the leaders of the respective parties individually with a view to effect an agreement among the major parties. That was found impossible and at the last sitting of the Conference Lord Wavell magnanimously took upon himself the responsibility for the failure and appealed to the leaders to avoid recriminations.

His Excellency added that the present Executive Council would continue in office

and prosecute the war against Japan, carry on the administration as heretofore and prepare for post-war development. He also indicated that it would be "some little time" before the next move was made. He gave a survey of the situation and made it clear that the failure of his efforts was entirely due to the fact that he could not accept the position taken by Mr. Jinnah.

As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and that thereafter Parties should send me lists of names. I received lists from all Parties, represented here except from the European group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was, however, determined that the

Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending, I, therefore, made my provisional selections, including certain Muslim League names and I have every reason to believe that if these selections had been acceptable here they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government.

My selections would, I think have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all Parties.

I did not find it possible however to accept the claims of any Party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr Jinnah he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussion.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, said that he appreciated Lord Wavell's efforts for a solution of the political deadlock.

Lord Wavell rightly adjourned the Conference to enable the parties to come to terms but the Muslim League claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. This claim was untenable and unsustainable and the Congress could not accept this position. The Congress was not a Hindu body. It could not wipe out its history of fifty years. 'I as a Muslim declared Maulana Azad "would not tolerate the Congress becoming a purely Hindu body. The Congress had a right to claim a share for the welfare and responsibility of Muslims.

Maulana Azad went on to say that the Viceroy had said repeatedly that the Muslim League's claim to represent all Mussalmans could not be accepted in its entirety.

It was therefore, clear who was responsible for the failure of the Conference. The communal question had taken the upper hand and had become a stumbling block in the path of the progress of India.

The Viceroy had to take as much responsibility in solving the communal question as the Indian parties themselves, because the British Government could not absolve itself of its responsibility for the position that had arisen.

The existence of the third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy, which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay, alone could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present waver- ing and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution.

Mr Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, said, that the League and the Congress approached the problem from two opposite angles.

Pakistan and United India were diametrically opposed to each other. The Muslim League had offered its hand of co-operation to the British Government. The Mussalmans of India were determined to have Pakistan. The League was willing to consider proposals for the formation of an interim Government if a declaration was made guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self determination in accordance with the Lahore Resolution and the League was accorded equality of representation with all other parties on the new Government.

Dr Bannerjee, Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, expressed his appreciation of the Viceroy's effort. Complete agreement as declared by the Viceroy, he said, could be had nowhere in the world.

In no country had there ever been complete agreement. The Viceroy's method of approach was thoroughly wrong. No single party should be enabled to stop the progress of the country. Having failed in his effort to bring about complete agreement, the Viceroy should now proceed to have the largest measure of agreement.

Dr Bannerjee suggested that the task of forming an interim Government should be entrusted to such members of the Legislature as were prepared to shoulder the responsibility. If Lord Wavell could think of a better and sounder alternative he would be happy.

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, endorsed the Congress President's view and pointed out that the Viceroy had clearly stated that issues of the future, like Pakistan, were not to be prejudiced by the proposed arrangement. This declaration had been accepted by Mr. Jinnah. As regards Mr Jinnah's claim that the League alone could nominate Muslim members, the Punjab Premier contended that no one single party should be allowed to exclude other schools of thought. It would amount to giving the Muslim League the sole right of nomination and disenfranchising other sections of Muslims.

Besides these speeches, the leaders freely expressed themselves in their statements to

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# HOW THE U.S.S.R. IS GOVERNED

BY DR. A. K. GHOSAL

THE present constitution of the U.S.S.R. is in the direct line of succession of two other preceding ones—the one adopted on July 10, 1918, only for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the other adopted in January, 1924, for constituting a federation of four units. Such was the tempo of change in Soviet society in the years that followed 1924, particularly with the complete reconstruction of Soviet economy by the adoption of two successive five-year plans, that the second constitution soon outlived its usefulness and made the adoption of a new constitution urgent which was done in December, 1936. The first thing to be noted is a feature of the Soviet system which the new constitution shares with the two previous ones. It is the pyramidal structure of administrative organization with the Supreme Congress of Soviets at the apex and village and town Soviets at the base, rising tier over tier.

The new constitution started with eleven units, two of the newly formed Republics (Kazakh and Kirghiz) being formed out of the territorial jurisdiction of R.S.F.S.R. and the autonomous Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azarbaizan making up Transcaucasia, being raised to the status of Constituent Republics.

The Soviet constitution frankly recognizes the economic basis of its power. The very first article declares the U.S.S.R. as a socialist state of workers and peasants. Its political foundation is stated to be, "the Soviets of toilers" deputies. All political power belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets. Its economic foundation "consists in the

socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the tools and means of production achieved through the liquidation of capitalism and the abolition of exploitation of man by man." "Socialist property" takes the form of either state property or "co-operative collective property." Private ownership is recognized in a limited form. Work is recognized as obligation and a matter of honour for each citizen. Whether we in this country should immediately turn over to socialist economy is a very thorny and controversial question, but there is no doubt that our main problem is the economic one, of fighting poverty and, as such, we would do well to translate this emphasis on the economic factor in the Soviet constitution into our future constitution.

The organization of state is federal in character based on the voluntary association of the eleven constituent Republics. The powers reserved to the Union Government are quite adequate for its purposes. Outside the limits of federal jurisdiction, not very precisely defined though, as set forth in the constitution, each Union Republic is authorized to exercise its state power independently, and the U.S.S.R. is obliged to protect the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. In the Soviet Union equality and free association, the root principles of federation, are carried to a point hardly reached anywhere else. Each Union Republic is to have its own constitution, which is its own affair, provided it is in full conformity with the constitution of the Union. The right to



secede from the Union is conceded to each Constituent Republic which is assured territorial integrity. A common Union citizenship is established throughout the Union as also the universal jurisdiction of the laws of the USSR.

The Soviet form of federalism with its profound emphasis on complete equality and local autonomy has its lessons for the framers of our constitution. Whether the right to secede should be conceded to the units of Indian federation has been hotly debated. On this point it seems to me that the Russian analogy is not quite applicable to our country at the present moment. The existence of the Communist Party which is the driving force behind the Soviet system puts the prospect of secession by any unit almost beyond the pale of practical politics. Any such cementing force is lacking in our country. In the second place Soviet Russia has for all practical purposes been reduced to a homogeneous society by the liquidation of economic classes. That has removed disruptive forces which would have made the existence of the right a constant threat to the unity of the State. This is not true of our country at the present at any rate.

The All Union Congress of Soviets of the earlier constitution of some two thousand members indirectly elected is replaced by a Supreme Soviet of slightly more than one thousand members elected for a four year term by all citizens, male and female of 18 years and over, through universal, direct and secret ballot meeting twice a year, and consisting of two chambers roughly equal in number and also equal in power. The chambers are called

the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the former constituted on population basis and the latter on the basis of the units. It contains an equal number of delegates from each Constituent Republic thereby indicating their equal status in the Union, and a smaller number from each autonomous republic, autonomous province and recognized national region within a constituent Republic. All power—legislative, executive and judicial—is concentrated in the Supreme Soviet. This is a distinctive feature of Soviet constitution which is in direct contrast with the theory of 'separation of powers' and devices of checks and balances incorporated in capitalist democracies. This has also been made possible by the elimination of class conflict. The only appeal from legislation passed by the Supreme Soviet is by referendum to the people. During recesses of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet will be represented by a joint committee of 37 members called the *Presidium* of the Supreme Soviet elected at a joint session of both chambers and accountable to them in all its activities. Though very important and extensive powers resembling what elsewhere devolve on the chief executive head of the State, have been conferred upon this body, its powers are however, limited by the constitution.

Another important body of the Government is the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR—the highest executive and administrative organ of the Union—corresponding to the Cabinet in parliamentary democracies. It will be formed by the Supreme Soviet at a joint session and will be responsible to the Supreme

Soviet 'and' during recesses to its Presidium.

Some of the Commissariats are All-Union and others Union-Republic. The functions of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. are to direct the energies and co-ordinate the activities of the community on a consistent and nation-wide plan towards the objective of the Socialist state. The powers conferred upon it by the constitution for the purpose are very wide, including the powers of direction and co-ordination of the work of the All-Union and Union-Republic Peoples' Commissariats and of other economic and cultural institutions; execution of the national economic plan and the state budget, administration of the credit monetary system, maintenance of public order, organization of armed forces, conducting foreign relations, etc. The Council is empowered to suspend the orders of the Union-Republic Peoples' Commissariats in regard to those branches of administration and economy falling within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. and to annul orders and instructions of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. It is provided that the orders of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. shall be binding throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. and such orders and decisions must conform to and be in fulfilment of laws just as the Peoples' Commissars are also enjoined to issue within the jurisdictions of the respective commissariats orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of laws as well as of decisions and orders of the Council.

Due emphasis is placed on the electoral system to which an entire chapter is devoted. Here we find the most important and fundamental departure from the previous regime and an approximation towards liberal democratic system which has been viewed in some quarters as a climb-down from orthodox Communism.

Universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret ballot has been introduced all along the line from the Supreme Soviet right down to the village Soviets. This indicates the growing confidence of Soviet leaders in the strength of their regime. This is a feature of Soviet Democracy, we should do well to introduce in our constitution and even in the composition of the constituent assembly. It would go a long way towards the solution of many of our problems by the assertion of the popular will over the forces of reaction and vested interests.

The democratization of the electoral system has been followed up by an elaborate declaration of basic rights and duties of citizens. It is not quite the repetition of the Bill of Rights found in constitutions of liberal democracies, but a mixture of Communist ideas with those borrowed from bourgeois democratic systems. Citizens are secured the right to work including the right to adequate pay, the right to rest *i.e.*, holiday with pay, right to maintenance in sickness, old age, infirmity and incapacity in general, right to free education and free medical attendance and the right to absolute equality as between the sexes in all matters. In other words, all citizens are secured by the state the minimum material conditions essential for giving them opportunity for self-expression or, at any rate, for avoiding a sense of frustration. Nothing could be a more desirable objective for the makers of our future constitution and also administrators to set before themselves than this. The mention of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system in connection with the right of the people to unite in public organization is significant (Art 126).

Infringement of these rights is guarded against by entrusting their protection, in the first place, to the elected legislatures and secondly, to judges elected by the legislatures.

# Labour and the General Elections

FOR the first time in history, the British people elected the Labour Party to power with an overwhelming majority. Thus the five years of Mr Churchill's war leadership ended on the 26th July when the gates of the Buckingham Palace opened to make way for Mr Churchill to tender his resignation to the King and Mr Clement Attlee to be entrusted with the formation of the new Government at the behest of millions of British voters.

The Party has a clear majority over all other parties in the New House of Commons. The final election results are:

Total for Government (Mr Churchill)	310	Total
for the Opposition (Attlee)	417	
The state of the parties is		
Labour	310	
Conservative	145	
Liberal National	14	
Liberal	11	
Independents	10	
Independent Labour Party	4	
Communists	2	
Commonwealth	1	
National	1	

Results for 13 seats are yet to be announced, 12 of these being University seats.

The position at the dissolution of Parliament was that the Government had 414 seats including 358 Conservatives and 27 Liberal Nationals while the Opposition then totalled 194 including Labour 163 Liberal 19 Independent Labour 6 Commonwealth three Irish National two and Communists one. Seven seats were vacant.

Twenty five more seats have been created for this election and the new House will have 640 members.

It has been said that Labour's outright success is a sequel to one of Britain's most sensational landslides in which the Conservatives led by Mr Winston Churchill suffered "a debacle of dimensions that dumbfounded even the most optimistic Labour enthusiasts."

It is needless to dwell on the causes that brought about this disaster to the party led by even the greatest war veteran of our time. For one thing the country is evidently sick of the old imperialism that

caused the war and threatens to outlast even that tragedy. For another Mr Churchill himself seems to have made substantial contribution to this disaster by his truculent manner and overbearing tactics—tactics too in which, to quote Mr Morrison,

the Prime Minister had overreached himself in his desire to be smart. Instead of taking the high line of half above the battle, he descended into the political gutter. It was a fall from Dunkirk to the depths of the Tory dustbin.

The descent from the great hero of the nations to a scare mongering party whip proved his undoing and of the party he led. Indeed as a fellow Tory himself put it, Churchill's Gestapo speech was the greatest blunder of the campaign. For no less than 22 of his colleagues in the Cabinet not to speak of his son and son-in-law, have been defeated.

On the other hand all the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party have been returned with a thumping majority. On the eve of his return to Potsdam (July 28), the New Prime Minister announced his inner Cabinet of seven:

Mr Clement Attlee Prime Minister First Lord of the Treasury and Minister of Defence  
Mr Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council  
Mr Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary  
Mr Arthur Greenwood, Lord Privy Seal  
Dr Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer  
Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade  
Sir William Jowitt, Lord Chancellor  
Mr Fethwick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India  
Lord Addison for the Dominions, Miss Wilkinson—Education Minister, Mr J J Lawson Minister for War.

To us, in India, the displacement of Mr Amery and the exit of the whole group of reactionaries must be particularly welcome. Welcome too are the pronouncements of Lord Listowel and Sir Stafford Cripps and many others interested in India. When Labour was in power last time, it had to depend on the good will of other parties to put through any measure of reform. No such excuse can be pleaded now that it has all the authority of an absolute majority. Is Labour going to act up to its declared policy or plead lame excuses for maintaining the *status quo* in India?



### Indian Interests in Burma

Growing concern over the future of Indians in Burma found vigorous expression at the recent Conference convened by the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bombay. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, who presided over the Conference called attention to the wide spread feeling of uneasiness among Indians who have large business interests in Burma.

A fear is growing in our minds said the Raja Sahib that advantage may be taken of the confusion of the re-occupation of Burma to make cut and dried resolutions and force them down the throats of Indians without adequate previous consultations with the interests concerned.

The Blue Print for Burma (setting forth the Tory views of British intentions) claimed that the best way of subserving the true interests of Burma was to enthrone British financial and commercial interests and eliminate every other interest in the economy of Burma. And yet the part played by Indians in the rise of Burma is an essential feature of recent Burmese history. The Tory pamphlet argues that the rights of Indians could be easily liquidated.

In tune with this policy the present authorities in Burma are attempting to jockey out the Indian from the import trade of the country by ordaining that in future all surplus rice should be sold to the British Ministry of Food and that countries desiring to trade with Burma should approach that Ministry and get what they choose to supply. Then again the restrictions imposed on Indians visiting Burma for purposes of trade or even to look after their own property are humiliating in the extreme. Europeans, on the other hand, get permits for the asking.

The Bombay Conference rightly condemned this discrimination and asked for friendly settlement of such issues from the interim authorities. Burma's own interests lie in friendly co-operation with her neighbours and not in antagonising her historic relations with this country.

### Princes and British India

A deadlock in the relations between the Princes and the Viceroy is an unusual thing. Yet it is common knowledge that the Chamber of Princes did make a demonstration of a sort in December last. A *communiqué* issued by the special Committee of Rulers which met in Bombay the other day announced that a settlement had been reached following an interview between the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and H. E. the Crown Representative. What the deadlock was about and how it was ended are still secrets neither of the parties in the dispute having taken the public into their confidence. Anyway, all's well that ends well.

But more significant than the ending of the deadlock, was the pronouncement made by the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, in his address to his fellow princes. Coming on the eve of the Wavell negotiations, his words on the occasion were of special interest. His Highness welcomed an interim government for British India and assured the Rulers' cordial co-operation in a matter of all-India concern. He urged the Princes to get ready to march with the fast moving events. He said:

We must associate our people as closely as possible with the administration of our States. This is in fact being done in many States. We shall have to take immediate action where this has not already been done to implement forthwith and to the fullest extent the recommendations made at our previous meetings with regard to independent judicatures, representative institutions and the fixing of the privy purses.

Now whether the Wavell plan ultimately succeeds or fails, India cannot stand still. The march forward is irresistible and if the Princes really want to have a peaceful transition they will do well to keep pace with their neighbours.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Japan defies Potsdam Ultimatum

FOR the first time the Japanese have been told exactly what "unconditional surrender" means for them, and have been warned that if they do not accept the Allied terms "the alternative is prompt and utter destruction."

The Potsdam Proclamation, jointly signed by Mr. Churchill, President Truman and Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek has made known to the world what was virtually a "surrender-or-be-destroyed ultimatum" to the Japanese people.

The following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We will brook no delay.

There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure achievements of the basic objectives which we are here setting forth.

Then follow other terms and the Proclamation concludes:

We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper adequate assurances of their good faith in such action.

The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

After a three-hour cabinet meeting, the Japanese News Agency issued a defiant reply to the Allied Proclamation declaring that Japan would fight on to the end.

## Constitutional Crisis in France

Confusion envelops French constitutional affairs after the defeat of General Charles de Gaulle's Government in the French Consultative Assembly on July 29 by 210 votes to 19, when the three-day debate on

## Treason Trial of M. Petain

"This court does not represent the French people. I will reply to no questions," declared Marshal Philippe Petain, the 89-year-old Marshal of France and defender Verdun, whose trial on a double charge of plotting against the internal security of his country and intelligence with the enemy, began in the historic Palais de Justice at Paris on July 24.

He added: "It is the people of France who gave us power and I have come to render my account to the people. While General de Gaulle continued the struggle, I prepared liberation, keeping together wounded but living France. If you condemn me, you will condemn an innocent man. I place myself in the hands of France."

The argument by Petain's counsel that the court was incompetent to judge the case and that the Marshal could only be tried by the Senate under the 1875 constitution was rejected and the court is proceeding with the trial.

## The Status of Eire

Ireland is both an independent Republic and a member of the British Commonwealth—that is the contention of Eire's Prime Minister, Mr. Edmon de Valera, who on July 17 gave a detailed explanation of the view in the Dail, Eire's Parliament.

Speaking to a full house, Mr. De Valera whose explanations have been eagerly awaited since he first asserted Eire's Republican status a week earlier said Eire had been "an independent Republic since December 29, 1931, the day on which our new constitution came into operation."



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**SIDELIGHTS** By Saka Language Publications 12 Thambu Chetty St Madras Rs 2

C R is right as he generally is in such matters when he said that Khasa is at his best when he writes as Saka. And this collection of thumb nail sketches and essays rescued from the fading columns of the periodical press will be welcomed by many readers who have already enjoyed reading them as they appeared and by others also to whom they may be new.

These papers which are somewhat in the nature of the middles of the British weeklies are written in the light but by no means frivolous manner of the popular colorist. It is the mark of good writing that time has not robbed them of their entertainment value. Saka handles his themes with the ease and grace of one to the manner born. His frank and vivacious presentation lacks neither charm nor vigour and his criticism of men and things are singularly free from spite or malice.

One could also see that Saka has mellowed with time and has shed some antipathies not noted in his previous volume. Men in the Limelight. His judgments though critical are generally appreciative and where the characters merit it are suffused by a generous glow of enthusiasm. There is a deal of shrewdness and gentle wisdom in these pages which will repay perusal.

**INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS** By Dr Lanka Sundaram MA PhD (Lond) Sultan Chand & Co Lahore

The author of this interesting book claims that it is a personalised account of what he had written at various stages, and is arranged for unity of approach and

symmetry of treatment and that it constitutes therefore the reaction of a sensitive and patriotic Indian mind to the impact of world affairs and the implications of the unconsciously tightening English dominion. He discusses the place of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation and argues that there are many thorns in her path and obstacles in her endeavour mainly arising out of the traditional British Monroe Doctrine for the Empire and India. It is difficult to indicate the direct beneficial results which have accrued to India as a result of her participation in the work of the I L O. We further note the manner in which Ottawa strangled the Indian export trade. Imperial Preference runs counter to the most favoured nation principle. Indians Overseas have been detailed in all their complex difficulties and problems and the vision is indulged in when India would play the role of peace maker between the white, the black and the yellow.

**BRITISH SOLDIER LOOKS AT INDIA**  
Letters of Clive Branson Peoples Publishing House Raj Bhuvan, Bombay

Mr Branson, the author of these revealing letters from India was an extremely gifted and courageous soldier who saw with insight and sympathy the appalling poverty of the Indian masses and the supreme incompetence of the administration which aggravated it in many ways. A communist by faith he was passionate, sensitive and humane towards the oppressed and down trodden. These frank and outspoken letters are full of anger and indignation at the misery of the poor and the corrupt and inefficient war time bureaucracy in India.

**OXFORD PAMPHLET ON HOME AFFAIRS**  
No 70 JAPAN Sir George Sansom  
Oxford University Press As 6

Here is a brief and readable account of Japan's internal development during the last 100 years. Sir George Sansom gives a thorough and informing analysis of the Japanese and their ways of life which provides an admirable clue for understanding Japan's gigantic strides towards becoming a modern Imperial power. At the back of the feudal social system one realises the impact of their fanatical devotion to the state which largely explains their habits and ways of thought in war and national aggrandizement. The author envisages the grim prospects of her defeat and its consequences in the end and says that the victorious powers should devise a rule by which Japan can be ensured a livelihood, but denied the power of aggression.

**GREAT REBELS** Studies in Life and Letters.  
Edited by Saroj Acharya Book Forum,  
72, Harrison Road Calcutta Rs 2 4

In this tiny volume we get a remarkably informative account of the lives and achievements of some of the most outstanding men of letters of our epoch. They served mankind by their pen and tongue and suffered penalties for the causes they advocated. Without reserve or restraint they fought social injustice, political oppression, economic inequality and intellectual serfdom and each chose a different medium for his work. Tagore who conveys a new message through his poetry, Pearl Buck who paints Chinese life in her novels, Ernst Toller who gives a lurid picture of Nazi barbarism in his plays and letters, Romain Rolland who reveals a quiet and subdued humanism in his writings and Stefan Zweig who enjoys the value of spiritual force, are all supreme examples of great rebels who cannot retreat because they "must conquer or die."

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**MERCHANTMEN AT WAR.** The Official Story of the Merchant Navy, 1373-44. Prepared for the Ministry of War Transport by the Ministry of Information H. M. Stationary Office London.

**A PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIA** Part II Distribution—Role of the State. The New Book Company, Bombay Rs 1.

**CREMLIN PAPERS** Story and Illustrations By M. A. Polkov Thacker & Co., Bombay Rs 6 8.

**THE FOOD PROBLEM IN HYDERABAD** By Honble W. V. Gignani C.S.I. I.C.S. The Supply Department Hyderabad.

**ENGLISH LAW** By J. L. Brierly (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs) Oxford University Press 6 as.

**MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION** By S. N. Agarwal with an Introduction by Mahatma Gandhi Vora & Co. Bombay.

**OCEAN SHIPS AND LOST CARGOES** By M. Beckman Thacker & Co., Ltd. Bombay Rs 7 14.

**LEVINRAD** By Alexander Werth, Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay Rs 5 14.

**GEORGE CAN DO IT** By G. A. West Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay 12 as.

**PIAN FOR BRITAIN** A Collection of Essays Prepared for the Indian Society Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

**SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANNING IN INDIA** By A. N. Agarwala East End Publishers Allahabad Rs 3 12.

**THE ROAD TO PEACE AND PAKISTAN** By Zauddin Ahmed Sulevi Sh. Muhammad Ashraf Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore Rs 1 9.

**THROUGH PAKISTAN TO FREEDOM** By Jamiluddin Ahmad, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore Rs 1 8.

**SONGS DIVINE** By Swami Abhedananda Rama Krishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

**SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, AND MODERN INDIA** Rama Krishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

**THE HOLY GITA** Text, with an English Translation By J. J. Pandya, M.A., Kitabghar, Rajkot Rs 12 8.

**HIND SWARAJ** By M. K. Gandhi Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad 8 as.

**OVER KYBER TO THE CASPIAN SEA** By Ruth Altsand Thacker & Co. Ltd. Rs 4 12.

**NATIONALISM AND SELF GOVERNMENT** By Dr. Lanka Sundaram Rajkamal Publications, Delhi.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

—) O (—

- July 1 Congress leaders arrive in Simla  
—Mr Attlee replies to Churchill's attacks and says he is not indispensable
- July 2 Pandit Nehru has 150 minutes talks with Viceroy in Simla  
—H E Sir Arthur Hopes term extended for another 6 months
- July 3 Churchill Attlee correspondence Nationalist Muslim organizations support Congress stand
- July 4 Mr Curtin Australian Prime-Minister is dead
- July 5 Britons go to the polls  
—Congress Working Committee draws up provisional list for Viceroy's Council
- July 6 Warsaw Government recognized by US Britain and China
- July 7 Congress League and other bodies submit their panel to the Viceroy
- July 8 M Stalin receives Chinese Prime Minister Dr T V Soong  
—2½ per cent 1950 bonds issued
- July 9 Russo Polish Trade pact signed  
—Empire Air Conference opens in London
- July 10 Princes Committee Members withdraw resignation
- July 11 Viceroy meets Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah
- July 12 Pandit Nehru explains Congress attitude to Wavell's plan
- July 13 Party negotiations fail at Simla  
—Congress Executive meets
- July 14 Viceroy addresses Simla Conference and declares its failure  
—Statement by Congress President Mr Jinnah and others
- July 15 Viceroy Jinnah correspondence released
- July 16 King Leopold of Belgium decides to stay out of country but not to abdicate
- July 17 The Three power Conference opens at Potsdam, President Truman presiding  
—1500 Bombers raid Tokyo
- July 18 Congress High Command authorizes formation of Ministry in Assam  
—De Valera explains in the Dail the constitutional status of Eire
- July 19 Russia's German policy clarified at Potsdam Conference
- July 20 Dr Pattabhi owns sole responsibility for August 1942 circular  
—Lord Wavell convenes Conference of Governors
- July 21 French troops evacuate Syria
- July 22 Clashes between Chinese Communists and Government in four provinces
- July 23 Trial of Marshal Petain begins  
—Lord Listowel pleads for renewal of steps to end deadlock
- July 24 Record raids on Jap cities
- July 25 Frontier Gandhi arrested by Punjab Police
- July 26 Labour wins British Election with clear majority Mr Churchill resigns  
—Allied call to Japan to surrender
- July 27 Mr Attlee becomes Prime Minister  
—Japan defies allied ultimatum and declares its determination to fight to the bitter end
- July 28 Britain's new Labour Cabinet is announced,
- July 29 Frontier Gandhi released  
—Dr Evatt protests against non consultation of Australia in respect of Potsdam ultimatum to Japan
- July 30 Mr Churchill declines Order of the Garter offered by the King  
—John Amery tried for high treason
- July 31 Jamiat leader Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madana nominated to Congress Working Committee,



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

*Prabuddha Bharata*, the well known Vedantic monthly, now published at Mayavati, has just entered its fiftieth year. It is appropriate that the occasion should be marked by the publication of the Golden Jubilee number, a sumptuous edition which is replete with articles and illustrations of striking interest. Started at Madras under the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda shortly after his unprecedented success at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago it ceased to appear for a time in 1898, on the untimely death of its gifted Editor, B R Rajam Iyer. But it re-emerged gathering fresh momentum as it were at Almora and has continued to grow from strength to strength under a succession of editors, who have all been members of the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Mission.

It is in the fitness of things that more than one article in this special number should deal with Swami Vivekananda and his teachings. Sister Christine, in her reminiscences, recalls how the Swami used to hold forth on questions of social and religious reform of Hindu Society, not always consistently. He inveighed against caste, child marriage and purdah.

Yet he had but little sympathy with reform and reformers. How could he be in harmony with a method which, while it tore up the evil by the roots, destroyed so much that was beautiful and precious in the process leaving ugly barren places behind? Whatever changes were to be made in his country, must not be brought about by the loss of her self respect or by loss of faith in herself. Denunciation of her customs and institutions no that was not the way. What perversity was it that made so many of his own generation see only evil in the land of their birth and unalloyed good in everything Western? How had this hypnotism come about? Could India have lived through the ages if this were true? The heart of India is sound. Evils, there may be. Where are they not? Is the West free from them? Pacing back and forth hour after hour, he would wrestle with the problems of India.

Christopher Isherwood gives an interesting account of the Swami's conversation with the celebrated Sarah Bernhardt. We have glimpses of the interview in his travel letters to Swami Trigumata.

Swami seems to have been taken round to visit her in her dressing room at the theatre after a performance. One wonders who introduced them, what word was used to describe the Swami's occupation to the actress, and whether she had already heard of him. "Madame Bernhardt," writes Vivekananda "has a special regard for India. She tells me again and again that our country is *tres ancien tres civilise*—very ancient and very civilized. There must have been a gleam in Swami's eye as he politely received this flattering information.

They talked as was natural of the only play Sarah had ever produced with an Indian setting. It was *I el*, by Morand and Silvestro, an expensive flop. Bernhardt had always obstinately liked this piece, perhaps because it displayed her undoubted talent for theatrical *decor*. "She told me that for about a month she had visited every museum and made herself acquainted with the men and women and their dress, the streets and bathing ghats and everything relating to India."

Yet another article in this number is Prof S K Mitra's study of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, and their influence on the minds of the English educated Indians of the time. We are told

For Ramakrishna there was no distinction between man and man, for him there were no barriers of race, caste, creed, or sect. It was this catholicity which appealed most to his English educated countrymen and was the secret of the influence which he exercised over them. This was what attracted to him even leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, like Keshava Chandra Sen and Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. Educated and cultured Hindus who had come in contact with Western culture, flocked to Ramakrishna when they discovered that here was a man who, without leaving the Hindu fold, had the most liberal ideas in religion—ideas which were even more liberal than those held by any Western thinker. In this way Ramakrishna succeeded in putting a stop to the secessionist movement either towards Christianity or towards Brahmoism which was such a characteristic of the religious life of Bengal in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. And it was in this way that he became the centre of the Hindu revivalist movement of the last century.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES IN WAR AND PEACE

Prof S V Puntambekar discusses the problem of civil liberties in India during peace and war in the pages of the *Modern Review*. We do not enjoy full and beneficent liberty during peace and its diminution in war is a matter of bitter experience. The rules under the Defence of India Act have conferred on the Executive the most sweeping powers in matters covering almost every aspect of a citizen's life.

They are not subject to any scrutiny by the representatives of the people. They have left no judicial remedy or redress whatever to any person detained without trial or affected in different ways. This power has been exercised recklessly and justified irresponsibly. Lord Atkin has laid down that even amidst the clash of arms the laws are not silent. But in India the laws and the ordinances are treated on the same level. The assumption of these powers needed on the plea of emergency and possessing no safeguards for their use exercise have been exercised for a totally different purpose—the suppression of the legitimate rights and activities of citizens. Civil liberties in India are in a precarious condition. No war whose theatre of operations is localised can justify the executive action and process of a large number of detentions in camps and prisons of persons without trial for an indefinite time and in places far removed from the field of operations. The courts have decided that the powers of the executive can legitimately supersede the rule of law during an actual invasion alone. In a case of disputed jurisdiction it is for the civil courts to resolve the conflict but in India the ordinances have themselves taken away the power of the courts to judge the validity of ordinance rules and their applications. It is the greatest encroachment on any scheme of civil liberties which a modern State has made. They (the citizens) are detained with trial and often do not know the grounds of their detention. All avenues of redress or appeal are closed to them.

Civil liberty in India also suffers from a very dangerous doctrine of a discredited medieval jurisprudence about the collective responsibility of persons belonging to a particular group or area for crimes or agitation happening in that area.

It is a resurrection of the old medieval forms of criminal responsibility imposed on a particular area or group without taking into consideration the actual perpetrators of crimes. This is done in case of crimes against or dangers to public safety and property even on mere suspicion and in cases of riots and agitational movements. In these cases every person in a particular area or

group has to suffer certain restrictions on his freedom, to undergo certain punishments, to pay certain collective fines and to live under a system of punitive police or military control. This conception of collective responsibility and collective fines and punishments is a grave attack on civil liberty.

There is also a system of compulsory labour prevailing in India for government services. During war or disturbance it develops into a system of compulsory conscription of persons for various services, of compulsory acquisition of houses, lands, goods property conveyances machinery, factories and industries.

What should be the limits of control and compulsion in these matters is left to the sole discretion of the executive or the military authority. The conception of war war area war period, war effort are so elastic and expansive that the claims of civil liberty are disappearing under the new despotism which war creates.

In India says the Professor, the struggle for civil liberty remains connected with and dependent upon the success of the struggle for national independence and the introduction of full responsible government in all the political units of the country.

Otherwise modern totalitarian governments now totalitarian parties and old totalitarian religions will destroy the very foundations of civil liberties in India.

## A NEW QUARTERLY

*India and World Affairs* is a new quarterly edited by Professor Mihir Kumar Sen and published from Calcutta. It advocates friendly collaboration with other powers with a view to strengthen our trade and defences. "We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that no nation can live in isolation to day in this age of co-operative freedom and security," says the editor. "We feel that we should strengthen our existing ties of trade, communications defence and foreign policy by friendly collaboration with Powers that would be friendly to us inside the Commonwealth and outside." The journal contains instructive articles on village economy, the planning of agriculture and industry, food and nutrition, besides other subjects, including international problems.

## POST-WAR LABOUR IN INDIA

The 1945 annual of *Investment and Finance*, which has entered its third year of publication, is packed with articles dealing with different phases of the nation's economy. Miss Maya Gupta, writing on "Planning for the Post-War Labour in India," observes:

Pre-war India has nothing to be proud of in her industrial record, so is the present-day India. Much vaunted war production is but little and can be compared with that of a second rate productive state of Europe, having an area one tenth of this vast country. There is no second opinion about the abundance of India's man-power and resources, and when her economic status is properly judged along with the possibilities, it is apparent to anyone that there is a criminal waste of materials as well as human energy.

In the present economic state, continues the writer, the producer aims at the highest profit, he, being the master of the whole show, sees his own interest and his whole action is prompted by it.

A producer's interest is to secure maximum profit for himself, which he can have only when the expenditure on production is the minimum. India's labour is cheap, because as a rule there is the conscious attempt to keep it cheap. This cheap labour has resulted in the inefficiency of labour, yet it is paying to the owner of the capital. Whenever there is any demand of higher wages, there is a hue and cry to refuse it on the ground that Indian labour is inefficient. How to get out of this dilemma? Because of ridiculously low wages Indian labour is inefficient and because it is inefficient it ought to have low wages. In the post-war days, what is there to expect that the labour standard is going to be raised over night when the producer's aim at maximum profit will be justified by the very system. Even if there is fixed minimum wages, can the Government guarantee an improved labour condition through provision of real wages?

The writer's solution is drastic. To bring about a reasonably high standard of living for labour, she says, the industries should be taken over by the State. According to her, only a state managed industrialization can really result in bringing about an organized and efficient labour and a high volume of production.

No State or organization, however charitably disposed towards labour, can help it appreciably, if the private capitalist system is allowed through private management. The doles or alms can save a certain number of people for a certain period but by this, neither labour is treated as the creator of national wealth nor can it be a healthy handling of the situation.

## THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

Absolute progress is a legendary tale woven of dreams and achievement, writes Mr. J. F. Pinto in the *New Review*.

Our materialistic conception of progress is false because it holds only the flitting glimpses of a light that ever reveals the fulness of its grandeur to the naked eye of man, because it holds but the vanity of our heart, which flatters our mind and hides from it the shame of its ignorance; because it whispers in our ears the sensuous words of deception: 'Ye gods!—whereas, we are but men heaving our rock up the steep sides of the mountain, but never reaching its heights. In the midst of light we are in darkness.' In the midst of civilization we are in barbarism. And we know it not!

With the advance of civilisation, and all it essentially means, man has not personally improved; human nature has not changed since its Fall.

His mind may be better informed, but his needs have increased, and still his old desires and evil tendencies drive him into forbidden channels of chance and experience. New and strange conditions, new and strange situations have tended to vitiate the process of the development of the human mind. Man has become more complex, and yet the unknown possibilities and villainies of his nature are awakened from their couch of slumber and repose and are infused with a dynamic force, as of old. He is more known to himself,—yet the infinites of his nature are such that he still remains unknown! And knowing the infirmities of his flesh and the mysteries of his being, his head bends in shame and his soul weeps in agony.

"A man's reach should exceed his grasp. Of what's a Heaven for?" asked the poet. He ever toils, and toiling ever moves towards his final goal, his ultimate end, "towards his last and indivisible union with God."

"My heart is restless until it rests in Thee", sang St. Augustine. Progress, therefore, is contained in man's thought and spirituality; in his desire for development, in his restlessness for perfection and satisfaction. In his struggle for a greater life he reflects and reveals his instinctive and congenial passion for such progress which is the breath of his finer spirit. He may not succeed in material and earthly terms,—but he never rests satisfied with what he has and possesses, he never rests in his moment of achievement, however, crude or noble,—he 'progresses' towards his heaven, but his human frailties, his human nature and weakness seem to frustrate his schemes and rob him, of his golden apple! But they cannot stifle and silence his inner voice reaching to heaven; they cannot crush his spirit yearning with a burning love for perfection and eternity.

## ANTI SOVIET PROPAGANDA

The *News Review* exposes examples of the anti Soviet propaganda that is being spread in the Conservative Party

It has published quotations from the privately circulated ultra Tory paper, *Letter of World Affairs* edited by Mr Kenneth de Courcy, a friend of Gen Franco and a prominent member of the Imperial Policy Group. Mr De Courcy writes in his latest issues

Our observers are convinced that no understanding is possible with the Soviets unless there is a complete surrender to the Russian views regard less of our commitments abroad the political changes within our own sphere and even on our own home fronts or a very firm stand is now

We insist upon the modification of the Soviet sponsored Governments in Austria Poland Bulgaria Yugoslavia Albania Romania and Hungary the immediate execution of the inter Allied plans for the administration of Berlin and Vienna the release of all pro British and pro American Poles and immediate guarantees to Persia China and Turkey

Mr De Courcy suggests that the first alternative would mean the elimination of Anglo-American influence in a large part of Europe and Asia. The second course would mean risking a quarrel with an Ally at the end of the long war and before the Far Eastern business is settled.

## WORLD PEACE AND ORDER

It would not be a bad idea for each government to award scholarships for foreign travel to men and women who could see alien life and interpret it sympathetically says Prof A R Wadia in the *Aryan Path*. It would not be a bad idea if batches of clever children or youths could be taken to different countries where their contact with the young and old would breed understanding and sympathy.

The logic of life drives us to recognise the need of a world order where men and women can live in peace and the world is big enough and fertile enough to let them so live. To day we are living in conditions where world citizenship can be much more than a dream, an aspiration ripe to be realised.

## INDIAN PROBLEM

A new solution for the Indian problem is put forward in an article in the *Spectator* by 'an Anglo Indian'

'A new approach to the Indian problem' he writes "can only be by way of autonomous Ministries. Unfortunately less than half are now functioning. But at least these can be invited to depute resident Ministers to Delhi to enable their provinces to have a full share in the Central Government. That, would, at any rate be a start back towards constitutional sanity. The constitution of India cannot be a machine built to a blue print. It must be an organism growing from a germ. It is our task to plant a seed which given goodwill and common sense can grow into a Centre, which will be acceptable to the provinces and the States in India. "This," the writer adds "may be regarded as a provincial even as a Punjab, view, but, surely it is in the self governing provinces that political realism and statesmanship are to be found. They are in some cases governing extremely well. Besides, how can the Centre ever be built up in any other way but on provincial ministries?"

## SCIENCE AND WAR

The extension of scientific knowledge as a result of the war is revealed by articles in *Endeavour* (London). Prof F. C. Bartlett writes on experimental psychology. He points out that under the stimulus of war much accurate information has been obtained about the determination of everyday behaviour, and that thus a large field of study is opened up. 'Clouds and Cloudscapes' is the subject of an article, by C J P Cane who, it is said, was the first in Britain to send a balloon into the stratosphere, and is a Member of the International Commission for the Investigation of the Upper Atmosphere. Dr F G Richardson discusses the science of "rheology"—the dynamics of fluids.

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### HYDERABAD BAN ON PARADES

The Nizam's Government, under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules, has passed a Camps and Parades (Control) Order, under which no camp or parade shall be held by any political or communal organisation in any place, whether public or private, except with the previous permission of the Government.

The Government, in a note on the Order, says that there is nothing in the Order which interferes with any legitimate activity. It merely reinforces the Government's determination to suppress with complete impartiality dangers inseparable from any tendency on the part of non-official organisations to usurp the functions of the State.

### REMISSION OF LAND-TAX

A remission of 10 as. 8 pies in the rupee has been sanctioned by the Hyderabad Government for the year 1354 fasli to Khalsa lands situated outside the ayacut and irrigated by wells constructed prior to 1317 fasli. To similar non-Khalsa lands a remission of 3 annas in the rupee assessment was ordered.

In non-Khalsa villages where Government's share in the assessment was annas eight or more than annas eight in the rupee, a remission of 10 annas eight pies was ordered and where Government's share in the assessment was less than annas eight a remission of annas three in the rupee was ordered.

### TUNGABHADRA PROJECT

H. E. H. the Nizam has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 40,20,000 for meeting the preliminary expenditure on the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project. An administrative circle with two divisions has been created to undertake the work, entailing an expenditure of Rs. 2,42,000 during the first year.

## Mysore

### NEW MINISTERS FOR MYSORE

The Mysore Government announce the appointment of three non-official Ministers for the second term under the Mysore Government Act of 1940. The new Ministers are Dr. T. C. M. Royan, prominent Indian Christian and former President of the Bangalore City Municipality, Mr. O. B. N. Sheriff, Member of the State Muslim League and Mr. L. Siddappa, Member of the Lingayat community, unrepresented in the previous Cabinet. The association of three non-official Ministers in the place of the present two in running the administration of the State is considered in political circles as a decisive move in the direction of associating the popular element in the counsels of the Government and democratisation of the administration. Under the Mysore Reforms Act of 1940, which is now in force, not less than two members of the Cabinet should be non-officials chosen from among the elected elements of the Legislatures. Thus the new Cabinet consists of two officials, three non-officials and the Dewan, the administrative head of State who presides over its deliberations.

### RADIO MAKING IN MYSORE STATE

As a result of negotiations, which are nearing completion, between the Mysore Government and Mr. Lawrence Bennett, Chairman and Managing Director of the Philco group of radio and electrical companies in England, a factory for the manufacture of radio instruments and apparatus of all kinds, including wireless and television receiving sets, will very shortly be established in Bangalore.

### MYSORE STATE BUDGET FOR 1945-46

The Budget estimates for Mysore State for 1945-46, after modification in the light of criticisms in the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council Budget sessions, are as follows:

Anticipated total revenue is Rs. 9,26,70,000, while the total expenditure is Rs. 9,18,19,897, resulting in a surplus of Rs. 8,50,103.

**Rajkot****RAJKOT IRRIGATION SCHEME**

The difficulties and defects of the usual bullock driven irrigation system have been engaging the attention of the Industries Department of the State, writes Prof. R. V. Rao. Experimental lift irrigation methods tried have revealed that because of the steady flow of water-supply by electric pumps, the cultivators can get three crops in a year. Further, it is possible to irrigate three acres in a day, which is not possible by the ordinary Kosh system, and the expenditure can be reduced by 50 per cent. The Rajkot State has a post-war programme for the development of irrigation since agriculture here as elsewhere is a gamble in the monsoon and the authorities, it is understood, have already placed orders for plant, etc., for implementing the scheme of electrifying 30 open wells for growing more food-crops.

It is stated that the scheme has received the appreciation of Sir William Stampe, the Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India who recently visited Rajkot. Calculations show that by this scheme about eleven hundred acres will be irrigated resulting in an anticipated yield of 400 tons of food-grains per annum, which will go a long way to ease the food situation in the State.

**Kashmir****NEW MINISTERS**

The new Prime Minister, Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramachandra Kak, assumed charge of the office of Prime Minister. The appointment of Pandit Kak has been welcomed by the local newspapers and the various political parties. The new Prime Minister is a State subject and has varied experience in administration of the State.

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has appointed Mr. M. G. M. Mekhri, Industrial Adviser to Government, as Development Minister in succession to K. B. Jaffar Ali Khan.

**Cochin****NEW MINISTER FOR COCHIN**

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has been pleased to accept the resignation of Mr. T. K. Nayar of his office as Minister for Rural Development and to appoint in his place Mr. Parambi Lonappan.

Mr. Lonappan assumed charge on July 12, from Mr. Nayar. Mr. Lonappan is the leader of the Nationalist Party in the Cochin Council which was formed after the election and has a strength of 17 members. Twelve others have also promised support for his Ministry.

**RECONSTITUTED LEGISLATURE**

The reconstituted sixth Cochin Legislative Council met at Ernakulam on June 30, Sir George Boag, the Dewan-President, presiding.

The total number of seats, including officials, is 58, of which 38 are elected members, 10 nominated and 10 official members. The Praja Mandal has a solid bloc of 12 seats, while the Nationalist Party has six members. While the Praja Mandal has Mr. P. Govinda Menon as its leader, the Nationalist Party is led by Mr. Parambi Lonappan, the recently retired Excise Member of the Cochin Government.

**Bharatpur****BHARATPUR DEWAN**

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is pleased to allow Rajamantra Pravina A. V. Ramanathan, Dewan, to relinquish his office on grounds of health, with effect from the 5th July, 1945. Mr. A. V. Ramanathan is permitted to avail himself of the privilege leave of 47 days earned by him, with effect from the same date.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is pleased to appoint Rao Bahadur Thakur Hukum Singh, Revenue Minister, as Acting Dewan, with effect from the 5th July, 1945, pending the appointment a permanent Dewan.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

## Indians Abroad

### PROBLEM OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

Addressing a meeting on Indians Overseas at the Ranade Hall, Madras under the auspices of the Mylapore Welfare Association, Dr Lanka Sundaram urged the need for the adoption of a system of family colonisation in the matter of Indian emigration. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presided.

Dr Lanka Sundaram gave a survey of the dispersion of Indians in various parts of the world and added that for every 100 people in this country, there was one Indian abroad. After touching on the impediments thrown in the way of the political progress of Indians in the countries of their adoption, the speaker referred to their future and said that unless and until the Government of this country carried out the family colonial system in the matter of Indian emigration as was done by the Japanese in respect of Argentine, they could not have peace with their neighbouring countries. They should appeal to the Government of India to stop the emigration of single individuals which not only disturbed the social life of the Indian community but also that of the country to which they were sent. He advocated a united non-European front in South Africa, with Indians, natives and other coloured peoples of that country acting in union so as to ensure their survival.

Mr G. A. Natesan referred to the indignities suffered by Indians, particularly in South Africa and paid a tribute to Gandhiji for the way in which he tackled the problem and roused the conscience of South Africans. He added that so long as their countrymen in India had no political freedom, the subjugation of their nationals in other countries would continue. He hoped that when the National Government was formed, the rights of Indians overseas would be established and their interests safeguarded.

## E. Africa

### REORGANISATION OF KENYA

The East African Indian National Congress has decided that the Kenya Government's proposals for reorganising the administration of Kenya are "totally unacceptable".

The Congress regrets to find the Government ready with new white immigrant settlement plans without any plans for the long neglected Indian land settlement and emphatically denies allegations that the Indian population are town dwellers only and affirms that they belong to the farming stock.

The Congress urges consideration of the Indian claim to the common electoral roll, common franchise and equal opportunity for assisted settlement. It requests the Imperial Government to appoint a Royal Commission impartially to investigate all political factors, demands and aspirations of all races, and make recommendations in conformity with the Imperial obligations for common economic, cultural and political advancement.

## Burma

### INDIANS IN BURMA

Problems relating to the resettlement of Indian Nationals in Burma were discussed at a Conference in Bombay on July 7, convened by the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad presided.

The Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Military Administration of Burma to accord the same rights and facilities to Indians to proceed to Burma as might be accorded to Britishers and others proceeding to that country during the period of military occupation. Resolutions were also adopted requesting facilities for a representative committee of Burma evacuees to proceed to Burma to survey agricultural and residential properties, and for the restoration of normal trade channels between the two countries at the earliest possible time.



# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### CONGRESS & THE FRISCO CHARTER

The Congress Working Committee, meeting at Simla on July 15, adopted a resolution on the San Francisco Charter declaring that

the Committee regrets that the position allotted to the smaller nations in the Charter is one lacking all effectiveness and the Great Powers not only dominate and completely control the organisation but are placed above and beyond the law they have themselves helped in framing. These Great Powers have indeed strengthened and consolidated their own position in the world and have shown no inclination to give up their colonial possession and the special powers and privileges they enjoy at the expense of dependant peoples.

The Committee especially regrets that the declaration regarding non-self governing territories is vague and unsatisfactory and is little better than the old mandate system of the League of Nations which was a signal failure in the past.

The discussion in the San Francisco Conference on the objects of trusteeship and the strenuous objections raised by some powers to the use of the word *Independence* are evidence of the fact that imperialist Powers are still functioning in the old imperialist way and intend to retain and exploit their colonial possessions. The Committee is of opinion that a full and frank recognition of national independence, within the framework of a *bona fide* international order, of colonial territories is necessary to give reality to the purposes and objectives of the new organisation and to lay the foundations of a stable peace.

The Committee has noted that the delegates from India to the San Francisco Conference represented the alien Government and in no way the people of this country, and their attitude towards problems affecting India and other dependant and colonial territories was often opposed to the policy of India considered as independent. Such representation at international conferences is an affront to India and a fraud upon them and is likely to mislead foreign nations. The fact of India's dependence on foreign authority has resulted in giving her an anomalous position in an organisation of sovereign States, and deprived her of permanent seat in the Security Council of the new organisation, which should be, *her due*. Both for national and international reasons, India must attain the status of an independent and sovereign State having a place in the highest Councils of the nations, and occupying a position, to contribute to the maintenance of peace, security and freedom of the world.

### CENTRAL GOVTS' RESPONSIBILITY

Answering Mr. Palme Dutt's question as to whom the Indian Central Government was responsible, the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, in a letter in the *Birmingham Post* stated that the Central Government by law is "under the general control of the Secretary of State" who is responsible to Parliament. Decisions of the Government of India are "normally" taken by a majority vote at meetings of the Executive Council.

These statutory provisions, writes Mr. Amery, are survivals of the 1919 Act. Leaders of Indian communities and parties were invited in 1940-42 to sit in the Central Government, but they declined to do so.

They are now being invited again. In the meantime, the Council has been composed of the best men who were willing to serve. These men in fact are responsible for the day-to-day administration. They are not responsible to the Indian legislature in the Parliamentary sense and cannot be so until there is an agreement between Indians as to the composition and powers of such a Legislature. It would not be tolerable to Indian public men of standing, holding such positions, that their actions should in detail be subject to inspection and interference by the Secretary of State. Nor on the other hand would it be agreeable to them that I should accept the blame or credit for decisions they take.

"The position was quite different 27 years ago when Sir Austen Chamberlain resigned. Then the Central Government was composed of officials who were rightly required to report to the Secretary of State in detail on all important matters."

Regarding the responsibility for the Bengal Famine, Mr. Amery writes:

The Famine Enquiry Commission made it clear that it was within the power of the Bengal Government, which consisted of Ministers responsible to an elected legislature, to have averted the tragedy by timely action. They do not qualify this by saying that the Bengal Government could have done so only if the Government of India had acted otherwise than they did.

# Utterances of the Day

## PANDIT NEHRU ON THE AUGUST DISTURBANCES

Powerful and outspoken observations on 1942 disturbances the Simla Conference the Punjab Government and Punjab Congress leaders and the people were made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his 40 minute address before a large crowd at Lahore.

Speaking in Hindustani Pandit Jawaharlal said

For a brief comparison of the great events of 1942 we will have to go back 88 years to the time of the 1st of August 1854. I am very proud of what happened in 1942. I would have been very sorry indeed if people had tamely submitted to the British Government. That would have been a sign of cowardice and would have undone the work of decades.

It was a mighty and staggering phenomenon to see a helpless people spontaneously rise in despair and enthusiasm without any leader or organization or preparation or arms. They bravely suffered, endured and sacrificed many things. They could no longer tolerate the humiliations and misery heaped upon them by the ruling power.

It is a easy for armchair critics to find faults with that rising. May be there were things which cannot be approved of or justified. But they are cowards who criticized those happenings and who tried to mislead the people. I make it plain that I cannot condemn those who took part in the 1942 movement.

The poor peasants their hearts aglow with the desire for freedom were oppressed and tortured by the police and the military. Not much happened in the Punjab but in my own province as in Bihar and Bengal and in most parts of the country a series of black methods were perpetrated. Hundreds of villages were not only destroyed and burned by the very patches of land on which they stood were filled with plague. India was at last turning her head.

The people made mistakes they erred and faltered but they moved on. They refused to be subdued despite the terrible repression. At thousands of places the police and the military fired but they braided all this. No doubt the Nazis of Germany were very brutal but to match their deeds one can find quite a good many of the British in India.

Here in the Punjab it was a different story. Nothing much happened here, but the very angry popular Government behaved in a strange fashion towards Congressmen. In cold and calculating manner it did many things against human dignity. I pity it, but I pity all the more the Congressmen and Congress leaders who submitted to those things willingly. The dignity of the Congress required that not even a Congress leader could have bowed before a Government official.

## C R S NEW FORMULA

Mr C. Rajagopalachari addressing a crowded cosmopolitan gathering at the South India Club Simla soon after the failure of the Simla Conference denied that Lord Wavell or His Majesty's Government had rejected Mr Jinnah's claim. On the other hand they had acquiesced in that claim.

Mr Jinnah he said is now in a non-transigent mentality and everything he sees in a different light. But a wrong claim could not be sustained long and Lord Wavell considered his demand to be not feasible and tenable he ought to have the courage also to reject it.

As a way out of the present impasse if the British Government really desired it Mr Rajagopalachari said the provinces whose legislatures had been elected on a fairly wide franchise should be asked as to whom they desired at the Centre and then the representatives of the eleven provinces might choose four or five members for the rest of minorities.

## DR PATTABHI ON THE SIMLA FAILURE

Dr Pattabhi Saramayya, addressing a public meeting at Masulipatam dwelt on the reasons for the failure of the Wavell talks.

Dr Pattabhi regretted that no joint list of names for the Viceroy's Executive Council could be presented for a joint list would have meant a joint programme, joint electorate possibly and concerted action on the part of the major parties for the independence of India.

In the absence of such a list separate lists would have served the purpose in a measure but that was also not to be on account of Mr Jinnah's obstructive policy. And it was just at this juncture that news came from England that Jinnah was not to be displeased or antagonized. This alone might account for the Viceroy's deviation from his original plan of action and a close analogy between the Simla Conference and Crappe Mission is furnished by this event because then in 1942 Louis Crappe asserted that Crappe was stabbed in the back. May it be that Wavell has been smitten in the face now?

## LORD LISTOWEL ON THE SIMLA FAILURE

A strong plea that the failure of the Simla Conference should not be regarded as final and that immediate further steps should be taken for breaking the Indian deadlock is made by Lord Listowel, former Under-Secretary of State for India, in a letter to the *Times*.

Lord Listowel declares that the proceedings of the Simla Conference disclosed "that an immense majority of politically conscious Indians, Hindus and Muslims alike, is anxious for another instalment of self-government within the present constitution, and is willing to accept administrative responsibility without prejudice to our war effort. They also showed that the Viceroy has won the confidence and respect of Indian leaders to a greater extent than any of his predecessors within living memory."

Lord Listowel says:

To resign ourselves to a renewal of the political deadlock would be a public confession of bankruptcy of British statesmanship, and dereliction of our duty towards India. The ripening nationhood of India cannot be arrested and if its growth is not nurtured by consent, it will assert itself inevitably by force. After Simla, there must certainly be a pause for thought. This will give the Viceroy a chance to consult his advisers and Provincial Governments, and to resume his discussions with the British Government. During this breathing space we must decide which of our losses to cut and how best to gird our loins for a fresh effort. We have failed to substitute a representative Indian Cabinet for the present Viceroy's Executive Council. Let us write this off for the time being as a dead loss. To do so need not preclude addition in the near future to the number of its Indian members.

## CONGRESS MINISTRY FOR ASSAM

The Congress High Command has authorized Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party, in the Assam Legislative Assembly and ex-Premier of Assam, to form a Congress Ministry in Assam if it becomes necessary.

It is learnt that instructions have been sent to Mr. Bardoloi that as the terms of understanding between the Ministerialist and the Congress Parties in the Assam Legislative Assembly have not been fully implemented, the Congress Party should withdraw support to the present Ministry and go ahead, if necessary, with the question of forming a Congress Ministry.

## CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S DISCLOSURE

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, interviewed by the Associated Press at Calcutta, on July 24, outlined the proposal he had made at Simla to overcome the opposition of the Muslim League.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was asked whether there was any truth in the report that, at the time of the Simla negotiations, he had made an offer to the League that he would not press for the inclusion of Congress Muslims in the seats reserved for Muslims in the proposed reconstituted Executive Council. The Congress President said that that was true. His proposal was that if the League agreed to the inclusion of two able and suitable Nationalist Muslims who belonged neither to the Congress nor to the League, he would not insist upon the inclusion of any Congress Muslims.

The Congress President added that he had made this offer on his own responsibility and before he had a chance to consult his colleagues of the Working Committee.

## SIKHS AND PAKISTAN

"I Will Oppose Pakistan".

"I would oppose establishment of Pakistan and would be willing for a civil war, if possible or necessary," said Master Tara Singh, answering a question and added that the question of Pakistan was really a question between the Muslims and the Sikhs and if Mr. Jinnah wanted Pakistan he must first concede an independent State to the Sikhs in the Punjab.

The Punjab, said Master Tara Singh, was their homeland and they wanted a State, including the Sikh territory. If Palestine could be the homeland of ten per cent. Jews, who lived there, surely the Sikhs had a much greater right and claim in the Punjab, where their religion was founded and they had most of their holy places.

## HOPE ENGINEERING COLLEGE

H E Sir Arthur Hope Governor of Madras, declared open at Coimbatore the Arthur Hope Engineering College on July 9 before a large and distinguished gathering

In welcoming His Excellency and requesting him to declare the College open Dr B B Dey Director of Public Instruction referred to the recent progress in the field of technical education. He said that two new courses in Highway Engineering and Communication Engineering were now being introduced in this College which would add to its importance and usefulness. The Alagappa Chettiar College of Technology at Madras the College of Agriculture at Bapatla and the new College of Engineering to be started shortly at Chitambaram would make this College at Coimbatore the fourth of its kind to be started in this Presidency all within the period of a year while the opening of a fifth College at Vizagapatam for Marine and Aeronautical Engineering together with the usual Civil Mechanical and Electrical Engineering was under the immediate consideration of the Government. It was an achievement of which Government might well be proud.

Dr Dey said that the problem of inadequacy of provision for students seeking admission into the colleges could be solved by opening more polytechnics and industrial schools and the bifurcation of studies at an early stage in the High School course. The scientific organisation of industries at the present day had been made possible only through progress in Engineering and Technological Research, without which India could never hope to build up her industries in competition with those of other advanced countries in the post-war world. The geographical position of Coimbatore together with its present industrial importance as well as its future potentialities for development made it almost an ideal place for establishing a college of engineering and technology.

## A CENTENARY ENDOWMENT

The Bombay Municipal Corporation has voted a sum of Rs 100,000 towards the endowment of a chair in Civics and Politics in the Bombay University to commemorate the birthday centenary of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The Mayor was authorized to approach the Bombay Government for a substantial donation for the purpose and was also requested to institute a special public fund.

Mr S K Patil leader of the Congress Municipal Party moved the resolution which was supported by all sections of the House.

## SIR A L MUDALIAR

Sir A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar has been re-elected Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University.

As Sir A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar was the only candidate for election, he was deemed to have been elected by the Senate as Vice-Chancellor and his name was submitted forthwith for H E the Chancellor's ratification.

The Statute provides for the election by the Senate of a panel of three to be submitted to H E the Chancellor who will make the appointment from among them.

Sir A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, it may be noted, was elected to it for a three years term in August, 1942.

## INDIAN AIR TRAINING

The classes for the Indian Air Training Corps, conducted by the Madras University, will commence on August 15 at the University Buildings, Chepauk.

The course is one of five months duration, the classes being held in the evenings after the college hours. Cadets will be given a minimum of three hours flying experience during the course and during training they will receive a stipend of Rs 20 per mensem.

## ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT

"It is of vital importance that the right of arrest without warrant should be closely watched by courts", said Lord Justice Scott in the Court of Appeal on July 15. He was giving judgment on an appeal from the decision of the Liverpool Assizes on an action arising out of the arrest of a Liverpool cloth merchant, Mr. M. E. Leachinsky.

Mr. Leachinsky was arrested without warrant on a charge of possession of goods suspected to be stolen. Subsequently, the charge was withdrawn and Mr. Leachinsky sued the police for wrongful arrest and detention. The Liverpool Assizes held that the police action was justified. On the other hand, Lord Justice Scott held that the police had no grounds for suspicion and the arrest was therefore illegal. An arrest was no light matter and should not be treated as such. Lord Justice Scott said :

"It was better that a criminal should occasionally escape than that judges should let in the thin end of the wedge for discretionary arrest at the instance of the executive.

To keep clear the distinction between the functions of the executive and those of justice is vital. The English nation in the past was wont to speak of autocracy in any form as an enemy of personal freedom, but it is equally true that the good working of democracy depends on the rule of law. That is why this appeal is of such importance.

Arrests by the Executive uncontrolled by courts have happened in the past in English history and the intervention of courts is needed to curb it.

## DEATH SENTENCE STAYED

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Wavell a few days ago requesting him to stay the execution of a person convicted in connection with the 1942 disturbances and sentenced to death. The execution was due to take place on July 12. It is learned that Mahatma Gandhi has also asked the Viceroy that three or four similar cases in the U. P. and Bihar be kept pending.

It is presumed that Mahatma Gandhi would have had some indications from the Viceroy as to what steps the Government proposed to take in this connection during his interview in Simla.

## COMPANY LAW REFORM

Far-reaching recommendations for reform of company law are made in a committee report which was published as a White Paper in London on July 18.

The major changes suggested include the fullest possible disclosure of information, including (except in the case of banks) hidden reserves; more effective control by shareholders with longer notices of meetings and greater power to remove directors; stronger penalties for untrue and misleading prospectuses; directors to be liable to pay compensation unless they had cause to rely on an expert for a false statement; private companies to be no longer exempt from obligation to the balance sheets.

The report is highly technical and is published with Press comments restrained and contradictory, the *Times* City Editor saying that the proposed changes "on the whole go beyond general expectations." The *Manchester Guardian*, however, says: "They do not go as far as many had expected and much is left to administrative alertness of the Board of Trade but, if carried into law, progress will result."

## SIR VERE MOCKETT

The Hon'ble Sir Vere Mockett, Judge of the Madras High Court, who retired from service on July 25 sat for the last time on July 20 at the Third Court when a reference was made by the Advocate-General, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, on behalf of the Bar.

Mr. Rajamannar, who has since been elevated to the Bench, referred to Sir Mockett's coming to Madras 24 years ago, his joining the Bar and how he rose to the front rank. Sir Mockett's advocacy was characterised always by thoroughness of preparation, accuracy of statement. In July, 1932, Sir Vere Mockett was appointed to the Bench and it was a unique thing in that an English barrister who started his career just as any other member of the Bar was elevated to the Bench. Mr. Rajamannar added that Sir Vere never forgot that he was a member of the Madras Bar.

## INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

"I suggest that India's plan for industrial rehabilitation and new development be translated immediately in terms of a list of types of machinery required. This list should be put in the hands of a purchasing agency here, which has full authority, subject to the advice of competent consulting engineers, to make purchases of capital goods as 'opportunities arise'. Thus observes Mr. S. K. Kirpalani, Indian Trade Commissioner in New York, in a report on "Post-war Trade Possibilities between India and the U.S.A."

After discussing the possible trend of production and foreign trade in the U.S.A. in the post-war period, on the basis of information available in the last quarter of 1944, just prior to the Presidential election, he comes to the following conclusion on the availability of capital goods for India and the manner of getting them:

Industrialists and manufacturers here find business so brisk that they are most reluctant to take time out for furnishing technical details on the off-chance of orders materialising after a delay of three or six months. They are not interested in that kind of business, when capital goods can be sold in this country at attractive prices, so to say, over the counter. So far as I have been able to observe, industrialists and manufacturers in this country are prepared to sell capital goods for cash down.

Mr. Kirpalani thinks that large quantities of used surplus equipment are likely to come on the market. "It will be second hand in the sense that it has been used", he says, "but it will be in first class trim and will represent the latest in scientific developments".

## 2½ PER CENT. 1950 BONDS

The Government of India, in a notification, dated 9th July announced the issue of 2½ per cent. bonds, 1950, issued at Rs 100 per cent. and redeemable at par on July 10, 1950.

The subscription was limited to Rs. 20 crores approximately. The list opened on July 16, and closed on the same day.

## BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

Millions of sterling are reported to be involved in the orders that Platt Brothers, Ltd., Manchester textile machinery manufacturers, hope to secure as the result of the visit of Indian industrialists to Britain in connection with post-war industrialisation of India.

An executive of the firm said recently: "Mr. N. R. Sarker has visited us and hopes to establish many more cotton mills in Bengal, he asked us to quote for very big orders, running into millions of pounds."

We could deal with such orders as soon as we got labour, as we have the capacity in our organisation. We should need 2,000 to 4,000 more employees to fulfil the orders and are now in touch with the Ministry of Production, the Ministry of Labour, and the Man-power Board on the subject.

The firm's representative intimated that the prices quoted would not disappoint the potential customer from India who is anxious to buy British goods.

So far as priority is concerned, the Indian market will have to take its turn, unless the Government of India is able to persuade the British Government that the orders are essential to the war effort in Far East.

## CENTRE'S NEW LOAN TO BENGAL

The Government of India, it is understood, have sanctioned a loan of Rs. 36,83,000 for various schemes relating to the distribution of seeds in the Province of Bengal during the year 1945-46, as part of the "Grow More Food Campaign." It is an interest-free loan and is repayable within one year. The Government of Bengal is expected to spend an equal amount from its funds on these schemes.

The Government of India have also sanctioned a grant equivalent to 25 per cent. of the actual loss or upto one rupee per maund, whichever is less, of the quantities actually distributed on the basis of the year-1945-46.

## SHAW'S PLEA FOR MORE WOMEN M.P.S

Pointing out the inadequate representation of women in Parliament despite women's suffrage Mr George Bernard Shaw says

My own remedy is to make the electoral unit not one man one vote plus one woman one vote but a man and a woman—a coupled vote all candidates votes for a single one being invalid. This and this alone will secure representation for men and women in equal numbers

The statement was made in the course of a letter supporting the Labour woman candidate Miss Ffrench Lloyd Jones

I must not try to commit you to this as a plank in your election platform adds Mr Bernard Shaw. Too many women would be foolish and ignorant enough to vote against it. I mention it only to show how strong is my experienced conviction of the urgent necessity for more women at Westminster

## SEXUAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

Once again the Married Women's Association is on the war path

This time they want sexual equality for women which means they say that the wives of Servicemen should have as much freedom as their husbands

Mrs Dorothy Wilson, a member of the Association's executive, wife of an army sergeant and the mother of two children, is the spokesman of this bright idea

She says

Through the medical facilities put at the disposal of the men serving abroad the War Office has adopted the principle that married men must be free. We civilians have done nothing to equalise the position between men and women. The cessation of their sex life has been as if a deprivation for the women as for their partners but the male partner has been given greater freedom. If the women exercise sexual freedom they may be murdered and their murderers go scot free. If fraternisation in Germany can help towards world security let us welcome it but it must be freedom for both sexes

Mrs Wilson's husband comments on his wife's speech "I agree and so should every right thinking man

## MRS CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE TO RUSSIAN WOMEN

Addressing the Women's British Soviet Committee in London, Mrs Winston Churchill recently returned from a trip to Russia, spoke highly of the spirit of true friendship and great interest in Britain, she found there. Her interest naturally was centred on Soviet women, children and hospitals. She was struck with the fact that she met far more women surgeons than male surgeons. It was explained to her that women were more adroit with hands than men so that the majority of female medical students went in for surgery. She was impressed with the position Soviet women occupied in civic and industrial affairs. The Mayor of Kursk is a woman. Madame Moloto is the head of the Soviet light industries. Madame Kollontai is so highly thought of that in spite of her bad health, compelling her to remain in Russia, she is still the accredited Soviet Ambassador to Sweden

## KASTURBA FUND WOMEN'S TRAINING CAMP

In connection with the execution of schemes drawn up for the utilisation of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, an all India Training Camp for the training of women instructors will be conducted at Wardha in September 1945. The course will be for four months and it is intended to give some special coaching only for the candidates who are expected to have some good knowledge of the subjects in which they are to be trained. The camp will train Sanchalaks or organisers, Grahapathies or matrons, Physical Instructors, Balwadi or children's home keepers, Artists and musicians. Provision for training in agriculture and animal husbandry, spinning and village industries will also be made

## "CYCLOPAEDIC HISTORY OF LITERATURE"

A huge scholarly project to prepare a "cyclopaedic history of literature" containing a series of survey of living literatures of the world has been undertaken by several professors of U.S.A. under the general editorship of Mr. Joseph T. Shipley, an eminent American scholar. The work is to be published by the American *Bookman*, an American quarterly of literary theory and criticism. With a view to obtaining authoritative contributions, the Editors have invited scholars of different countries to contribute articles on literatures of their own country.

The Indian Literatures Section of the cyclopaedia will contain 31 different contributions dealing with Vedic literature, epics and Puranas, Sanskrit poetry, drama and romance, Pali and Buddhist literatures, and literatures in all the modern Indian languages, and will total over two lakhs of words. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has been able to obtain articles on these subjects by eminent Indian scholars.

## DE VALERA'S CALL TO HIS PEOPLE

The Premier of Eire, Mr. Eamon de Valera, urging the restoration of the Irish language, said in a recent interview:

"It was the aim of the British as often expressed by their statesmen, to make us English-speaking because they knew that when we had lost our language we would be gradually absorbed into the English nation."

"The British are opposed to Irish freedom. Their language and literature contain a good deal of that opposition and in relying solely on the English language, we are simply taking the English point of view in regard to our nation."

It would be a great mistake, he added, to think that because they had their freedom dangers to their dependent nationality would not arise. They would certainly arise and it would be a tremendous help to the nation if they had their own languages.

## TRIBUTES TO SIR A. R. MUDALIAR

Tributes were paid at San Francisco to Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar for the "serenity, patience and skill" with which he conducted the proceedings of the Economic and Social Council Committee. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar presided over all the 21 meetings of the Committee and 19 meetings of the Sub-Committee.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in recognition of his services during the war, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar has been granted the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Civil Law by the Oxford University.

## THE NEW METROPOLITAN

The Rt. Rev. G. C. Hubback, the new Metropolitan, is the cousin of Sir John Hubback, ex-Governor of Orissa. Intending to be an engineer, he graduated from University College, Liverpool, served in the Admiralty Harbour, Dover and then came to Calcutta Port Trust as an engineer. After a couple of years he joined the Oxford Mission as a lay brother and then proceeded to England where he was ordained in 1912. The same year, he returned to India, worked as a Chaplain in a war hospital in Bombay till 1917 and after holding several appointments was appointed Bishop of Assam in 1924.

## INDIAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN U.S.

Colonel Mahendra Singhji has assumed the duties of military attache and agent to the General Staff in U.S.A. Col. Singhji who is first to hold the newly created position visited the U.S. in 1942-43 as representative of the Indian Army.

## SIR R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTI

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, is appointed Adviser to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The appointment which is a new one is believed to be in connection with constitutional questions concerning the States.

## DUBLIN DOCTORATE FOR INDIAN

For the first time the Doctorate in Science of Trinity College, Dublin, has been conferred upon an Indian student. He is Dr. R. Behari, who is a research student at the College.



## HUMAN SKIN FOR GRAFTING

Human skin can now be stored and used many weeks later for skin grafting. Working on badly burned airmen, Squadron Leader D N Mathews, officer in charge of the plastic unit of the Royal Air Force has evolved a method by which the skin is stored in airtight bottles folded and wrapped in tullegras and enclosed in gauze wrung out of saline solution. Taken from human corpses such skin retains latent life for many weeks when stored in a household refrigerator at a temperature of between three and six degrees centigrade.

Describing the discovery in the British medical journal *Lancet* Squadron Leader Mathews says that it can then be applied to an injured part like a bedside dressing without anaesthetic or sutures.

Squadron Leader Mathews first considered the possibility of storing human skin as a means of reducing the number of operations needed in plastic operations for which injured airmen might be assumed both physically and mentally.

The new procedure has the advantage of eliminating donor areas—places from which under the old methods skin has to be taken for grafting on wounds—and which often causes greater pain to patients than actual field operation, and that a 'Skin Bank' could be created for experimental work in the still little explored field of heterogenous grafting.

## NEW CANCER TREATMENT

Professor Mikhail Nevyadomsky, a young Russian scientist has discovered a new method of treating cancer tumours with a special fat emulsion obtained from naphthalene.

Nevyadomsky discovered in 1930 that naphthalene oil obtained in Baku destroyed malignant tumours in animals and further experiments showed that hydrocarbons of certain substances obtained from this oil destroyed the nuclei of cancer cells.

By this method he cured 90 out of 100 cancerous rats.

## BALANCED DIET FOR INDIANS

Food Control and rationing in India would have to continue for three to five years after the war said Mr Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, in an interview. This does not, however, mean that there was no scope for increasing the basic rations, he added.

Mr Kirby claimed that neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments were likely to be caught napping in future, as they had now all the necessary information regarding food statistics. They could also draw upon the experience of some 50,000 people who were engaged in rationing work in urban and rural areas.

The question of "balanced diet", he said, was a vital problem waiting to be tackled. Industrial canteens, milk schemes, and school feeding schemes were to be encouraged. He suggested the opening up of nutrition restaurants displaying model food and giving training in preparing such food and food advice centres for disseminating such knowledge.

## VITAMIN PILLS

Nowadays, people are becoming vitamin conscious to an increasing degree. It is estimated that in the past year, £50,000,000 was spent in America alone on these health giving pills. But the cold truth is that thousands of persons are taking special supplies of vitamins needlessly. What is needed by many middle aged adults is an occasional fast to rest the liver and other overworked organs.

Professor Haldi, a U.S. dietetic expert, calls attention to a test conducted in Duke University, U.S.A., by two doctors.

A group of volunteer students were given the usual diet for thirty days. Some were also given sugar pills, and the others were given vitamin pills.

Daily records were kept, and at the end of the thirty day period, all were examined. There was no striking difference in health and well being of the two groups.

## INDUSTRIAL BANKING

In a communication to the Press Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar urges the need for credit bank facilities to promote industries. Madras, he says, is just now getting to be industrially minded.

One aspect of the industrialisation has, however, been completely neglected. No industry can thrive for long unless a well developed system of working credits is readily available to it. Inadequate or unsympathetic banking will cut at the root of industrial development. With so many new industries to be fostered in the early stages of their development a concomitant development of industrial banking can no longer be postponed. Joint stock banks can be of some help but not to the extent necessary. What is required is an industrial banking corporation in which the Government play a leading part in exactly the same way as they do in regard to the development of industries. The local joint stock banks will be shareholders of this corporation. It will naturally have a quasi public character. As the provision of long term credit is of the essence of industrial banking short term deposits from the public, which are the mainstay of the finance of ordinary banks will be unsuitable.

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

The authorities in the United Kingdom have declared Bank of England notes of £ 10 and over as no longer legal tender from May 1 1945, says a Press *communiqué*. They have also restricted the export from England of £5 notes by travellers.

The Government of India are prepared to give a final opportunity to holders of Bank of England notes of £5 and over to obtain payment for these, notwithstanding the fact that they may be guilty of an infringement of notification of Oct. 4 1941; or a contravention of a prohibition under the Sea Customs Act.

The Reserve Bank of India will accept for collection at any of its offices in India Bank of England notes of £5 and over from Aug. 1 to Aug. 15, 1945 (inclusive).

## MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

At an impressive ceremony recently the General Manager of the East Indian Railway handed over the E. I. R. Workshops at Singhbhum to Tatas, for the purpose of the manufacture of boilers and locomotives and later, of engineering machinery. The Workshops were renamed as TELCO Works.

Handing over the Workshops to Tatas. Mr. Ghosh, General Manager, E. I. R. described how the workshops which were originally started by the Peninsular Locomotive company for building wagons, were taken over by Government in 1927 for the manufacture of carriage under frames and by the Defence department in 1941 for the fabrication of armoured carriers and landing barges.

In taking over the workshops on behalf of Tatas, Dr. John Matthai, Director, said that the manufacture of broad-gauge locomotives at the E. I. R. Workshops at Jamalpur in the past and of metre-gauge locomotives at the B. B. & C. I. Workshops, Ajmer indicated that there were no inherent difficulties in the way of locomotives being manufactured in this country. Doubts as to whether the Indian demand for steam locomotives would be adequate to absorb the optimum capacity of an economic unit had been set at rest, once and for all as a result of able investigations, conducted by the late Mr. Humphreys and the late Mr. Sreenivasan, on behalf of the Railway Board in 1940.

## RAILWAY EXTENSION IN SOUTH INDIA

Mr. J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager, South Indian Railway, at a recent press conference in Madras foreshadowed the possibility of new lines of railway being constructed in South India in the post war period. He said that the subject had already been considered by the Railway Board and the Madras Government and it was agreed that the new constructions would be the Kollengode-Trichur metre gauge section, the Dindigul-Gudalur section as an alternative to the restoration of the Madurai-Bodinayakanur section; and the Tanjore-Pattukottai and Arakkonam.

## SRI MUTHIA BHAGAVATHILR

We lament the death of Harikesanallur Gayaka Sthamam L. Muthia Bhagavather, the great composer and singer. His connections with the Mysore State as its Asthana Vidwan and conferment of title of Doctorate by the Travancore State are very well known to the music world.

The late Bhagavather who was a native of Travancore is reputed to have composed a ragamalika of 108 stanzas about Goddess Chamundeswari. His erudition in music was vast and his originality in many new ragams and songs unrivalled. His exposition and delivery during Harikatha Kalakshepams were superb. The late Bhagavather was responsible in popularising Maharaja Swati Tirunal's compositions.

## INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD MUSIC

Indian and European musicians played works especially chosen to illustrate the way in which the two systems of music influenced one another at a concert at the Netherlands House London on July 17.

The artistes were Geoffrey Gilbert Arnold Goldsborough, Professor Max Rostal and Narayana Menon. C. Lawson Reece introduced the items and there was a discussion on the contribution that India could make to world music.

## THE LATE MR PONNIA PILLAI

The late Ponnia Pillai was one of the most talented musicians belonging to a family of musicians, well versed in Carnatic music. Being attached to the Madras and Annamalia Universities he was making every effort to maintain the high traditions of Carnatic music.

## INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ART IN INDUSTRY

The Government of Bengal it is learnt have approved of a yearly grant of Rs 25,000 from 1947-48 to the Indian Institute of Art in Industry. The grant is subject to certain provisions. During the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 smaller grants have been sanctioned, in view of the fact that it will take about 2½ years for the programme of the institute to become fully developed.

## MAJOR WAZIR ALI

Major Wazir Ali, one of India's best known cricketers has announced his intention of retiring from first class cricket after having served the "King of sports" for over 25 years and won renown in India and England.

In recognition of his services in the cause of Indian cricket a purse is to be formally presented to the great Bhopal batsman when he makes his appearance in the coming winter.

## INDIA AND M.C.C. VISIT

Sir Pelham Warner, Deputy Secretary of the Marylebone Cricket Club, in a letter to Mr K. S. Ranga Rao, Honorary Secretary of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, says that at a meeting of the M.C.C. held on June 11 he was instructed to say that at the present moment "it is quite impossible to arrange even tentatively any visits of the M.C.C. to India or indeed to any of the Dominions".

## CONSTANTINE TO RETIRE FROM CRICKET

Leary Constantine, one of the greatest all-rounders the game has ever seen, is retiring from cricket, probably this year. The West Indies captain said at Lord's recently that he felt he was getting too old for the game. He will be 43 in September. "I think I had better give up the game before it gives me up," he said.

Constantine is still first choice as captain for the war-time West Indies side, and is also playing some League cricket in the North.

## NEW RECORD FOR MILE RACE

The Swedish runner Gunder Haegg, has established a new world record, running a mile in 4 minutes and 14 seconds, beating the previous record of Arne Anderson, Sweden's record holder a year ago who covered it in 4 minutes and 15 seconds.

# OBSERVATIONS OF THE SOLAR ECLIPSE

Secrets of the total eclipse of the Sun (July 9) will remain secret. Any important discovery made when the skilled teams of British astronomers and radio physicists set their carefully co-ordinated networks of delicately-tuned instruments to record the eclipse will not be revealed until the end of the Japanese war, said an official at the National Physical Laboratory.

British experts will co-ordinate their findings when they return to London from their scattered observation posts. Only then will it be known whether their radio probing into electric conditions of atmospheric layers many miles from the earth will aid in future radio longwave development. Good results and belief that new data have been obtained are reported from at least one radio research station near London where the experiments were described as "according to plan".

## Prof. SAHA'S PLEA

Closer scientific links between India and Russia were urged by Prof. Meghnad Saha of the Calcutta University, in a speech at Moscow. He was one of the party of foreign scientists now visiting the Soviet Union.

"India possesses many scientific societies and academies united under the aegis of the National Institute of Science at Calcutta," said the Indian according to the Moscow Radio. "I shall be happy if the Soviet Academy will establish contact with the Institute for further interchange of scientific information, scientists and students. Russia can teach us."

## Sir VISVESVARAYYA ON THE INSTITUTE

Speaking at the eighth annual meeting of the Court of the Indian Institute of Science last month, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, President of the Court, referred to the increasing interest taken by the Government of India in the Institute's work. He urged the Government of India to provide a capital grant of Rs. 50 lakhs to the Institute and a recurring annual grant of Rs. 5 lakhs in addition to the current normal grant. He pleaded for compulsory mass education and for the expansion of industrial training.

# FILM DELEGATION TO BRITAIN AND U.S.A.

Four members of the delegation of the Indian Film Industry which will visit the United Kingdom and the United States, have left Karachi for England on July 9. They are: Mr. P. N. Roy (Leader), Mr. S. Sundararajan, Mr. Kidar Sharma, and Mr. K. S. Hirelekhar (Secretary), Mr. Roop K. Shorey, a Punjab producer, will join the delegation in England shortly.

Interviewed by the A. P. Mr. Hirelekhar said that the delegation would also visit France and Sweden. They would spend six weeks in Europe and eight weeks in the United States and see the latest developments in the film industry both from technical and the organisational points of view.

## INDIAN-FILM COMPANY IN BRITAIN

A new film company, the "Three Stars Films Company Limited" has been formed with two-thirds of the capital subscribed in India and the remaining third in Britain. An Indian Finance expert, Mr. D. P. Kaura, will be the Managing Director and the Chairman of the Unico Corporation. Sir Francis Price, is the Chairman. Technical Directors are Mr. Mohammed Ali Currimbhoy, who is now in Paris and a British Technician, Mr. Sydney Bux. Also represented on the Board of Directors are Mr. G. M. Calcuttawalla and Mr. Hussein F. Currimbhoy.

## EDUCATIONAL FILMS FOR STUDENTS

Sir J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, inaugurated on 1st July a scheme under which educational films will be shown on Sundays at certain Bombay cinema houses for the benefit of Bombay students. The scheme is jointly sponsored by the Information Films of India, and the Headmasters' Association of Bombay.

Thanking the sponsors, Sir Bomanji said that educational films shown to students would be of immense help not only in their studies but also in broadening their general outlook and adding to their knowledge. He said that the scheme filled a much-felt want and hoped that parents and guardians would encourage the students to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by this

## MOTOR CARS FOR CIVILIAN USE

Two hundred Austin 10 hp cars, the first large motor consignment to reach India for civilian use in many years have now arrived in Bombay

They are part of a fleet of machines ordered by the Government of India War Transport Department. Their sale will be controlled and restricted to people engaged in essential war or civilian work in the country

A recent announcement from Delhi said that the Austin 10 was the only car now available for distribution and that its price would be about Rs 5750 plus transportation charges from the distribution centre—in this case Bombay—to the premises of the dealer or sub dealer

The comparative high price to be charged for the newly imported vehicles (the prewar price in England of a Sunshine Saloon Austin 10 was £185 or Rs 2450) is explained in Bombay in the following way

The wholesale cost price of the car is approximately £288 (about Rs 3750) in the United Kingdom today. An import duty of 36 per cent levied on British cars brings the wholesale landed cost in India to Rs 4992 or in round figures to Rs 5000. From the remaining Rs 750 the War Transport Department has to meet freight insurance unpacking and servicing charges

## FORD 1946 MODEL

Production of 1946 model Ford automobiles began at Dearborn, Michigan as the first car came off the final assembly line at the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant on July 3

The company officials said that civilians engaged in essential transportation will require the entire output for many months and it may be two years before cars will be available for those with priorities. Ford has a quota of 40,000 of the motor industry's overall allotment of 200,000 cars to be built this year

## EMPIRE AIR CONFERENCE

India's internal air lines ought to be paying their own way within five years. This view was expressed to *Reuter* by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary to the Government of India, Posts and Air Department and India's chief delegate to the Commonwealth Air Transport Council which opened in London on July 9

He said that India's plans for trunk services as feeders to Commonwealth efforts on international services must come first. As soon as practicable, afterwards external lines to the Middle East, Burma and Malaya would be developed

"We hope that progress will be maintained in British aviation", he announced "because we hope to use as far as possible British aircraft and British personnel

Sir Gurunath Bewoor referring to India's internal air lines told *Reuter*: "Our scheme definitely contemplates subsidies where they are justified. They will be justified where they will assist in developing routes which we have planned and these routes are the main trunk routes connecting the central cities of India. Subsidies will be granted for a limited time only, until such time when the routes we hope will become paying. We look upon aviation as a service that must pay its way

## U.S. COMMERCIAL PLANES FOR INDIA

According to an American news agency, Indian aviation companies are seeking additional planes from the United States

The chance that they will be able to buy surplus passenger craft by the end of the year is considered good by the Foreign Economic Administration. It is learned that the War Production Board is considering the allocation of a small number of new commercial types of planes to the Indian airlines

## MR. K. C. MAHINDRA'S IMPRESSIONS

Mr. K. C. Mahindra, former head of the Indian supply mission at Washington arrived at Karachi from Montreal on July 6.

Interviewed, Mr. Mahindra said that he resigned his office in February last and spent most of his time in New York "These were the most interesting years of my life," said Mahindra, and praised the hospitality he received from Americans all over the country.

Giving his impressions he said that as a businessman he was naturally interested in industrial organisations which contributed so largely to winning the war. He had great admiration for the manner in which American industry geared up to produce the almost 'fabulous' volume of output of machinery, ammunition and equipment for war purpose. "There is a great lesson to be learnt by every business man from American experiment," he added "and it should be of practical value to us in India where all our effort must be directed to the production of food and goods for the masses of people who are today living on the verge of starvation."

## TRACTOR FACTORIES IN INDIA

Mr. Harry Ferguson, an industrialist, who is *en route* to England to examine the possibilities of establishing tractor factories there, announced in an interview in New York that he had "magnificent offers of all the resources I need" for factories in India from Indian interests.

While Mr. Ferguson indicated a desire to establish mass production factories in England to manufacture the light tractors and other implements he has invented, he said that should "past obstructionism" again arise in England, he would consider India, France, Canada or Australia as manufacturing bases.

## MINIMUM PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS

In the course of a communication to the Government on fixation of agricultural prices, the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry state that they subscribe to the policy of assuring a minimum economic return to agriculturists along with an all-round improvement in economic conditions in India.

The Committee say that stabilisation of agricultural prices can only be viewed when the war-time controls are removed. In the opinion of the Committee, the scheme of price-fixation cannot be considered a substitute for a programme for the improvement of farming through the use of fertilisers, better seed, irrigation and stopping the processes of fragmentation, soil erosion and deforestation.

Price stabilisation should be on All-India basis in which every Indian State and Province should accept the policy and undertake to implement the same uniformly. Agricultural prices should be maintained at a level which must be fair to the producer *ie.*, which covers the cost of production and leaves a margin of income to ensure a healthy standard of living to the agriculturist.

## RAO BAHADUR M. R. RAMASWAMI SIVAN

The death occurred on July 5 at the age of 75 of Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, retired Principal of the Agricultural College, Coimbatore.

After retirement, Mr. Sivan went to Benares at the invitation of Pandit Malaviya to start a School of Agriculture in the Hindu University. He helped in the stabilisation of the Madura College which was threatened with disaffiliation. He was also a member of the Madras and Annamalai University Syndicates and of the National Planning Committee.

### A PLAN FOR THE BETTERMENT OF LABOUR

To plan for the betterment of labour in India is to plan for the vast majority of her people says a writer in *Investment and Finance*. More than seventy per cent of her people are workmen and a major portion of these work men labour on land. Planning for Indian labour will naturally cover the system of land tenure and there will be an immediate need of reshuffling the whole system. The land tenure keeps most of Indian labour tied on land with primeval methods of cultivation poor output and heavy taxation to maintain the parasites known as landlord who share the major portion of land products without ever taking the pains of cultivating it as the land belongs to them by convention.

To keep the system intact and to plan for the land labour is either a hoax with a view to deceive labour or an utter ignorant step of a reformist dreamer. Any efficient planning will be for saving the vast waste in labour on land and saving it from a meagre living on a starvation diet by employing their unused energy in other industries.

### HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The seventeenth meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian Medical Association was held at New Delhi on July 9 with Dr Jivraj N Mehta—the President of the Association in the chair.

The Committee discussed Prof Adarkar's report on health insurance for industrial workers and a statement was prepared to be forwarded to the Department of Labour Government of India the Provincial Government and the employers and labour organisations. The statement puts forward certain suggestions the acceptance of which by the Government of India is urged for success of health insurance in the country. The statement also demands the inclusion of representatives of the Indian Medical Association in the Committees that might be appointed in future by the Government of India before the proposals are given final shape.

### AURANZEB'S GRANT TO HINDU TEMPLES

Aurangzeb was not very fanatic and bigoted as he is said to be, he gave Jahagirs to four Hindu temples in Ujjain alone. Historic truths like these belying many historians accounts of atrocities against Hindus by rulers during Moghul period are being disclosed in certain Firmans which are being brought out in a booklet by the Hindustani Cultural Society formed in March last to foster communal unity in the country.

These Firmans signed by Moghul Emperors from Akbar down to Bahadur Shah II is said throw sufficient light on the religious social and cultural relations between Hindus and Muslims during those days.

Giving an idea of the social and economic conditions of the Moghul period the firmans indicate that the cost of 18,000 maunds of grain those days was only Rs 122! The firmans which number about 100 are in possession of Mr Lakshmi Narain a mahant in charge of about 94 temples in Ujjain.

Dr Bansari Prasad assisted by Dr Tara Chand and Prof Naimur Raham is translating these 'Firmans' which are in Persian.

### KASTURBA TRUST BOARD

As resolved by the Board of Trustees the headquarters of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust have been shifted from Bombay to Wardha (C. P.) The Wardha office was opened on Monday, July 8.

The Organising Secretary Sri Mridula Sarabhai continues to have her office in Bombay as at present and correspondence meant for her may be sent to Bombay as before.

### KING DECORATES INDIAN

The first Indian to receive the Victoria Cross from the King at Buckingham Palace was decorated at an investiture recently. He was sepoy Ramdeo Jadhao of the Mahratta Light Infantry who headed a long list of men and women who received decorations from the King.

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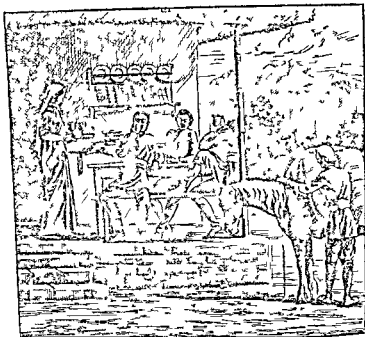
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## Tea Time — In the Himalayas

Hundreds of miles of bridle roads link the valleys and plateaus in India's Great North Wall. It is only through constant traffic by pack mules that these settlements are able to live and to send their valuable produce such as fruit and fine wool to the Plains.

On these roads the traveller's throat is parched in the summer but he shivers in the snows of winter. Hot tea which is freely drunk in these mountains helps to make the way easier and cheers him at journey's end.

The people of the Hills take their tea ready mixed with milk and sugar. The traditional vessel in the Eastern Himalayas is a long stemmed cup of wood lined with silver but brass or China bowls are often used elsewhere.

Everywhere in the mountains Brooke Bond fresh teas are most popular—just as they are all over the Plains of India.

# Brooke Bond

*Two Leaves and a Bud*

# PHOTOGRAPHERS!

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If you have good photographs relating to Travancore, please send them to the "Travancore Information and Listener". Contributions accepted and published will be paid for.

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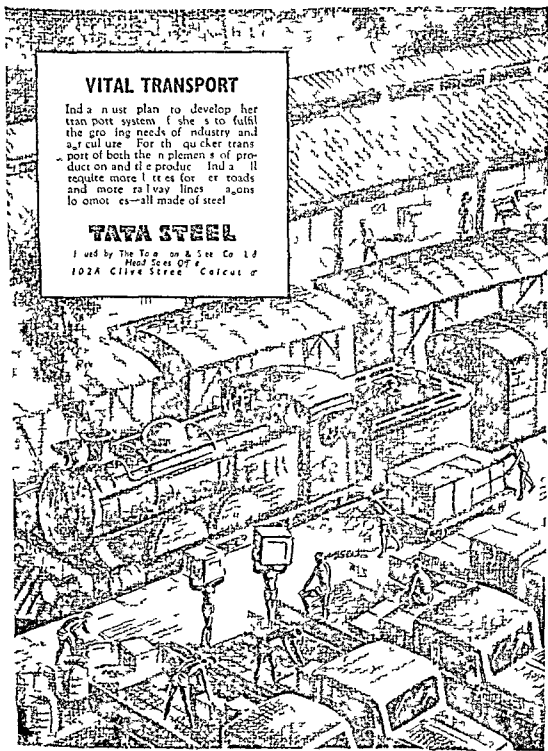
**'MAN OF THE MOMENT'** Since this war began a number of Indian pilots have let the world know that flying is just one more thing that India can cope with when opportunity arises. Heroic actions and achievements have already built a proud record for the Royal Indian Air Force—a record which augurs well for the future. Today more and more courageous young men are invited to become pilots in this proud young Service. When peace returns their knowledge will be an asset to them, else, and to India. Then, as now, the pilot who has flown with the Royal Indian Air Force will be the man of the moment. Any Recruiting Officer will tell you how to apply.

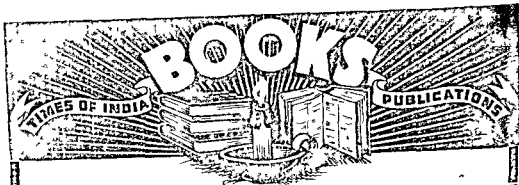
## VITAL TRANSPORT

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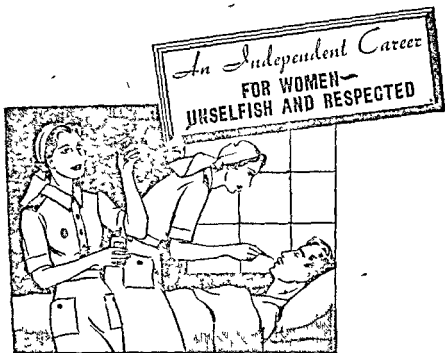
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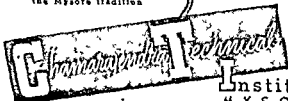
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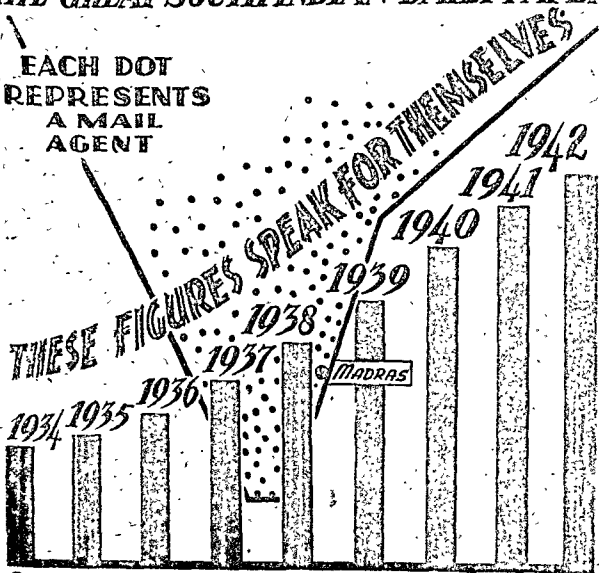
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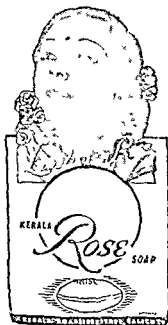
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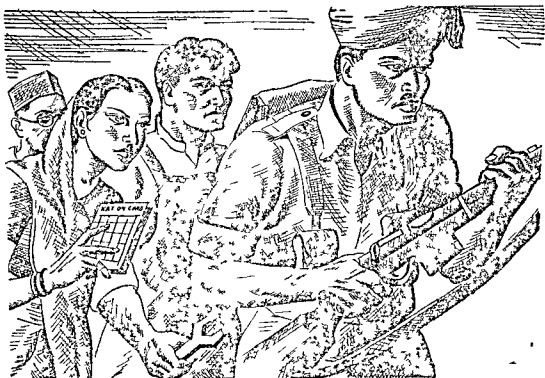
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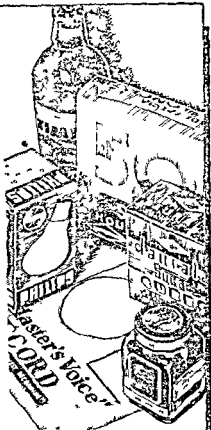
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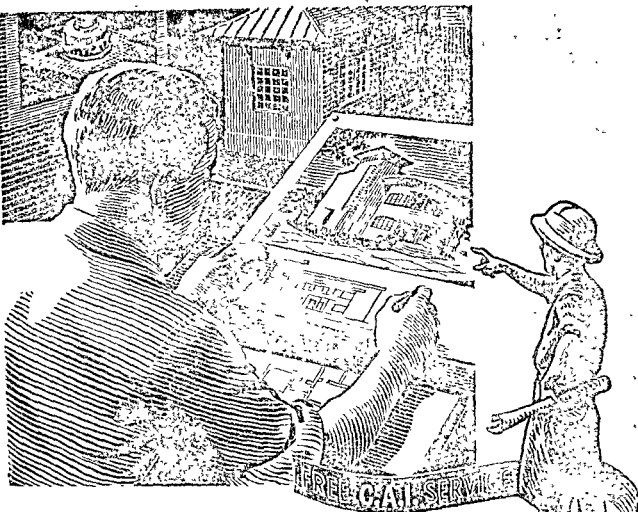
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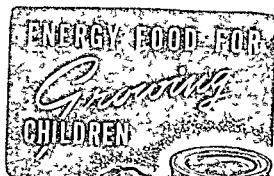
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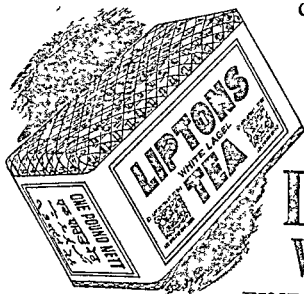
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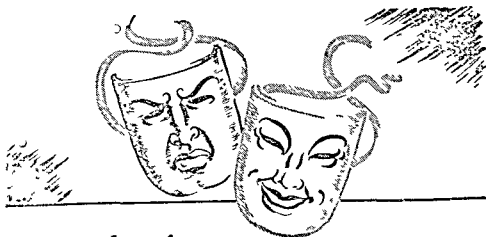
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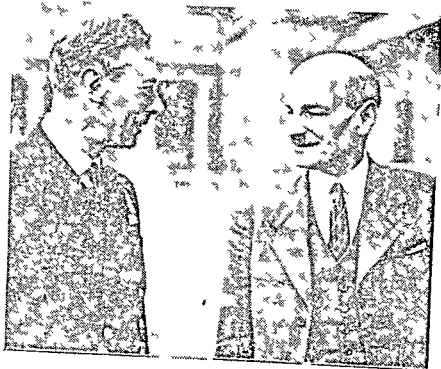
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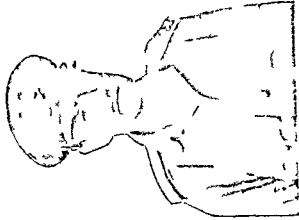
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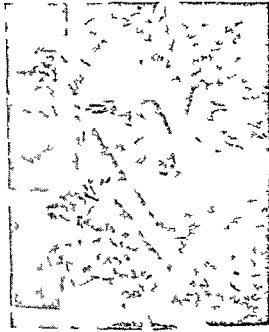




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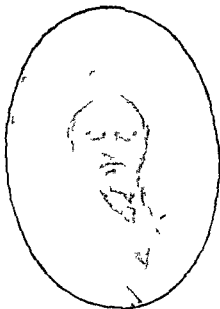
SEPTEMBER 1945

[No. 9.]

## THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

BY SIR V T KRISHNAMACHARI K C I E

THE Editor of the *Indian Review* has asked me to describe briefly the provisions of the United Nations Charter bringing out the main directions in which



SIR V T KRISHNAMACHARI

these differ from those of the Covenant of the League and I gladly respond to this invitation. Commander Stassen described the objective of the Conference at San Francisco to be 'to build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World based on justice and law and insured by force'. The Charter has two aims—one immediate that

of suppressing aggression with the aid of military forces placed at the disposal of the Organization by the members and the other a long range programme of securing world peace by abolishing the causes of war like economic rivalry and social injustice.

The Charter marks an advance on the Covenant by providing for a peace with teeth. It creates a Security Council on which the members of the United Nations agree to confer 'primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security'. For the effective discharge of this responsibility the members undertake by special agreements to place at the disposal of the Security Council armed forces, assistance and facilities including rights of passage. The members agree that in carrying out its duties the Security Council acts on their behalf and further agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter. The Security Council is thus an independent organ with defined responsibility which can act in its own sphere without reference to the General Assembly. It is expressly stipulated that when a dispute is before the Security Council the General Assembly shall not make a recommendation in regard to it. The Security Council

is to consist of eleven members, the five Big Powers—China, France, USSR, the United Kingdom and the USA—who will be permanent members and six others who will be non permanent elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. (In the first elections three members will be elected for a year.) In electing non permanent members the Assembly shall pay due regard to the contribution of the members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization and also to equitable geographical distribution. The functions of the Security Council fall under two broad categories (i) Pacific settlement of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and (ii) enforcement action when peaceful solution has failed. The Charter describes in detail the procedure to be followed under both heads. Chapter VI relates to Pacific settlement. Under it the Security Council should first ask parties to a dispute to seek solution by negotiation enquiry mediation arbitration judicial settlement resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice. Where this fails the parties shall refer the dispute to the Security Council which will either recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment or such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate. The scheme of enforcement action laid down in the Charter is most comprehensive. The Security Council may call upon the parties to a dispute to comply with provisional measures decided on by it in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation. The Council may, again, decide on the

measures not involving the use of armed force—economic and diplomatic sanctions. Where these are inadequate, it can mobilise the forces placed at its disposal. The Charter provides for a military staff committee to assist the Security Council in organizing these forces and in employing them and also in all questions relating to the regulation of armaments and disarmament. Regional arrangements and measures taken in self defence also find a logical place in this carefully devised scheme.

At this point reference must be made to the voting procedure in the Security Council which was the subject of much discussion in the Conference and outside. Important steps in the Pacific settlement of disputes can only be taken with the concurrence of the five permanent members of the Security Council—except that a party to a dispute should abstain from voting. All enforcement action again requires the concurrence of the five Big Powers and here a Big Power can veto action against itself. It is not possible in this brief survey to give even a summary of the long controversy on this issue. Those supporting the 'veto' argued that the unity of Britain the USA and the Soviet Union which formed the essential foundation for the successful issue of the war was also essential for peace that no practical objection could be sustained to the special voting privilege as the fact of 'power' had to be recognized in this imperfect world and that the Powers concerned could be trusted to use the privilege with restraint. Considerations such as these ultimately prevailed at the Conference and the voting

procedure was accepted. Mr. Mackenzie King's comment in the Canadian House of Commons on this subject is worth reproducing. He pointed out that if a Great Power broke its solemn promise to refrain from the use of force inconsistent with the purposes of the organization, 'the world would be faced once more with the situation like that presented by German aggression in 1914 and again in 1939. Such a situation could not be met in any international body merely by an agreement on voting. No Charter can give the world security if among powerful nations there is not the will for security. At the close of the Conference, the Big Powers expressed their determination to continue in peace the joint and united action which had proved so useful in the war and associated themselves with President Truman's declaration 'The United Nations *will remain united*'. In this lies the world's hope of peace.

The long range policy embodied in the Charter for abolishing the causes of war now remains to be described. Firstly, economic causes being a fruitful source of war, the members of the Organization pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the organization to promote

✓ (a) higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development,

✓ (b) solutions of international, economic, social, health and related problems, and international, cultural and educational co-operation, and

✓ (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms

for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." For effectuating this, the Charter has set up an Economic and Social Council which will (unlike the Security Council) work as an organ under the control of the General Assembly. On this Council all powers, big and small are on an equal footing. The functions of the Council are most comprehensive and are designed to enable that body to work for the largest measure of social justice and the achievement of fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Secondly one of the most important sub-committees of the Conference was charged with the duty of laying down the objectives of Colonial policies. As the result of its deliberations the Conference agreed to a declaration regarding non self governing territories—*i.e.*, territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self government—which will be a beacon of hope to peoples who form such a large proportion of the world's population. The Charter does not stop with the declaration. Under it the Colonial powers agree to transmit to the world organization periodically information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the areas for which they are responsible. It is hoped that out of this system of reports will be evolved means of satisfying world opinion that the obligations of the Charter are being faithfully carried out, and that the highest standards are maintained in Colonial administrations.

Thirdly, the Charter differing from the Covenant makes the Court of International Justice an organ of the United Nations,

This and the addition to the Charter of a preamble and a "Statement of Purposes and Principles" are intended to keep before the members their obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner ' that international peace and security and justice are not endangered " so to introduce the ' rule of law ' among Nations by consent

These are the important portions of the Charter. None of the delegates claim that the Charter is perfect. Their attitude is one of restrained optimism. The Charter is the best that can be produced under the present conditions. It is only a first step and as time goes on it should be improved. The framing of the Charter is only the beginning of a long challenging endeavour. As confidence replaces suspicion, the identity of interests of the nations will be more widely recognized and there will be less disinclination to enlarge the area of world collaboration. Further the Charter itself can do no good unless the members of the United Nations have the will and determination to act according to its spirit.

Nothing is more fatal than to assume that peace can be maintained without a strong, dynamic public opinion in favour of it. In the last six years, we have seen millions laying down their lives for false doctrines of racial superiority and domination. World peace cannot be assured unless leaders of thought throughout the world work steadily and persistently for the re-establishment of real values based on faith in the dignity and worth of the human person and in fundamental human rights.

## CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

### WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind and

to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

### AND FOR THESE

to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

### HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

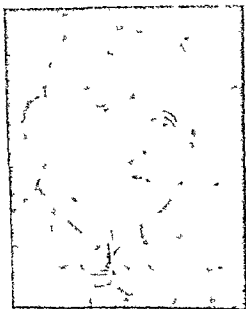
Accordingly, our respective Governments through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.



# THE GENERAL ELECTION

BY MAJOR D GRAHAM POLL

THE most significant election in Great Britain in the memory of man is over and the result has astonished the world



MAJOR D GRAHAM POLL

and, in the extent of its landslide, has surprised even the victors. The Labour Party, for the first time in history, is not only in office but in power at Westminster with a strong majority. Numerous well known House of Commons figures are gone many of them never to return.

Mr Winston Churchill entered the last Parliament not as a Conservative but as an Independent. He stood and captured his seat as the one and only 'Constitutionalist'. He was not even a member of the Conservative Party when war broke out in 1939. Mr Neville Chamberlain, the then Prime Minister, wanted to form a National Government but, so little faith had the

Labour Party in him or his judgment, that they refused to serve in any Government of which he was the head and it was they who urged that he should resign and that Mr Churchill should take his place, in which case they would co-operate wholeheartedly in forming a really National Government. The Conservatives were the strongest single party in the House and they saw the advantage to themselves, from the purely party point of view, of having Mr Churchill as their Leader although they had persistently opposed him throughout the whole four years of the life of the Parliament up to that time. He was offered the Leadership of the Conservative Party and accepted the position—his first big blunder. He then had to consider the Conservative Party point of view instead of standing outside party and looking only to the National point of view.

Mr Churchill had no illusions about the kind of men who had chosen him as their leader. As recently as 5th October, 1938, he attacked the Conservative Government in these words:

When I think of the immense combinations and resources which have been neglected or squandered I cannot believe that a parallel exists in the whole course of history.

The responsibility must rest with those who have the undisputed control of our political affairs. They neither prevented Germany from re-arming, nor did they re-arm ourselves in time. They exploited and discredited the vast institution of the League of Nations and they neglected to make alliances and combinations which might have repaired previous errors.

No wonder the electors refused to vote for the men he—so describes and of whom he became the leader.

The Conservatives were convinced that if they could get a General Election soon

the 1918 Lloyd George Election, the result might have been different to some extent

There is no doubt of the gratitude for and appreciation of Mr Churchill's services as a War Leader felt and expressed by members of all parties, but to try to cash in on this to return to the House of Commons not merely Mr Churchill himself but many of the more reactionary die hard Conservatives was more than the country could stand after its experience, not merely of the Parliament elected in 1918 with its reactionary tendencies, but also of the years between the two world wars when the House of Commons was predominantly Conservative. It was under their regime that Japan was allowed to over-run Manchuria without protest, that Franco was fawned on in Spain, that Great Britain remained neutral while the dictators of Germany and Italy tried out their new weapons and planes against the lawful Government of Spain to establish the Franco rebel regime. Mr Amery, the late Secretary of State for India, who has now lost his seat in Parliament, expressed the Conservative Government viewpoint on Japan in these words

'I confess that I see no reason why either in act or in word or in sympathy we should go individually or internationally against Japan in this matter. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned if we condemn Japan

And Sir John Simon, when Foreign Secretary, on Mussolini's seizure of Abyssinia, stated the Conservative Government policy in these words

'I am not prepared to see a single British ship sunk even in a successful naval battle, in the cause of Mussolini's aggression

It was while giving lip service to the support of the League of Nations that Sir Samuel Hoare, as Foreign Secretary, made his infamous pact with Laval—the Hoare—Laval Pact—for the dismemberment of Abyssinia, a member of the League. Mr Neville Chamberlain went even further and in Rome proposed a toast to 'the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia.' For his Munich journey and disgraceful agreement with Hitler he was acclaimed in the House of Commons by the Conservatives and 187 out of 251 who voted for this agreement have lost their seats in this election.

And the 'Caretaker Government' formed by Mr Churchill after the break up of the late National Government contained the same Sir Samuel Hoare, under his new title of Lord Templewood, Mr Amery, Lord Simon and others of that kidney! No wonder the electors, while grateful to Mr Churchill for his great services as a War Leader, refused again to be saddled with the men with whom he chose to associate himself. As the *Times* in a leading article wrote

'It will be necessary to seek the explanation of the Conservative defeat largely in the circumstances and conduct of the election itself. Mr Churchill himself introduced and insisted upon emphasising the narrower animosities of the party fight. As a result, the great national programme was allowed to slip into the background. The Prime Minister's own stature was temporarily diminished and the voters, who were deeply interested in real, urgent, and essentially non party subjects such as the housing of the people, seem to have visited their disappointment on the side which could be represented on this showing as taking but a perfunctory interest in the reconstruction programme and as relying for success rather upon charges against the probably misconduct of their opponents than upon any creative virtues of their own

There is no doubt that, whatever Mr Churchill's merits as a War Leader,

which are acclaimed by all, his stock as a statesman and politician has slumped badly—entirely on account of his election speeches. It was hard to realize that the inspiring words of the war leader of the dark days of Dunkirk were uttered by the same man who descended to the deliberate misrepresentation of his political opponents—so ridiculous that it amused without frightening the electors although not amusement but sadness that he could fall so far from his pedestal was the predominating feeling. In his tour of the country Mr Churchill had great personal ovations everywhere. They admired his leadership in war but these same places voted against the candidates for Parliament with whom he chose to associate himself for Peace.

The war against Japan\* will be prosecuted with the same vigour by a Labour as by a Conservative Government. That is the first plank in their programme and following on that—indeed along with that—a great housing programme will be speeded up. Coal, electricity and transport will also be amongst the matters receiving early and urgent attention from the Government.

One of the results of the election is the practical elimination of the Liberal Party as a force in politics. Liberalism is not dead—far from it—but it has been absorbed into the two other parties. Out of its 310 candidates only 10 were returned to Parliament and amongst the defeated are their leader Sir Archibald Sinclair, their Chief Whip Sir Percy Harris

and Sir William Beveridge on whose plan they based most of their election campaign. As this plan had been adopted to a greater or lesser extent by the two other parties the Liberals had little distinctive of their own to offer. They were to hold the balance between the two other parties but the electorate want something more definite than that in candidates who solicit their votes. The other fragmentary parties like the Commonwealth, who gained a certain amount of success during the war years while the party truce was in force, have practically disappeared, their leader Sir Richard Ackland even forfeiting his deposit.

The winning of Peace—real Peace—is as difficult as the winning of War, but it is not at all certain or even likely that a good War Leader will prove to be also a good leader for Peace. Mr Churchill in 1932 published a book under the title 'Thoughts and Adventures'. In the course of this book dealing with this question, he wrote:

Two opposite sides of human nature have to be simultaneously engaged. Those who can win a victory cannot make a peace; those who can make a peace would never have won a victory. Have we not seen this on the most gigantic scale drawing out before our eyes in Europe?

Anxious years lie ahead, years that will try every government everywhere. Great problems have to be met and solved but I am convinced that the government now established in power at Whitehall will meet these problems with a sympathetic understanding and an ability that may presage not merely a Labour Government now but a succession of Labour Governments in this country.

\* This article was written on the 30th July

# THE FUTURE OF CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

BY DR R J DYSON

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THE India of to morrow will be so profoundly affected by Civil Aviation that the change can scarcely be described as anything but revolutionary. Those who have any say in development along other lines, such as Industry, Agriculture and Health would do well to have a clear view as to the paramount importance of Civil Aviation in the Reconstruction period. Planned and efficient air lines influence the methods of development in Industry, Commerce, Health and Agriculture. The keynote to the change from pre war or pre civil aviation days to the post war period is speed—*speed*. An Administrative head of Industry, Commerce or Health can make personal investigation and personal discussions his essential method of dealing with problems at a distance from his headquarters. A short experience proves conclusively that the Letter, the Telephone, the Telegraph and even the Radio are inadequate in many cases as compared with direct personal contacts and observation. In the post war period no point in India where an aerodrome can be built will be at a greater distance from any other similar point than one day's travelling. The Businessman or the Industrialist who fails to take advantage in the future of this factor will inevitably be left behind in the race. In respect of control of epidemics or transport of seriously ill persons for specialist medical treatment the usefulness of Civil aviation is only too obvious. That grains and other foodstuffs can be transported by air and dropped by

parachute in outlying difficult country, in large quantities, has been proved time and again during the present war, particularly during the Burma campaign and there are indications that, by the use of towed gliders, the commercial pay-load in goods, and even heavy goods of a weight for instance of small Tanks and Guns, will be far in excess of anything considered likely ten years ago.

Before we can discuss the likely development of Civil aviation in the future we must know the position in the pre war days when Civil aviation, having got over its labour pains, had been established in India.

In 1939 the Directorate of Civil Aviation was an alert and vigorous organization steadily progressing through prejudice and difficulty, to an important place in World Aviation. It is not enough to think of the internal developments of airways in the country, but of the establishment of contact with the world outside India, for much depends in all forms of development—Industrial, Commercial and Health—on repeated outside contacts, and India was, and is, on the main routes of World Air ports. Those outside contacts, already firmly established, in days when the performance of the aircraft available was greatly less than it is today, indicate the trend which must inevitably develop automatically, now that aeroplanes are capable of so much longer, faster and safer flights.

This word 'safer' is of the utmost importance. A reference to the pre war Aircraft Rules and Regulations of the Government of India is sufficient to convince any interested person that the insistent policy of the Directorate was on safety. Accidents occur but accidents occur in the house on the roads, on the railways and on the seas some consider that the World itself is an Accident but this policy of Safety First inherent in the Directorate of Civil Aviation will ensure the barest minimum of accidents in the future until they become insignificant.

Now India as I have had reason to state from this studio in the past is to all intents and purposes one potential vast airway. Conditions are such both geographically and meteorologically that save for one or two mountainous areas safe flying is continuous all the year round. The monsoons affect certain areas to a greater or lesser degree for a known period each year but alternative routes have been fully worked out and there is little doubt but that the use of Radio as a Direction indicator to pilots will enormously reduce the need for alternative routes bearing in mind full safety standards in bad weather conditions. Much of the apparatus and systems developed to such surprising lengths during the war is still on the Secret list but it is general knowledge now that a pilot completely lost in fog or monsoon can be told not only where he is but can also be brought to an aerodrome and even to a safe landing on that aerodrome although it may be obliterated by fog or heavy

rain. Before the war there was little use in this country for directive Radio in Civil aviation but the foundations for its development had been well and truly laid. It could not be otherwise when the Directorate's basic consideration was safety.

Immediately prior to the War safe air lines north and south east and west—many of them carrying Mails—were well established and their records for timings and reliability were as good as those of any other country whether in the West or in the East. But they were a mere token of what is likely to develop in the very near future after the War. The three principal compartments in Civil Aviation were the Trunk Air lines (linked of course with the big aerodromes at which long distance aircraft from outside India called) Feeder Lines (linking Indian main aerodromes with smaller ones off the main Air Routes) and added to these what might be termed Sporting flying, that is to say the Flying Clubs, where people were taught to fly, and could enter into competitions some of them arranged on an All India basis and where in general air-mindedness was nurtured and cultivated. The Directorate of Civil Aviation had indicated that all these compartments shall continue and be developed. Before the War there were a few dozen aerodromes and landing grounds in the country but a glance at the map would show that this left vast areas of India out of reasonable touch with air travel. The needs of the War have provided India with very many more aerodromes—how many it is of course impossible for Security reasons to state—but there they are

waiting for the day when the Service aircraft gives place to the Civil aircraft, and we must consider what the position is likely to be on that day

The most popular choice of the young men who come before the Provincial Selection Boards having applied for Commissions in the Fighting Services is to become a Pilot in the Royal Indian Air Force. At the Universities an Air Training Scheme has been in being for some years and at certain Universities—Madras among them—a Technological Course in Aeronautics has been instituted. The immediate position then after the War will be influenced very greatly by the large numbers of Indians ready trained in all branches of flying and with a large practical knowledge of their jobs and their relative importance one to another. The Pilots, the Navigators, Wireless Operators, Maintenance Crews, the Electricians, the Mechanics and the hosts of other individuals who keep aeroplanes flying and flying safely, with constant communication between the ground and aircraft—all these trained people in large numbers will be available.

That then is briefly the comparative position pre war and post war, the development of Civil aviation will obviously depend to a great extent on the development of Industry, Commerce and the like, but the one cannot wait for the other. Civil aviation is ancillary to Industry and Commerce.

In the second Report of Reconstruction Committee of Council the Government of India made clear that their

policy is to develop Civil Aviation with Indian capital and under Indian management and to offer training and opportunities for the employment of Indians. They recognize that subsidies may be necessary initially and they recognize their responsibility to ensure the provision of aerodromes, Radios, Meteorological centres, lighting and the like for Air services in and through the country. Plans have been prepared for a system of Trunk Air service in India to assist the proper development of India as a whole socially, commercially and industrially and these services are to carry Mails, freight and passengers. There is to be an Air Transport Licensing Board and co ordination between the Air Services and other forms of transport will be secured. Training for future entrants into Civil Air Services is clearly necessary and schemes have also been prepared against this. It is abundantly clear then that everything is ready for a great development in Civil aviation in this country to which it is so eminently suited once the air line companies or corporations are formed.

It would of course, be a profound mistake to think that all transport will be by air in future. It will be a long time before coal, timber and other heavy and bulky articles will be generally transported and distributed by air. But the comfort and speed of air travel are bound to attract largely increasing numbers of people and as I said before the businessman who does not take advantage of speed is bound to lose in the long run. Average flying speeds of 250 miles an hour can I think, be relied on for long distance main line travel in this country, this means little more than si-

hours on a non stop flight from Colombo to Delhi, and it must be remembered that with the development of all the resources now or shortly to be at the disposal of the Government, journeys would be undertaken by night as well as by day. It is, I am sure quite unnecessary for me to enumerate the many emergencies in which this rapid form of travel is of vital importance both to individuals, and adversely affected communities in flood or famine. But differences of opinion are always arising, and will undoubtedly continue to arise between groups of persons, and the immediate presence of somebody who can settle disputes or otherwise put matters right and prevent hardships and misunderstandings is essential and is made possible by air travel. Perhaps one of the most important results of development in this particular way is political and I use the word in the best sense. The more people move about and the more they see of others, the less impressive your political controversial problems become. Different races, different creeds have had profound effects, the one on the other through history once they have been forced into closer contacts, and generally speaking much more tolerance may be expected or at least less bitterness. Tolerance and lack of bitterness are essentials between peace loving peoples, and there is without the least shadow of a doubt an honest conviction in the minds of the Allied Nations that peace through tolerance and patient understanding—not I would say peace at any price—is worth striving for and this conviction has played a great part in bringing the War to its highly successful terminal phase. It is

generally said that without the terribly destructive power of the Allied Air Forces this success would not have been achieved, let us hope that Aviation will never again have to be used destructively—a destruction which has been catastrophic to so many countries,—and, let us hope further and there is every indication that this is not unreasonable, that Aviation—Civil—will help in the social and economic development with as great a power and impetus as Aviation—Military—has helped to win the War. If that be the case, then I would state my own opinion that of all countries the one which would, and certainly should, reap benefits more than any other, is this country India. (*A Broadcast Talk, Madras*)

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Deposits as at (31.12.1914)	Rs 94,48,67,000

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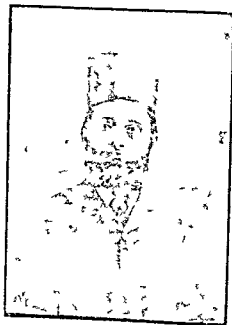
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# SIR PHEROZ SHAH MEHTA

BY MR. G A NATESAN

Sir Pherozshah Mehta whose birthday centenary was celebrated all over the country in the first week of August dominated the public life of India for well nigh half a century. Apart from public meetings the Corporation of Bombay and municipal bodies in Calcutta Madras Nagpur and other cities vied with one another in paying tributes to the memory of one who was the dozen of the Bombay City Corporation for over 30 years. In his speech at the Madras Corporation Mr G A Natesan who had the honour of introducing Madras Congressmen to Sir Pherozshah at the Bombay Congress of 1901 underlines some leading traits of Sir Pherozshah's public career. In this connection we welcome *The Lye and Times of Sir Pherozshah Mehta* which the Madras Law Journal Press has published in time to synchronize with the Centenary Celebrations. The book is a collection of talks given by the Rt Honble V S Srinivasa Sastri to a select gathering in Madras as early as 1913. Mehta is the central figure of these discourses but Mr Sastri with consummate mastery of details presents a picture of his time which is as attractive as it is illuminating. Addressed to a private circle of friends the talks happily abound in many intimate and revealing touches which make them altogether exhilarating. The facsimile of a forty year old letter from Mehta to Mr Natesan is reproduced from this interesting volume.

It is quite in the fitness of things that a grateful posterity should celebrate the centenary of Sir Pherozshah Mehta



SIR PHEROZ SHAH MEHTA

whose life work was one of incessant service to the motherland. The tribute which is to day being paid to his memory

in different parts of the country is justly deserved. For, he belonged to the galaxy of Indian patriots headed by Dadhabai, who fostered the spirit of Indian nationalism and worked fearlessly for the cause of Indian freedom. Of him it can truly be said that he belonged not to one province, but to the whole country, not to one race or caste but to all the races and creeds that are to be found in India.

Sobriety of thought and fearless independence were the distinguished characteristics of his public life, and we have it on the authority of His Highness the Aga Khan who knew him intimately that even older men like Ranade, Tyabji, Wacha and Telang owned discipleship to him.

I have always considered it as my good fortune that early in life I came into contact with Sir Pherozshah Mehta, enjoyed his friendship and in common with a group of Madras friends, his magnificent hospitality at his residence in Malabar Hill, Bombay.



Sir Pherozshah Mehta was ever proud to say that he was an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. In an address to the Indian National Congress in 1890, he made a memorable pronouncement in which he said

A Parsi is a better and truer Parsi as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better or truer Muslim or Hindu the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government

This ideal he kept to the last and practised with unflinching devotion. It was his thorough mastery of details and mature judgment that attracted him to many. His chambers on the Esplanade Road Bombay have been described as a temple where men of all shades and many minds went to pay homage to him and seek his guidance on all important matters.

The guiding principle of his political life was freedom from communal bias. In a representation to the Government made by the Bombay Presidency Association of which he was the President he stressed that the only aim of British policy should be to bring the different races and creeds into harmony with each other and to induce the best minds in all communities to apply themselves to what is necessary and practicable for promoting the common good. On another occasion, he proclaimed publicly

I will never be associated with any movement which recognized racial or communal divisions

He was one of the few who criticized Lord Morley, when at the instance of Lord Minto, he introduced the communal franchise in India. Subsequent events have shown how unerring was his judgment in

regard to separate electorates. What was fondly hoped would be a temporary expedient now threatens to be a permanent malady of our political life. In the opinion of many, this introduction of communal electorates has been the cause of all our present troubles. Communalism, like a canker has been eating into the very vitals of our politics. No wonder there are many who plead to day for its abolition altogether.

Equally unerring was his condemnation of the Press Act of 1910 to which even Gokhale had been a party. Sir Pherozshah felt very strongly that the Press Act was obnoxious and we have seen how the officials began to trade on the fact that non-officials had given it their support and from time to time had made it a claim for further drastic measures for interfering with the freedom of the Press.

Yet one more striking instance of his unerring judgment. He watched with keen interest the South African Indian struggle and Mr. Gandhi's brave and heroic efforts. He commended publicly Mr. Gandhi's action and in 1915 described him as a 'hero in the cause of independence'. Yet, he felt that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, to which Mr. Gokhale had been a party, was a grievous surrender. Sir Pherozshah maintained that there could be no justification for any part of the British Empire to deny to the other parts, equal rights of citizenship. Commending the views of Sir Pherozshah, his talented biographer Mr. Mody (now Sir Homi Mody) made the following observations which are as true to day as they were at the time they were written.

Sir Pherozshah maintained that Indians could never give up the great and vital principle of Imperial citizenship. Time has brought about a striking vindication of Pherozshah's point of view, on which such sharp differences of opinion existed at the moment and has shown that in this as in many other things, his judgment was unrivalled and his political instinct sure and unerring. The South African problem in spite of all the twaddle about common sacrifices and brotherhood in arms to which we were treated while the German menace hung over the world unfolds to-day the same old tale of injustice, arrogance and oppression which have disgraced British Imperialism for a generation. Even the Smuts-Gandhi compromise seems to have gone by the board and it is beginning to be realised that the Indian position would have been much stronger at the present moment if the principle of equal citizenship had not been sacrificed to the urgent needs of the situation.

It is hardly possible to do justice to Sir Pherozshah's many-sided activities. In the Senate and in the Syndicate of the Bombay University, he took an active part and his views always received great consideration at the hands of distinguished educationists. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and the University too in appreciation of his great services, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Laws.

In the Bombay Legislative Council of which he was a member for many years, he did yeoman service to the cause of the ryots. He strenuously opposed the notorious Land Revenue Bill of 1901 and after a heroic effort made by him to adjourn the consideration of the Bill, he and some of his followers, including Mr. Gokhale, left the Council meeting as a sort of demonstration, declaring that they would not, even by their presence, participate in the enactment of so harmful and so unpopular a measure.

In the Imperial Legislative Council, in the last years of Lord Elgin and the first

years of Lord Curzon, 'his manly outspokenness of utterance and the tone of equality with the highest of the land that came naturally to him' came almost as a shock to the officials, so much so that Sir James Westland, the then Finance Minister, complained of the "new spirit" that Sir Pherozshah Mehta had introduced into the Council. It is very interesting to remember that it was for the introduction of this 'new spirit' that the Bengal public, headed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, presented him with a public address.

I have reserved to the last an account of his magnificent career in the Bombay Corporation for nearly fifty years. There his transcendental abilities justly won for him a position of unrivalled predominance. An Anglo-Indian paper did not in the least exaggerate when it wrote:

The Bombay Corporation is Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Sir Pherozshah Mehta is the Bombay Corporation.

No wonder Sir Pherozshah was hailed as the uncrowned king of Bombay! It may truly be said that he dedicated himself to the service of the City. He gave up High Court work so that he might be free to attend and take part in the full sittings of the Bombay Corporation held every Thursday afternoon. Every one knew that even a heavy fee could not induce him to accept any work on a Thursday. People used to say that, among other things, for the sake of the Bombay Corporation, he declined a seat on the Bench. He never made his civic career a stepping stone for preferment in life. He declined the fat job of a Standing Counsel for the Parsi Panchayat.

Trust, because he thought it might come into clash with his work as member of the Bombay Corporation. For, he ever put the interests of the people and the City before self. It was he who exalted civic life in public estimation; it was he who set a high and rigorous standard of civic virtue and one can make bold to say that he is an example of shining purity for all aspirants to distinction in the sphere of local self-government.

No man who came across Sir Pheroazshah Mehta could have failed to be struck by

his personality. It was not merely towering but dominating, but it was a domination of 'a great citizen, a great patriot and a great Indian'. During his long and memorable public career, he often came into conflict with many men, Indians and Europeans. He would fight with the best; he bore no malice, he rarely if ever descended to personalities, and he retained warm personal friendships for many with whom he exchanged the shrewdest buffets. He was a staunch friend and a courteous yet dreaded opponent.

## DEMOCRACY FOR ASIA

BY PROF. MAX LERNER

THERE are men in America and Britain who will have some second thoughts about Japan after the fighting is over. The late Professor Nicholas Spykman of Yale expressed their viewpoint more nakedly than most. He wrote that just as America's interests in Europe will lie in maintaining a strong Germany to balance a strong Russia, so America's interests in Asia will lie in maintaining a strong Japan to balance whatever Power emerges from the present war in the Far East.

One thing is clear. If the pattern of the future in the Far East is to be one of anarchy and war, Japanese imperial power will not stay beaten.

It will be able to play the Western nations off against each other. It will be able to plunge the world into a fratricidal war for the division of the rich resources teeming populations, strategic sea and air lanes of the Far East.

But even a United Nations understanding will prove a hollow thing unless it embodies the will to help the Asiatic peoples along on their road to democracy. This includes Japan as it includes also China and India.

We must remember that political history of Asia in modern times has been a battle field of two ruling ideas, both of them false.

The dominant idea at first was, "Asia for the Western Powers." The West went seeking new fields for its capital and products, new stuff for its machines, new areas for its religions.

Along with our Western machines Japan took over our imperial pattern under a new slogan of its own. It turned our slogan topsy-turvy and made it "Asia for the Asiatics."

It is a phoney slogan, hypocritical and treacherous in the mouths of a conquering

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MEHTA  
TO MR. G. A. NATESAN

20 January 1904  
Dear Mr. Natesan,

I was very glad to  
make your acquaintance  
at Madras. But I should  
have liked to have had  
a fuller opportunity of  
exchanging views on  
different subjects.

As I had heard a good  
deal of your public  
spirited activity in  
many directions

I must have known  
more of you when you  
came to Bombay -  
as I am sure you will  
for next Congress

I shall see you

Let Hindu alone how  
he can no longer do  
us any mischief, and  
as for anything else  
public men must be  
disappointed.

I have several times  
read reviews of your  
'Hindu Review' & I  
know I have been  
shocked & highly

I am sure it will be  
pleasure to read  
it.

With kind regards  
Believe me  
Yours sincerely  
Cherophan M. Mehta

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MEHTA  
TO MR G A NATESAN

31 Dec '24

My dear Mr Natesan,

Will you and  
your friends do me the  
favour of coming here  
to take tea with me  
tomorrow at 3 o'clock  
in the afternoon

Very sincerely  
Phirozshah M Mehta

rather than a liberating, nation But to the peoples of the East it rang true for a time

Every Easterner will testify, as Nehru does candidly in his 'Glimpses of World History,' how profound was the impact of the Russo-Japanese war on everyone in the East who thirsted for release from the arrogance of Westerners

The great naval battle of Thushima on May 27, 1905 in which for the first time an Eastern people dealt a staggering blow to one of the great Western Powers sent an electric shiver all through Asia

Japan has exploited that ever since. Resentment of the East against the West has been Japan's greatest weapon of external propaganda, just as the Emperor cult has been the core of her internal fighting faith

-Japan has sought to pit the East against the West even though she made her own alliance with German Fascism, and even though she has proved herself the deadliest exploiter of the East

"Asia for the Westerners" failed long ago "Asia for the Asiatics" has now also failed Both of them were doomed, because both were bankrupt ideas from the start

There remains only the slogan and programme of Asia for Democracy — Asia within the framework of a united, decent world

In Japan itself this will mean allowing the Japanese people, after their political destinies into their own hands They have waited for this chance through centuries of feudalism

In Asia as a whole, it will mean self government for those who are ready for it and a genuine United Nations trusteeship to prepare the rest for it

Only thus will the Japanese people discover that they are neither gods nor beasts, but men among other men and that what is human and common to all men cuts across colour and geography

## THE ANARCHY OF CIVILIZATION

By Mr T JAGAN MOHAN RAO

THE most pathetic feature of civilization is that it has definitely tended to become regressive in all its aspects The universal attainment of democracy has ever been the highest political objective But it is having a decreased empire over the minds of men Likewise for the permanent establishment of universal peace mankind has waged in human wars, but still the prospect of a peaceful panorama is ever receding The financier or economist of any doctrinaire bent of mind is aware of the

existence of a world market, and yet insurmountable obstacles have been attempted to vitiate what might otherwise have been a smooth and free course Wars in general gave a cruel stand still for all kinds of activities and in those interim periods lofty promises are shouted alongside bullets, but the unfortunate characteristic is that no successful policies are implemented and where they have been, they are, and always remain precious mockeries The League of Nations is an outstanding

age only rewrite the old sybilline words in an ingenuously different manner, it should be remembered that, without the spirit in it, any magnificent edifice would at most be a lifeless organism for political dissection. A world Bill of Rights would remain a sacred parchment not when one nation is not mindful of the consequences of betraying those Rights but only when every state, by its co-ordinating influence affects to their mutual observance and strengthening. A world Budget would be more than an organized gamble if the financial policies emanating from its implementation would plunge all but those that shaped them into economic backwardness.

The point at which the foregoing analysis arrives is that in any modern world organization the guiding principle should be equality of all members participating in its discussions. This entails a process of levelling up and levelling down, both in the political and economic states, of the member states, if the ultimate pronouncements are the result of their voluntary effort and willing co-operation. This is where democracy fails to withstand any real test. And this dogma of equality will be an absolute myth unless the desire for its attainment is strong as much in the favouring small state, as, and perhaps more, in the big state. And what does then ensue but a conscious and ungrudging self-abrogation of those sovereign rights that are the products of the machine gun and the vilest diplomacy? The cry of our age is for a change of heart and not for a newer theory of administrative machinery. What is there to prevent the victors in a

war to be ruthless masters of the vanquished in differently newer ways except if they ardently believe that freedom suppressed abroad takes away the substance of their own freedom?

The same is true of the economic problem. The world cannot endure to be half civilized and half barbarous half fed and half clothed. It is a fundamental economic truism that full employment in one country cannot long be maintained by continually depleting the resources of another country. The growingly prosperous country in no time realizes the negative effect of ceaseless exploitation in the absence of markets. World prosperity is oftener at stake when it stands on a crumbling structure of economic decadence than when the latter is reconstructed from the foundations. Prosperity and depression are alike catching. This is the evidence of history and if history is not to repeat itself, it is high time to find some solution, not in obstructionist tactics and political masquerades but in terms of a world economy. This, in its turn, involves the old dogma of equality. A people assured of freedom from want from outside but finds itself in bonds of political subjection finds that it is only a restricted freedom half-hearted and bought in an expensive and hazardous market. Truly has Pearl Buck observed that the Four Freedoms sound hollow without that highest freedom—Liberty. And whatever capitalism and imperialism are prompted to do by way of liberation is only a saving step.

The thesis evolved from the above analysis is borne out by inescapable facts. It is a change of outlook towards a better

wisdom and reason, a reversion from the classicism of political and economic philosophy, as much as a change of mentality towards magnanimity. There is no penumbra of virtue around the glory of war. Success in war, as H. G. Wells said, is the victory of the dying over the

dead. And to understand this is to plan for the avoidance of war. The barbarism of modern warfare is no less obnoxious than the Mongol tyranny and it is inexplicable to speak of a 20th century civilization as different from a medieval anarchy.

## Future of Indian Commerce and Trade

By MR MAHESH CHAND

*University of Allahabad*

FOR the last six years the Indian commerce and trade has been continuously increasing. Though the total foreign trade increased upto 1941-42 and has thereafter declined, the excess of exports over imports has continued to increase. It was about Rs 17 crores in 1938-39 and over Rs 91 crores in 1943-44.

It would be a praiseworthy feature. But the term 'commerce and trade' does not merely include foreign trade. It also refers to the internal trade. Situated as India is, it is no doubt true that the internal trade is affected by the conditions of foreign trade. India is an agricultural country. Her export trade also principally consists of raw products and the course of her exports is an index of the situation in the internal agricultural marketing and of the condition of the agriculturists. Our net income from industries was estimated at Rs 374 crores and our imports, which are mostly of manufactured goods, amounted to about Rs 153 crores before the war. Clearly the imports play a dominant role even in regard to our industrial activities.

A study of exports and imports of India would give an indication of the internal agricultural and industrial conditions also. In the following paragraphs attention will therefore be confined to the foreign trade.

To take up the exports first, in 1938-39 out of our total exports of Rs 163 crores, the value of manufactured exports was only about Rs. 40 crores. In other words, three fourth of the export was of raw materials. The principal items of these exports are tea, food crops, fruits and vegetables, jute, cotton, wool, oilseeds, oilcakes, hides and skins, gums, resin and lac, and tobacco. India supplies two fifth of the world's tea. Eighty to ninety per cent of it has gone to the United Kingdom and the rest to Canada, USA, Ceylon, Iran, Sudan and Australia. In a country where the milk habit prevails, tea can only be exported unless it may be used to induce people to give up liquor drinking, as was done in the Salem district of Madras. Food crops and fruits and vegetables really should not be allowed to be exported so long as there is food shortage in this



country and also malnutrition. The reason why food-crops find an outlet is that the cultivator has to part with it compulsorily to meet his commitments (e.g. rent, debt, etc.). The middlemen who purchase them in the first instance are not ill-fed and sell them on to the exporters to make a profit. The State alone can put an end to the atrocities of the blood-suckers infesting the cultivators.

Peace-time demand for jute has been decreasing and in view of the food shortage it would be preferable to replace jute by food crops. In the alternative the attempt should be made to increase jute manufacture. War-time experience has shown that there has been sufficient excess capacity in the jute mills and it should be possible to use the extra raw jute. Raw cotton exports were mostly in short staple cotton which were not being used internally. It was mostly taken up by Japan. Fortunately during the World War II, most of the area under short staple cotton has been diverted to other crops. The export of cotton to the European countries will be difficult to maintain after the War in view of powerful competition from American and Egyptian cotton. As regards raw wool effort should be made to encourage the growth of wool manufacture. Most cotton and wool can be absorbed if the All India Handloom Board formed by the Government of India pays proper attention to the development and marketing of cotton and wool products.

Oilseeds have been exported because no oil-crushing industry has been developed. The world tendency shows that if the

industry is not developed, it may not be possible to sell them in the world market, nor to have the oilcakes for use as cattle food and manure in the fields. Lac and resin point to the overdue necessity for the establishment of the shellac industry. In fact industrial development of the country would enable India to use most of the raw materials which had to be exported in the past.

Due to the present war our export trade was lost to the extent of Rs. 29 crores on account of the Nazi occupation of European countries, of Rs. 19 crores on account of Jap. hostilities and of Rs. 24 crores due to the fall of Burma, French Indo-China, the East Indies and other islands in the Pacific. Thus export trade worth Rs. 72 crores out of pre-war exports of Rs. 163 crores has been lost. In other words, half of the pre-war exports are gone. Yet the value of exports had increased to Rs. 199 crores during 1943-44 and is estimated to be about 220 crores during 1944-45. But the real measure is not the value but the quantity of exports. This has certainly gone down considerably. The exports to U.S.A., Australasia, Mid-Eastern countries and South Africa have increased by about Rs. 40 crores but there have not been established permanent market relations due to the existence of an intervening agency, the U.K.C.C. which has purchased from India and sold to these countries. It has been suggested that the present publicity arrangements specially the Indian Information should be used by the Government to publicise Indian goods abroad. The Government of India also proposes to appoint some more trade commissioners in

the foreign markets to help expansion of foreign trade. But if these trade commissioners' reports are not a better stuff and are as late as they have been in the past they shall little serve our commercial interests.

In any case it is clear that in future the exports from India will comprise more of manufactured goods specially so far as the Mid Eastern countries like Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Palestine are concerned. There will be less of raw materials in the exports because whatever the attitude of the Government India is going to emerge from the present war as a more industrialised country. The political events are also likely to favour the industrial developments in this country. Of course the worn out machinery and stores in our industries and the effort by the foreign countries—specially by the United Kingdom—to dump consumers goods into this country shall retard our progress if we decide to develop large scale production. But if the small scale and cottage industries are to have their proper place in our production plan and if we are more inclined to use swadeshi

goods, development of industries is assured. There must at least—and the likelihood is that there will—be developed the key industries like power production, vehicles, aluminium, heavy chemicals and other heavy industries.

It would be possible to discuss the industrial policy declared by the Central Government at this stage, but it shall not be very relevant. Hence I must pass on to assess the effect of the situation on the form of our import trade. In the year 1938-39 we imported goods, mostly manufactured consumers goods, worth Rs 152 crores. Due to the war, the value went down to Rs 110 crores in 1942-43. Since then it is going up again. Due to the government effort to encourage import of consumers' goods it may be about Rs 200 crores during 1944-45. But after some years, capital goods are sure to be a growing feature of our imports.

To sum up more of manufactured goods in exports, more of capital goods in imports and more industrial activity in the country shall be the features of our future commerce and trade.

## CHINA'S RECORD OF RESISTANCE

By MR S H SHEN

*Chinese Commissioner in India*

**A**MONG the Allied nations, China was the first to face the menace of the Axis. She was caught unprepared by the sudden and treacherous attack of Japan in July, 1937, yet, aware of the cause of justice and righteousness she had to uphold, she unflinchingly stood up against the

challenge. Untold sacrifices and unprecendented sufferings have been experienced and borne with exemplary forbearance.

Despite the economic strain that the enemy's unrelenting blockade has forced on us, despite the drain on our resources and man power, and despite the heavy toll exacted

of our lives and property, we are carrying on with revitalized energy and unshakable determination. The trials and tribulations which our country and our people have undergone have only steeled our will and fortified our determining to fight to the end until the Japs are driven back from China and their military machine is completely crushed.

The world should not forget that this fortitude on the part of China to fight the Japanese has contributed in no small measure to the speedy end of the war in the West as well as to the early final victory of the Allied nations in the global war. During these eight years of hard fighting no less than two million men of the Japanese army had been either killed or wounded on the China fronts, while another two millions are being stranded and tied down in China.

We entered the war as a champion of justice and righteousness which is the antithesis of oppression and lawlessness as practised by bellicose Japan. We were the first to step into this global war and we will stay through to the end.

#### CAIRO CONFERENCE DECLARATION

In bringing the last phase of the world conflict to a close China will support whole heartedly the Declaration of the

Cairo Conference and the universal demands of the United Nations for the unconditional surrender of Japan. It must be unconditional surrender of the type imposed on Nazi Germany that will make this Far Eastern aggressor alike impotent for generations to come to wage offensive warfare.

There are tremendous problems lying before China when peace is won. Fortunately during these eight years of war, China has spared no effort in her political and economic reconstruction. A genuine constitutional government is on its way of formation the realization of which will be completed when the People's Congress will be called in November next. Extensive programmes are being devised for post war reconstruction and the resuscitation of the country.

#### CHINA'S ROLE IN POST WAR WORLD

A stabilized and progressive China will conduce to the equilibrium and the future peace of the Eastern hemisphere and of the world. China has always lived in amity and harmony with her neighbours, near and afar. So will she continue to foster a spirit of mutual respect and understanding among nations and to promote a policy of good neighbourly relations.



# THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

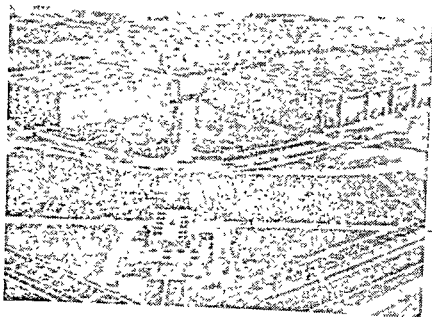
BY MR G N SARMA, M A

HISTORY is the record of man's life, of his efforts to live and to live well. No interpretation of History can be satisfactory which is not adequate to the richness and variety of human life. There can be as many interpretations of History as man's efforts and the aspects under which they can be grouped. A broad classification of the various interpretations of History is that into Deterministic and Non-deterministic. Deterministic theories of History regard man's efforts as governed by forces so compelling that he cannot but act in a particular manner. Non-deterministic theories emphasize man's character as a free agent whose responsibility for action rests with himself. Among the former may be mentioned the theological interpretation, the mechanistic or more specifically the geographic interpretation, the biological and racial interpretation, the materialistic and economic interpretation.

History, theologically interpreted, is a transcendental drama. The sufferings of the present moment could not be compared to the glory which was to come. The thoroughgoing geographer is only incidentally concerned with man. History is a vast tropism. The biologist treats man as being inexorably governed by the law of Evolution. The destinies of nations and civilizations are governed by racial qualities. History reveals the conflict of races. It is a struggle for survival and one race succeeds another in claiming to be the supreme arbiter of the world. The struggle for survival leads to the extinction of certain species. Survival after the

struggle is a sure indication of fitness for the fulfilment of the Historic mission of the race. According to the racial theorist, racial questions overshadow all other problems of History and hold the key to them. Chamberlain maintained the thesis that 'The awakening of the Teutonic peoples to the consciousness of their all important vocation and culture forms the turning point (in the History of Europe)'. The materialistic interpretation may be more specifically called the economic interpretation of History and is largely the contribution of Karl Marx. It may be summarized in Engel's statement as 'the view of the course of History which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, the changes in the modes of production and exchange in the consequent division of society into classes against one another'.

Though none of these theories is wholly true, most of them contain elements of truth. The vision of faith can detect the working of Providence in the processes of History. The geographical interpretation depersonalises History but is of service as emphasizing the influence of nature and environment on man. "Hereafter History will be seen to walk on the earth, breathe the air and expand or diminish with the process of the sun. The biological interpretation is inadequate as according to it, man has, in common with the rest of the animate kingdom, certain instincts and impulses. He cannot get over their dominant sway. Such a view ignores the essential characteristic of man as a being



**BIRTH PLACE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB:** A bird's eye view of the gigantic plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the atomic bomb parts are manufactured

endowed with will. Purity of race is a dangerous myth. There is not one but a multitude of chosen races each claiming its own peculiar, real or imaginary excellences. The value of the materialistic interpretation of History is very properly assessed by Benedetto Croce. 'Historical materialism if it is to express something critically acceptable can be neither a new *a priori* notion of the philosophy of History nor a new method of historical thought; it must be simply a canon of historical interpretation. This canon recommends that attention be directed to the so-called economic basis of society in order that the forms and mutations of the latter may be better understood.

The historian says A. D. Lindsay how ever grateful he may be for the light which economic interpretation has given, is up in arms against a theory which denies the individuality and uniqueness of history and reduces it to an automatic repetition of abstract formulae.

No single theory can express the entire significance of the story of man. His various motives and manifold ideals render any single interpretation narrow and inadequate. A true and adequate theory of History must therefore, combine the elements of truth in the partial interpretations. It must transcend the limitations of the mechanistic and the deterministic views for the motives that lie behind man's effort and the perpetual striving after his ideals refuse to be bound by external limitations. The origin of man may be of the earth and earthy but his destiny is lofty and splendid. It is the vision of his destiny which animates him and lifts him

above the animal kingdom. 'Social History', says Professor Unwin, 'must be concerned with life, truth and beauty—with the energising souls of men in community and these are ends in themselves. History must reveal the ideal driving forces of the past and the increasing purpose which runs through the ages.

Such a view demands consideration of the method of writing History. The first task of a historian is a critical examination of documentary sources of information. The next is to construct a narrative of what it was that actually happened of the facts derived from historical evidence. He adheres in the construction of narratives to the sequence of events in time. His concern is not only with what it was that actually happened but also with when it actually came about.

What actually happened can however, never be told. The inadequacy of historical material, its liability to be partial and to be exaggerated always confront to the historian. Common report and outward seeming as Lord Acton says are bad copies of the reality. Even if the material be abundant and unimpeachable it is impossible to tell what it was that actually happened.

Beyond the question of certainty is the question of detachment. Our most sacred and disinterested convictions ought to take shape in the tranquil regions of the air above the tumult and tempest of active life. The narration of facts involves their assessment. They are transformed from hard objective realities by being related to the mental background of the historian. Their mere recognition

involves a linking up with certain concepts which form part of his very being. A relation between facts springs up and History acquires the character of a synthesis.

An adequate interpretation of History considers the story of man from a synthetic point of view. Facts in appearance fortuitous and chaotic fall into an ordered harmony. They are not to be valued merely as facts and linked up with one another as beads on a string. A whole view alone can reveal their significance. It alone can subdue the angularities of details by fitting them into the framework of truth. A mere narration of events will be a dust storm of facts unintelligible and meaningless. Truth in History is not the recording of facts and events in the spirit of a coroner. To the question what is to be the standard of truth for the historian the analogy of the artist as Viscount Haldane points out may prove not without significance for an answer. No mere narration of details will give the whole that at once dominates these details and yet does not exist apart from them. The historian must resemble the portrait painter rather than the photographer. An event, says Dean Inge, is a fact which has its place in a system

and has its meaning and importance within that system'. The filing of events into the scheme of History is similar to the blending of particulars into the universal. The particular has in it the elements of the universal. The facts of History point out to something beyond themselves. Otherwise no relation can arise between them. History would be a chaos, not a cosmos. The unity of thought is reflected in the unity of historical events.

A synthetic view of history involves a conception of time as a whole. A fact in itself is without significance, so is a date in history. It is a fixing point in an endless stream coeval with the world and eternal. The chronicler regards time as a temporal succession. He endeavours to be exact in dates as he endeavours to be true in the narration of facts and events. His earnestness is futile—his aspiration false in its very nature. It is based on a false conception of truth and of time. The historian if he should be true to his task should be a philosopher—a spectator of all time and all existence. He must possess spiritual insight into the nature of man and must be able to comprehend in one sweep of vision the manifold achievements of his will.

To strive, to seek to find and not to yield

## THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

SEPTEMBER 18 1931—AUGUST 14, 1945

It was in Manchuria in the autumn of 1931 that the spirit of Japanese aggressive Imperialism first demonstrated itself in a most ruthless manner. The notorious

Kwantung Army, the spearhead of Japanese expansionism on the continent from its base in the Liaotung Peninsula, marched northward and proceeded to bring the whole

of Manchuria under the direct rule of Japan Marshal Chang Tso Lin, the Military Governor of the Province and virtual Dictator, was killed in a railway "accident" at Moukden, believed to have been instigated by the notorious Doihara gang of the Kwantung Army. Tokyo turned a deaf ear to the protests of the civilized world, and got busy consolidating these easy conquests at the expense of the Chinese Republic. It was a crime not against China alone, but against the world as a whole

#### PEARL HARBOUR

At dawn on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and Japan's grand adventure for world domination was on the way. The initial surprise achieved by the treacherous attack helped the Japanese to win a series of spectacular success. By March 9, 1942, Malaya, Java, the Philippines, Sumatra, Borneo, Burma, the Andamans and a number of important islands in the Pacific had been occupied. The Japanese had also penetrated to New Guinea and the Aleutians. Japanese supremacy in the Pacific was complete, Nippon had risen to the height of her power.

The second stage of the Pacific War, generally referred to as the "holding war", found the Japanese consolidating their positions. In Australia they saw a potential base of great strategic importance but their efforts to obtain possession of at least the northern portion of Australia failed completely. In the Battle of the Coral Sea (May 4-8, 1942), the Japanese Navy was caught in the Coral Sea while she was sailing to attack the north eastern portion of Australia and was severely mauled. In the Midway Sea Battle (June 3-6, 1942) the

Japanese Navy, on its way to attack Pearl Harbour, suffered yet another shattering defeat. In these battles the Allies not only sank a number of Japanese warships but succeeded in depriving the enemy of air and sea supremacy in the Pacific.

#### ROAD BACK

In 1943, the Allies started on their long road back to Tokyo. It was a slow moving affair, but under the circumstances, the Allies had no option but to adopt "island hopping" tactics. American Marines landed on Guadalcanal and Tulagi Island in the Solomons, which was the first landing made on ground, captured earlier by the enemy. In March, the Japanese Navy sustained yet another shattering defeat in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea.

By 1944, the Allied counter-offensive was well under way and the Japanese were being steadily pushed back. On June 15, the Americans landed on Saipan in the Marianas and the same day a fleet of "Superfortress" giant bombers, especially constructed to carry the air war to Japan, attacked Tokyo. On July 21, the Allies landed on Guam, followed by another landing on Tinian Island. In October, U.S. forces returned to the Philippines when under Gen. MacArthur they landed on Leyte Island. The remnants of the Japanese Navy suffered a great defeat off the Philippines when it tried to interfere with Allied landing operations; and retired into oblivion. With Saipan and Guam in Allied hands the frequency of air attacks also increased.

#### THE DDLUGL

The year 1945 saw the war against Japanese aggression mount to a crescendo,



On January 9, the Americans landed on Luzon. On February 4 the Allies entered Manila. On February 16 an American Task Force sailed close to the Japanese mainland and hurled a large number of carrier borne aircraft against Tokyo. Three days later American forces landed on Iwojima, an island 750 miles from Kyushu. By March 16 Iwojima was in American hands. On April 1 the Americans landed on Okinawa 325 miles from the Japanese mainland. A month later Australian forces landed on Tarakan Island off the north east coast of Borneo. On June 11 another force of Australians landed on Labuan Island off the north west coast of Borneo, cutting off Japan's sea lanes to the southern regions. On June 21 Japanese resistance on Okinawa collapsed. By June 28 Luzon Island was completely liberated and further landings had been made on Borneo. The effect of air bombing of Japan was being felt in the waning fighting strength of the Japanese. Lack of air power made it impossible for the Japanese to protect their military and industrial centres which began to crumble. The Allies had won air and sea mastery over and around Japan. On July 5 the Philippines campaign had ended. On July 19 a force of 2 000 carrier borne aircraft (the biggest force ever used) attacked Tokyo. On July 14 American naval units sailed close to Japanese shores to batter military and industrial targets without interference from the Jap Navy. This was followed by a shelling of coastal targets near Tokyo by a combined Anglo-American Fleet. August saw Japan reeling under the most shattering air

bombardment in history. On August 4, it was announced that Gen MacArthur would lead the invasion forces against Japan. Two days later the first 'atomic bomb' fell on Hiroshima. On July 9, the Red Army crossed the Soviet Japanese border in Manchuria at several points while Soviet bombers were attacking Manchuria and Korea. The same day a second atomic bomb hit Nagasaki. On August 13 between 1 200 and 1 500 bombers attacked Tokyo. By August 14, the Red Army had dashed 200 miles south across Manchuria and had broken into China. Russian troops also invaded Korea and the island of Karafuto.

#### CHINA AND BURMA

On July 7, 1937 Japanese forces in North China perpetrated what they called the Marco Polo bridge incident and launched a fresh large scale aggression. It became clear that the North China incident was a mere pretext and that the Japanese militarists were determined to execute their old policy and aim of conquest and expansion on the Chinese sub continent. Despite all Chinese efforts and their heavy sacrifices the Japanese in the course of the next few years overran large and important areas of the country and also established themselves at strategic points along almost the entire coastline. The seat of the Chinese Government, at first shifted from Nanking to Hankow, was later moved further west to Chungking on the Yangtze.

The spring of 1945 saw the tide turning definitely against Japan. With the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany on May 7, and more particularly

after the series of staggering reverses suffered by the Japanese in Burma, the Philippines, Saipan Iwojima Okinawa and in the whole of Western Pacific generally the outlook for China grew brighter and brighter and continued to be so till the Dawn of Complete Victory for China and her Allies, and crushing defeat for Japan.

The enemy overran Burma by the middle of May, 1942, Rangoon Mandalay and Myit'yina fell one after the other. The Burma Army was withdrawn to India just on the eve of the monsoon.

Two years later (May 1944), it was at Kohima that the tide of the war which threatened India was turned. The Japanese

met their 'Stalingrad' at Imphal. The famous 14th Army, the defenders of Eastern Assam defeated the Japanese invasion and in the course of barely a year rolled back the enemy into Burma. Myit'yina Akyab, Meiktila, Mandalay and Rangoon were recovered and the Japanese pushed back into the Shan Hills. In the last great battle of the Burma campaign—the battle of the Sittang break-out, the Japanese lost over 11,500 killed and prisoner. The Allied air force and the British East Indies Fleet together with the Royal Indian Navy all played a conspicuous part in the liberation of Burma.

## TEMPERAMENT AND CAREER

BY MR V K VARADACHARI

WE often hear people saying that they haven't got the aptitude or the temperament for a particular job or profession. 'I shall never amount to anything as a lawyer or a doctor because I haven't got the aptitude or the proper temperament.' This is an argument that is most frequently employed by persons who have failed to achieve success in their endeavours or are sceptical about their future. But this is neither a true nor a complete explanation.

It is no doubt conceded that there are infinite tendencies to be satisfied in every individual and the stifling of any one of these arrests his growth to that extent and makes him weak. In the early years of a child we find the child developing strong likes and dislikes for various objects. But a careful and a deep analysis would reveal

that they are not deep rooted. Psychological researches have shown that human beings differ in 'general ability'. They have not proved to what extent these differences are caused by inherited nature, how much they are inborn. We do not deny that some people possess by nature special abilities and disabilities that determine their career in life. We have the example of the first class geniuses. The great musician composing at his 5th year, the great painter painting while tending his sheep, are all of an exceptional kind. They are unusual persons.

But, for ordinary average human beings, out of the infinite tendencies exhibited, the urge to show our attempts at its best in any field of activity should be most strongly developed.

As the human personality is highly gullible in the early stages of its evolution,

a long trained and highly regulated mixture of education enables the individual to take to any calling or activity in life with natural ease and affinity and eventually leaves a permanent impress on the mind of the individual that even the mere contemplation of change to any other walk is bitter for him. Hence likes and dislikes are more the outcome of life and environment than the one that shapes and moulds human personality. Why else do we condemn instinct and impulse so vehemently and with such consistency?

"If education is not the mere collection of facts but the concentration of mind should not a man who has had the

benefits of a sound educational system be capable of adapting himself to the circumstances and try to make the best out of a bad job? Should he not strive to spring up to the top, however lowly he might be placed?

Hence, a sound educational system should be one that in a general way harmonises between the intellectual, the moral and the practical parts of human nature. The human will should be made capable of obeying the joint impulses of these directing forces. In its cultivation does his success depends, and not on that vague and undefinable thing, called temperament which is nothing more than an insubstantial bogie.

## THE ATOMIC BOMB

— 0 —

THE appalling damage wrought by the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6 marks a new era in the history of war. This most destructive explosive yet discovered by man has, it is said, more than 200 times the blast power of the British 22 000 pounder. It has swept the Allies on to victory against the Japanese faster than could have been hoped and it has reduced Japan to nothingness. In fact, the explosion on Hiroshima has destroyed a whole world of ideas and altogether revolutionised the strategy of war. Tanks and dreadnoughts and the V series of horrors have become obsolete in the light of this latest discovery in the armoury of war. The unleashing of this fearful instrument of destruction so potent with deadly ill to civilization has

caused more dismay than satisfaction among thinking minds.

WHERE HIROSHIMA HAD ONCE BEEN

The devastating effect of the bomb was such that it literally "seared to death all living things, human and animal" within a radius of nearly 9 square miles. 'A column of smoke rising  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles into the air, marked the spot where Hiroshima had been', said an observer in the Super-Fortress that dropped the bomb.

After the missile had been released, I alighted and stood back for the shock. When it came, the men aboard with me gasped 'My God' and what had been Hiroshima was a mountain of smoke like a giant mushroom.

A thousand feet above the ground was a great mass of dust boiling swirling and extending over most of the city.

A Tokyo radio broadcast picked up in New York said that

the dead and injured were burned beyond recognition, and that the authorities were unable to get any definite check on civilian casualties. The city was stated to be a "disastrous ruin".

The effect was widespread. Those outdoors were burned to death and those indoors were killed by insupportable pressure and heat. With houses and buildings smashed including emergency medical facilities, the medical authorities have their hands full.

Such is the awful effect of the new weapon, it was underscored in a declaration by the Navy department that the Japanese "must now take their choice. Mass suicide or surrender."

#### SCIENTISTS AT WORK

It would appear that German scientists had almost succeeded in their researches when the collapse of the Wehrmacht came. "By God's grace Germany did not succeed first", said Mr Churchill. "If she had, none of us in Britain would be here", commented a representative Minister of Aircraft production. Before 1939, said President Truman,

it was the accepted belief of scientists that it was theoretically possible to release atomic energy but no one knew any practical method of doing it. By 1942, however we knew the Germans were working feverishly to find a way to add atomic energy to other engines of war with which they hoped to enslave the world. But they failed. We may be grateful to Providence that the Germans got V ones and V two's late and in limited quantities and even more grateful that they did not get atomic bombs at all.

Anyway as Mr Winston Churchill said, the atomic bomb "constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of human genius of which there is record". The whole world is discussing the startling possibilities of this discovery. The tremendous implications of this new development are hard to grasp for laymen but there is no doubt as to the possibilities of the application of this new source of energy in the sphere of industry.

#### THE MORALITY OF IT

But the wiser among men are more concerned with the perils involved in the discovery of this terrific weapon. Is America justified at all in using the bomb against the Japanese? The Hague Regulations, forbid the employment of arms, projectiles, and material calculated to cause "unnecessary suffering". On that score the German flame throwers were condemned by British moralists and the Archbishop of Canterbury urged the British Premier not to use the same infamous weapon. The Allies are setting a bad example in resorting to this objectionable method of indiscriminate bombing whereby civilians no less than military objectives come under fire. Prof Gilbert Murray is naturally alarmed at the problem involved in keeping the secret of the atomic bomb from nations with aggressive tendencies. "The ultimate consequence of monkeying with the bomb", writes George Bernard Shaw, "may well be the explosion of the world." A Vatican spokesman said the news created a 'painful impression' in the Holy See, while the Dean of St Albans went so far as to cancel arrangements for a civic service of thanksgiving at the Abbey as a protest against the use of the Atomic Bomb. Making a statement later, he said

I do not hold a service of thanksgiving in St Albans because I cannot honestly give thanks to God for an event brought about by the wrong use of force by an act of wholesale indiscriminate massacre, which is different in kind from all acts of open warfare hitherto however brutal and heinous.

Hanson Baldwin, an American military commentator, declared in the *New York Times* that America may have "to reap

the whirlwind sown by the atomic bomb  
He added

Because our bombing has been more effective and therefore more devastating the name of America has become synonymous with destruction

Now we have been the first to introduce this new weapon of incredible effects which may bring us a quick victory but will sow the seeds of hate more widely than ever

Atomic energy may well lead to a bright new world in which man shares common brotherhood or we may, beneath rockets and bombs, descend to a world of troglodytes

Mr Churchill of course, defends the use of the bomb but the New Prime Minister fully realizes the perils of this discovery In reply to Mr Churchill Mr Attlee pointed out

that unless the force of destruction now let loose on the world were brought under control it was vain to plan for the future The atomic bomb must be controlled in the interests of all peoples and not exploited in the interests of only one people

For to keep a scientific discovery of this magnitude secret for long is neither possible nor desirable and the only way of security in so organising society as not to give occasion for the wrong use of this tremendous source of power

#### THE EFFECT OF THE BOMBING

As we go to press gruesome details of the havoc wrought by the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki have come to light, which make painful nay blood curdling reading We are told that the two 500 pound atom bombs that flattened the once thriving cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed or injured nearly 200 000 Japanese Bomb number one dropped on Hiroshima naval base either blew up or destroyed by fire practically all houses within a nine mile radius caused intense heat wave ripples and 'black rain'

These are the outstanding points made by the Japanese News Agency giving the first details of effects of these missiles

60 000 died at Hiroshima while 100 000 were injured over 200 000 rendered homeless At Nagasaki over 10 000 were killed, 20 000 injured and 90 000 made homeless

The agency said that these figures were still incomplete as many people were dying daily from burns and many bodies had not yet been recovered from the ruins

Many of those who received burns cannot survive because of the uncanny effect the bomb produces on the human body Even those who received minor burns looked quite healthy at first only to weaken after a few days for some unknown reason and many have since died

#### BRITISH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

No wonder that British reaction to this new horror has been intense and widespread The new government has promptly responded to the wishes of the people and set up an Advisory Committee to deal with questions involved in the discovery of atomic energy The Chairman is Sir John Anderson former Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself a scientist, who has been in charge of Britain's atomic bomb research Other members—military, political and scientific—are

Sr Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary to the Foreign Office

Field Marshal Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff

Sir Alan Barlow, Second Secretary to the Treasury

Sr F. W. Appleton, Director of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research

Sr Henry Dale, President of the Royal Society,

Prof P. S. Blackett

Sir James Chadwick, and

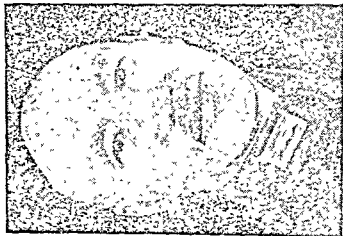
Sir George Thompson.

Announcing this in the House of Commons Mr Attlee, the Prime Minister declared that it is

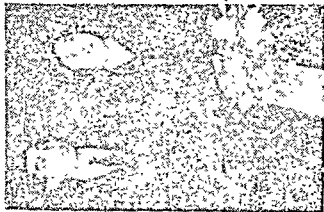
the intention of the British Government to devote all the efforts to making the new discovery serve the purpose of world peace and co-operate with others to that end



EMPEROR HIROHITO  
The Mikado.



Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK



PRINCE CHICHIBU, pro-British brother  
of Hirohito, with his consort



ADMIRAL ROWLANDS



MOUNTBATTEN and MACARTHUR

# THE JAPANESE SURRENDER

WITH the collapse of Germany and the switching over of the Allied offensive to the Far East and the Pacific the fate of the Japanese was doomed. But Japan persisted and tried to hold on in the teeth of a position the hopelessness of which was becoming evident, hour by hour. Meanwhile, the atomic bomb and the Russian advance on Manchuria settled the issue for the Japanese. Exactly three weeks after the Potsdam ultimatum "Surrender or be destroyed" Japan admitted defeat and sued for peace on the basis of the demand for complete surrender. In a midnight broadcast on August 14 the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee and President Harry Truman made this welcome announcement simultaneously from London and Washington. Allied armed forces were immediately ordered to suspend offensive action, the Mikado issued a similar "cease fire" order and Gen Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Pacific, was appointed Allied Commander to accept the surrender.

## MR ATTLEE'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Announcing Japan's surrender Mr Attlee gave the text of Japan's reply to the Allied terms. It reads:

With reference to the announcement of August 10 regarding the acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration and the reply of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, sent by the U.S. Secretary of State Mr James F. Byrnes on August 11, the Japanese Government has the honour to reply to the Governments of the four Powers as follows—

(1) His Majesty the Emperor has issued an Imperial rescript regarding Japan's acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration.

(2) The Emperor is prepared to authorise and ensure signature by his Government and Imperial Headquarters of the necessary terms for carrying out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration.

(3) His Majesty is also prepared to issue this communication to all Military, Naval, and Air authorities to issue to all Forces under their control wherever located, to cease active resistance and to surrender arms.

## THE KING'S MESSAGE

H.M. the King, in his speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament on the same day, said at the outset that

the surrender of Japan has brought to an end the six years of warfare which caused untold misery to the world.

My armed Forces, from every part of the Commonwealth and Empire have fought with steady courage and endurance.

To them, as well as to all others who bore their share in bringing about this great victory, and to all our Allies, our gratitude is due.

It is the firm purpose of my Government in closest co-operation with the Governments of my Dominions and in concert with all peace-loving peoples to attain a world of freedom, peace, and social justice so that the sacrifices of the war will not have been in vain.

## THE MIKADO'S STATEMENT

The Japanese news agency reported that the Emperor was graciously pleased personally to read the imperial rescript accepting the Potsdam declaration. The Emperor's decision was arrived at after consultation with the Ministers and war lords. We are told:

His Majesty listened silently as his Ministers and military and naval chiefs offered their views. After they had spoken, His Majesty was graciously pleased to take the final decision to accept the terms of the Potsdam declaration, since he thought that the Allied reply recognised his authority as sovereign ruler, although such a course involved much that would be hard for his imperial ancestors and the nation to endure.

The agency concluded:

All those present were profoundly impressed by the gracious concern of His Majesty for his subjects. They silently bowed obedience and wept.

"The Mikado, in his statement to his good and loyal subjects", said:

But now, the war has lasted nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of military and naval Forces, the diligence and assiduity of our servants of State and the devoted service of our 100,000,000 people—the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interests.

Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in the ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilisation.

Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects to ourselves to atone



before the fallowed spirits of our imperial ancestors

Thus is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the proposals of the joint declaration of the Powers

Never had Japan faced such a day and the Japanese news agency gave a remarkable description of the scenes outside the Imperial Palace in Tokyo

Weeping people who had gathered outside the Imperial Palace bowed to the very ground in shame because their efforts were not enough

His Majesty's subjects are moved to tears by His Majesty's boundless and infinite solicitude

#### PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S COMMENT

In President Truman's words the Japanese reply is 'full acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration which specifies unconditional surrender'

This is a great day. This is the day we have been waiting for since Pearl Harbour. This is the day when Fascism finally dies as we all knew it would. This is the day for democracy

#### THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST

India shared in the rejoicings of the United Nations over the common victory. Broadcasting to the nation on V-J day H H Lord Wavell said

To-day the valour and skill of the Indian Army is acclaimed all over the world. India can indeed claim a large share of the victory both in the West and in the East

#### INDIA'S PART IN THE VICTORY

Conveying the congratulations of His Majesty's Government on the truly magnificent part which India has played in the achievement of this final triumph over Japan Mr (now Lord) Pethick Lawrence the new Secretary of State for India said in his message to the Viceroy

We in this country are deeply conscious of the vital contribution on which the armed forces of India the Princes and the people as a whole, have made, not only on battlefields but a workshops and factories, which have transformed India into a great arsenal and fighting base

The unsurpassed gallantry and endurance of the Indian forces will stand recorded as a most glorious page in Indian history

Those who have made the supreme sacrifice in the greatest world struggle for the triumph of right over might are not here to rejoice with us to-day at this moment of victory but their names are remembered with thankfulness and pride

#### ALLIED LANDING AND OCCUPATION

Though the atomic bomb and the Russian advance made the surrender inevitable Japan had already realised that she had lost the war. Arrangements were promptly made in the various sectors for the formal surrender. Except for sporadic outbursts and intransigence of isolated groups in far away areas the Japanese wisely submitted to the inevitable and promptly carried out the Mikado's order. Thus they escaped complete collapse and annihilation

The formal occupation of Japan from sea and air began on August 30. The Day as Admiral Chester Nimitz called it. General MacArthur Supreme Allied Commander landed at the Atsugi airfield on the 30th morning in his transport plane Bataan

Shortly afterwards the mightiest Allied Fleet ever assembled began landing troops of the Fourth Marine Combat Team on the north shore of Tokyo Bay just above Yokosuka the naval base. Not a shot was fired and the landings were perfectly peaceful

The Japanese surrender was solemnly signed aboard the 45,000 ton American battleship *Missouri* at Tokyo harbour at 1.30 a.m. GMT (8 a.m. IST) on September 2 ending the greatest world war in history and marking the deathknell of the Empire of Japan

The Instrument of Surrender declares among other terms

We hereby proclaim unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender

The order of the signing was Japan General MacArthur the United States China the United Kingdom the U.S.S.R. Australia Canada France the Netherlands and New Zealand

Gen MacArthur then added

Let us pray that peace be now restored to the world and that God will preserve it always. These proceedings are closed.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By AN INDIAN JOURNALIST

## Lord Wavell's Visit to London

LORD Wavell is again in London on the invitation of the new Labour Government for consultations in regard to India policy. This is a welcome step from all points of view for with a new government in office in England and with the changed circumstances brought about by the surrender of the Japs it is admittedly desirable that the whole field of problems political and economic confronting the country should be reviewed *de novo*. The New Secretary of State for India who is known to be a good friend of this country has started well without losing time and it is earnestly hoped that direct personal discussions with Lord Wavell will pave the way for an early settlement. But then the Viceroy and the New Secretary must make up their mind that this time, at any rate it will not be an affair of much cry and little wool. If as an inspired cable tells us that there will be no departure from the stale old plea of agreement among the parties as a prerequisite for any forward step all the labour and anxious thought on the part of all interested in this baffling problem will have been wasted. It is impossible to expect such agreement anywhere in the world and to insist on it is to by pass the pressing demand for freedom with a view to maintain the *status quo*.

## The General Elections

Coupled with the announcement of the Viceregal mission to England plans for the dissolution of the Central Legislative Assembly and for General Elections in the Provinces have been announced following a meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indeed the Elections are long overdue and the ten year old Legislatures need new blood. This has acted as a tonic to the public which has been threatening to become apathetic. It is good to see the parties becoming alert and anxious to consolidate their position and make a full whole hearted drive to win the public to their respective views. It is good to see Pandit Jawaharlal on the one hand and Mr Jinnah on the other enter into the business with

keenness and zest. And with the promise nay assurance of free elections we may look to the electors to choose their representatives on definite clear cut issues and unhesitatingly support them in their efforts to set up responsible government in the Centre and frame the future constitution of India. The lifting of the ban on Congress bodies and the rapid release of the politicals have heartened the people already to a great extent.

But why should the country wait till the Budget Session of 1946 for any settlement? There are immediate problems of economic and administrative nature that cry for urgent attention. Poverty and corruption, high price and unemployment and all the troubles following demobilization need competent handling. None but popular representatives in office could cope with them. Why should not an interim arrangement preparatory to a final settlement be devised in the meanwhile?

## The Viceroy's Clemency

On the eve of his departure to London on an important mission Lord Wavell has done the right thing in responding favourably to the universal public demand for the commutation of death sentences in connection with the August disturbances of 1942. This is a graceful gesture in tune with his recent appeal to forget and forgive—a gesture that has been received by the public with a profound feeling of relief and satisfaction. For it is realised that it was not an easy step to take in the face of specific legal decisions. The Viceroy has doubtless been helped by the large volume of public opinion in favour of this step and his wise and courageous action in tempering justice with mercy has averted a situation which threatened a setback on the prospect of good relations between Britain and India. It was well known that the fate of the August prisoners was one of the main issues which engaged Gandhi in his talks and correspondence with the Viceroy. To him and to C. R. and others who have been unwearied in their efforts in this good cause, it would be no small comfort that their labours had not gone in vain.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## End of Lend Lease

THE sudden termination of the lend lease arrangements by the President of the United States has upset British calculations though it had been well understood that the arrangements were strictly a war time measure and would terminate with the war. Announcing the termination in Parliament Premier Attlee confessed that he "had not anticipated that operations under the Lend Lease Act would continue for any length of time after the defeat of Japan". His complaint was that the cessation was so sudden that it had caused a great deal of difficulty and complication. President Truman however did not think it necessary or expedient to consult the British Government before declaring the end of lend lease. It is considered to be an astute move to convince the American people that he was not being led by the nose by the British as some critics were alleging. 'It may also be due to a shrewd calculation that the USA will have a freer hand in coming to an agreement with Britain about post war arrangements'.

## Russo Chinese Treaty

The treaty between China and the Soviet Union provides for collaboration between the two countries to prevent a repetition of Japanese aggression. The Soviet Union is to render military and other assistance exclusively to the Central Government of China.

The treaty reaffirms respect for China's full sovereignty in the three eastern provinces. The trunk lines of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railways will be combined into one jointly owned and operated line, known as the Chinese Changchuan Railway, for a period of 30 years. Then it is to revert to China. The Chinese Government declares Dairen a free port. For 30 years Port Arthur will be a joint Chinese Russian naval base.

Generalissimo Stalin has given an assurance that after the Japanese capitulation, Russian forces will withdraw from Manchuria within three months.

## Trial of War Criminals

All leading Nazis now in custody, including Rudolph Hess, are named in the first list of war criminals to be tried before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

The announcement, issued simultaneously in Washington, London Paris and Moscow, gives the names of 21 leading Nazis, including Hess, Goering, Von Ribbentrop, and Ley.

Although no dates for trial have been fixed it is generally expected that they will begin early in October.

The announcement said investigations are going forward of the cases of other war criminals not included in the list.

The list is headed by Goering, Head of the German Air Force and one time number two Nazi. He is followed by Hess, former Deputy Fuehrer, who has been held prisoner in Britain since his mysterious flight across the North Sea in 1911. He was Hitler's closest friend and aide. Then comes Von Ribbentrop, the Nazi Foreign Minister, charged with being one of the chief fomentors of World War II.

## Parliament and the United Nations Charter

The House of Commons on August 23, approved the United Nations' Peace Charter without voting. Earlier it had been approved by the House of Lords.

The amendment, which was to have been moved by nine new Labour Members, was withdrawn. The amendment expressed the view that the security proposals contained in the Charter had been rendered inadequate by the atomic bomb, and suggested "the setting up of an international centre for the production of, and research on, atomic power."

## Sentence on Marshal Petain

General de Gaulle has commuted the death sentence of ex Marshal Petain, who will now serve a sentence of life imprisonment. Petain, who is in his 90th year, was sentenced to death "for intelligence with the enemy", the Court adding a strong recommendation for mercy.

**CHRISTIANITY CHALLENGES CAPITALISM**

By W M Ryburn Clarence Falk Fellow  
ship of Socialist Christians, Lahore

We are painfully aware of the grave inadequacies of capitalism which is slowly withering under the impact of socialism in our day. Now, the challenge to capitalism has come from Christianity and from the Christian angle, the socialist programme outlined in this stimulating pamphlet is bound to attract the attention of progressive Christians and Churchmen and will make them realise their duty to the compelling claim of the unprivileged and underprivileged in our acquisitive society which is based on monopoly and thrives on profit motive.

**RECONSTRUCTION IN POST-WAR INDIA.**

A Plan of Development all round.  
By Sir M Visvesvaraya The All India Manufacturers' Organisation. Bombay.

In this searching and highly suggestive pamphlet the author points out that the basic needs are a modern democratic constitution, some measure of social and economic security, effective future military defence and a vigorous drive towards a national status and towards the fostering of a progressively efficient population. Within a short compass this booklet endeavours to show the country's grave deficiencies and its wants and the results that are likely to accrue by following any particular reconstruction plan. It provides an excellent background for present day reconstruction problems from the social, political and economic angles.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**REFLECTIONS ON THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION** By Y G Krishnamurti Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd Bombay

**DIALOGUES FROM SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE** By F L Brayne Oxford University Press 4s each pamphlet

**SOVIET RUSSIA** By A R Williams The Socialist Literature Publishing Co., Gokulpura, Agra Rs 5 3

**VICTORY WHOSE?** By R C Joshi People's Publishing House, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4

**PRITVA** By Premnarayan Tendani Vidyamandir, Chowk Lucknow

**VISVASAMSKRITI** By Kahdas Kapur, Vidyamandir, Lucknow

**PROBLEMS OF GERMANY AND FUTURE PEACE** By Ram Singh The Vanguard, 30, Faiz Bazaar, Delhi

**BETTER VILLAGES** By F L Brayne Oxford University Press Madras Rs 2 4

**POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE** By Tarlok Singh Longmans Green & Co., Ltd Madras Rs 3 8

**ON BEAUTY** By K R Srinivasa Iyengar Padma Publications, Ltd Bombay

**OUR STANDARD OF LIVING** By M L Dautwala Padma Publication, Bombay

**INDO POLISH LIBRARY (1) The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939-41** By I E

(2) **AMERICA ON POLAND**, By Hon Alwin E Okonski, Padma Publications

**SEAFARERS ASHORE** (The British People—how they live and work) Thirty page booklet of—photographs and descriptive commentary Longmans Green & Co., Madras

**A A AND SERVICE ANNUAL 1941** A A & Service, Sunkurama Chetty Street Madras An attractively got up, 50 page annual with three art plates and a number of papers dealing with different phases of India's industrial economy Rs 1 8

**THE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN 188-1945** By R P. Aiyar and L S Bhandare National Youth Publications, Bombay.

**GENES FROM CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES** Collected by U U Bhat, National Youth Publications, Bombay 6 as

**THE NATIONAL FLAG** National Youth Publications, Bombay 4 as

**RADICAL DEMOCRACY** By Ellen Roy Modern Age Publications Navsari Chamber, Bombay

**REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH PLANNING COMMITTEE** Council of Scientific and Industrial Research Bureau of Information, New Delhi and Madras

**MY BELOVED ROMANCE IN LETTERS** By John Jvachin Carlson, Kitabistan Allahabad Rs 2 4

**MOTIVE FOR MURDER** By Florence Kilpatrick, Thacker & Co., Ltd, Bombay Rs 4 12

**I HAVE IT FROM GANDHI** By Homi J H. Tale yarkhan New Book Co., Ltd Bombay

**PEGGY THE PENGUIN** By Fat Sharpe Thacker & Co., Bombay Rs 2

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

—) O (—

August 1 End of Potsdam talks  
—Viceroy opens Conference of Governors in Delhi

August 2 President Truman meets King George on board *Tie Reno* "

August 3 Council of Foreign Ministers set up to prepare peace treaties

August 4 Mr Attlee completes his Cabinet Pethick Lawrence for India Office

August 5 Hiroshima atom bombed

August 6 Pherozshah centenary celebrations by Bombay and Madras Corporations

August 7 Labour Cabinet meets for the first time and prepares its programme

August 8 Russia declares war on Japan

August 9 Red air force over Korea

—Soviet troops cross the Manchurian border  
August 10 Japan offers to accept Potsdam terms for surrender

August 11 Nagasaki atom bombed

August 17 Paper control order amended  
—Bombay Press owners demand withdrawal of whole order

August 18 Death sentences on Kulasekara patnam case commuted

August 19 Hindu Mahasabha leaders renounce title in protest against Government policy

—Death sentence on Marshal Petain commuted by Gen de Gaulle

August 20 Japanese envoys leave Manila with instructions from Gen MacArthur

August 21 British Government invites Lord Wavell for consultations

August 22 Ban on Congress bodies lifted

—S r J Colville to act as Viceroy

August 23 Subhas Chandra Bose reported killed in an air crash

August 24 Lord Wavell leaves for London

August 25 The Government of Madras lift their ban on all Congress organisations

August 26 Russo Chinese agreement

August 2 Trial of Nazi war criminals begins at Nuremberg

August 28 General MacArthur lands in Okinawa

August 29 S r Froz Khan Noon resigns from the Viceroy's Executive Council

August 30 Allied fleet land in Tokyo and Allied army occupy the city

Dr G S ARUNDALE

August 12 Dr G S Arundale President Theosophical Society dead

—Sir N N Sircar dead

August 13 Congress President replies to Mr Jinnah's demand for publication of Wavell Azad letters

August 14 Japan surrenders

August 15 The Mikado broadcasts to his people for the first time

—Petain sentenced to death Court recommends non execution of the Marshal

August 16 Viceroy commutes sentences on Chimer—Ashti prisoners



THE LATE SIR N N SIRCAR

August 31 Allied forces enter Yokohama  
Surrender terms signed

—Text of Desai L aquat Pact published



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## INDIA'S INSOLUBLE HUNGER

John Fischer, who was in India during the great Bengal famine of 1943, gives a harrowing account of what he saw in Bengal, in the course of an article in *Harper's Magazine*. Mr Fischer holds that famines like that are inevitable so long as the population continues to crowd so heavily on the thin margin of subsistence. But to attribute all our woes to this "relentless fecundity" is no remedy. What he saw at the Howrah station in Calcutta is gruesome enough in all conscience, whatever the causes.

Then, as my eyes got accustomed to the stench, striking half light I saw that the floor was covered with huddled bodies, some wrapped in strips of dirty white cotton, most of them naked. They were crowded hip to hip, and as I picked my way toward the street, I couldn't help hopping on many of them. Only a few groaned or whimpered. Even the babies—and there were hundreds of them—lay lump and quiet apparently too weak to cry. And it was plain that some of those people on the station floor were dead, and had been dead for a long time.

That week, the writer goes on to say, the newly formed Municipal Corpse Disposal Squad removed 112 bodies from the streets, more—to this day nobody knows how many—were taken away by charitable organizations and private citizens, still others lay for days on the sidewalks and in gutters.

Though all these months the white Brahmin cattle wandered by the hundreds through the streets of Calcutta, no one ever ate a cow, no one ever dreamed of it. I never heard of a Bengalee Hindu who would not perish with all his family rather than taste meat. Nor was there any violence. No grocery stall, no rice warehouse, none of the wealthy clubs or restaurants ever was threatened by a hungry mob. The Bengalees just died with that bottomless decency which to us, Americans, is the most shocking thing about India.

How many died? No one, of course really knows. When Lord Wavell set the army to distributing food, the *Statesman* was estimating the deaths at 10,000 a week. The official figures were lower, calculations by private agencies were

higher. None pretended to be entirely accurate or complete.

After comparing many different estimates, my own guess—and I believe it to be conservative—is that the 1943 famine, plus the epidemics of malaria, smallpox, dysentery, and dengue fever, which followed in its train, probably wiped out about three million people.

What is the way out? He met scores of officials from the Viceroy's staff down to the local tax collectors, without finding one who thought he could see a way out. Everywhere he saw

a kind of tacit confession of imperial bankruptcy. The surest indication that British rule in India is not likely to survive much longer, it seems to me, lies in this failure to face up to the essential tasks of Government. They are merely ineffectual, they lack confidence in themselves, they hold out no real hope that they can improve the lot of the average Indian, and such governments seldom hang on long.

## STATES AND FUTURE CONSTITUTION

A claim that the Indian States have not only earned a place for themselves in the Indian body politic, but have in some measure become pathfinders of the future, is advanced by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, in an article in the *Commonwealth and Empire Review*.

Sardar Panikkar says that though the actual achievement of the States is sufficient warrant for the belief that their position in any political scheme is assured, it is the way they adjust themselves to changed industrial, economic and social conditions in the future that will mark their importance and usefulness.

Sardar Panikkar admits that in a vast majority of States, the problem of adjustment of personal rule with association of people has not yet been seriously tackled and adds "It is only to be expected that pressure from public opinion will be increasingly felt when the war is over and the States which have so far been satisfied with the personal form of rule may, by force of circumstances, be compelled to adjust their forms of government to more modern and progressive conceptions."

The only thing is that property should not be private. If the State controls it, everything is quite all right. Tolstoy most emphatically believed that the poor are blessed. The communist knows that the poor are wretched. Tolstoy believed that the poor will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. The communist is quite willing to let the Kingdom of Heaven alone. His sole concern is with the lower kingdom of earth. And he is quite sure that the poor will inherit the Kingdom of Earth—this kingdom is for the proletariat.

And then, what is the communist's attitude to violence? Obviously not Tolstoy's.

The communist is for defeating the bourgeoisie in the class war by fair or foul means. They resort to violence. The communist hates wars only when they are imperialist wars. Tolstoy hates wars imperialist and all. That is why he was against all revolutionaries. He did not like even Chaykovski's movement for elementary socialism. He was so much against violence that he became a good vegetarian in his last days.

Tolstoy disliked all human institutions. The supreme example of a human institution is the State and Tolstoy hated all States.

He hated all law. He hated all organized movements. He believed in extreme individualism. He never concerned himself with public affairs. He used to boast that he never read newspapers. He was for leaving the individual to himself. He was an anarchist—he denounced governments, he denounced trade, property, custom law. The communist is for the State ownership of property. Tolstoy believes neither in the State nor in property. Communism is extreme collectivism. Tolstoy is for extreme individualism. Communism is all for organisations. Tolstoy is all for anarchy.

### THE INDIAN HOME

The Roman-Urdu Edition of the Indian Home is an attractively got up monthly specially designed for the benefit of Indian Service men at home and abroad and for their family. It has just completed one year of its useful service and the annual number that is to hand has a number of items of varied interest. It contains civic and social information, helpful articles on village uplift, rehabilitation of troops, hygiene, child welfare, domestic hints, wholesome and amusing entertainment. There is in this magazine something of particular interest to every member of the family.

The magazine is published by Mr Mohan V. Raj, M.A., B.Sc. (Mun.), for Indian Home Publications, Ltd., Bombay. The editors, Miss Shanta Wagle and Mrs. Shaila Wilson, deserve congratulations on their novel and attractive venture.

### PIGEONS AND THE WAR

Pigeons are serving in every branch of the armed services—the Army, Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard, in airplanes and in submarines. They are also faithfully serving the FBI, helping to apprehend enemy agents, says a writer in the *American Mercury*.

"Training for an Army pigeon begins at the age of about four weeks. The bird is first introduced into the spotless loft with all compartments closed except the one that the pigeoneer wants the newcomer to occupy. Once the pigeon has made a choice, he abides by that and no one can move him. In the first stage of the training the pigeon is taken a few feet from the loft, while the Army pigeoneer inside rattles a tin cup full of grain. This is repeated until the association between food and loft becomes indelibly fixed. By the end of a week, the young pigeon will fly back to its loft from a five mile distance. On entrance to the loft it is immediately fed, for the pigeoneer is constantly trying to strengthen the automatic association of the loft and food. As the training proceeds, the pigeons are taken distances of more than 100 miles from the loft and released.

The next step is to train the pigeon to return to an ambulatory loft. When the pigeon is released, his motorized home may be ten or fifteen miles from its original site. A pigeon does not require a stationary loft, but he does need sufficiently distinguishing characteristics to recognize it.

Later his mate is introduced. It does not take long—there is no competition—for the male to discover that this is the female he has dreamed about all his life. The really vigorous training begins after mating, for the pigeons are exceptionally devoted parents. They cannot rush back sufficiently fast to see how their squabs are doing. At this stage, they may be sent out on flights of 500 to 1,000 miles."

## THE SIMLA FAILURE

Under the heading "Failure Again in India," Uma Shankar, an Indian journalist, now in the United States, writes in the American Liberal magazine *The Nation* 'It would be completely false to say that the Simla Conference broke down because Indians could not agree. In fact the vast majority of Indians at least as represented by the acknowledged leaders of various parties did agree.

The British had good reasons for letting Mr. M. A. Jinnah, wreck their scheme besides their traditional policy of playing off one section against another. The Muslim League is a reactionary force representing landed interests.

One reason why the British may be supporting Mr. Jinnah is the desire to gain favour with reactionary Muslim elements in the Middle East where they wish to lock out possible Soviet influence. At least that reason may be advanced if any member of the British Cabinet questions why Mr. Jinnah was allowed to exercise so much power.

Regardless of the nature of the British Government and within the frame of the Wavell offer, action is possible without injustice to Mr. Jinnah's claims. If elections were now held it would be possible to form some estimate of the relative strength of the various parties and to judge Mr. Jinnah's claims. The plea that war makes elections impossible does not hold water. For all practical purposes, England is just as close to war as India.

"Uma Shankar, the API learns, is the pen name of Uma Shankar Bajpai, son of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Agent General for India in Washington.

## GANDHIJI'S DAILY ROUTINE

Mr. K. Rama Rao has given a vivid account of the daily routine of Mahatma Gandhi. Here are a few items.

Mahatma Gandhi's 'wardrobe' consists of six pieces of cloth, three loin clothes, and three chaddars (upper clothes), the chaddar serving as shirt and blanket in one. An extra pair is kept for use in an emergency.

He bathes in warm water always. No soap is used. He has first a massage with oil and lime juice mixed. Another massage in the bath with a piece of rough cloth and the whole body becomes perfectly clean.

He shaves himself with a safety razor without, however, a mirror before him, with the result that at times some small islands of unmown hair are left over for the next operation. An occasional hair cut is performed by one of the Ashramites.

Gandhi's reading is select rather than vast. His main concern now is the Constructive Programme, and he reads all the literature that comes to his hand, bearing on the subject concerned. Three books he was recently reading were on *Tridoshi* (Ayurvedic), the second on *Rashtra Bhasha* (common language for India), and a third on the cow and cattle wealth of India. In jail his reading was extensive. He read half of Shakespeare and a good deal of Bernard Shaw. Mira Ben put Browning in his hands and he liked *The Grammarian's Funeral* and *Rabbi Ben Ezra* most. He made such an intensive study of Marx's *Das Capital* that to day he can give points to sworn Communists.



# INDIAN STATES

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## Hyderabad

### FOOD POSITION IN HYDERABAD

Mr C A G Savidge, Revenue Member giving an account of the food situation in the Nizam's State at a press conference said that the Government aimed at building up a buffer stock of 100 000 tons of grains. To meet all requirements, including commitments made in the Government of India last year, the State would require 180 000 tons up to the end of December provided the prospects of the present kharif and abii crops come up to expectations.

Rationing had been introduced in nine towns and Government was trying to devise a really good rationing system wherein there will be no inequality—a system that will be as fair and as easy as possible.

The satisfactory rice position has made it possible to increase the rice ration while the quota of 12 000 tons of wheat allotted by the Government of India has materially improved the wheat situation which was not quite strong owing to the decrease in acreage.

### HYDERABAD'S NEW PORTFOLIO

A *firman* issued last month by the Nizam announces that Nawab Liaquat Jung, Officiating Finance Member will continue to be a member of the Executive Council holding a new portfolio of Arts and Crafts after handing over charge of Finance to Mr Zahid Hussain who is expected to arrive in Hyderabad this month.

The Nizam expresses the hope that the creation of a separate portfolio for Arts and Crafts, hitherto included in the Public Works portfolio, will further facilitate the work of the Council.

A subsequent *firman* issued by H E H the Nizam announces the appointment of Nawab Liaquat Jung Bahadur as Commerce and Industries Member in recognition of the loyal and faithful services rendered by him.

## Baroda

### BARODA PLANNING AHEAD

In furtherance of the creation of a separate Ministry for post war planning, His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has constituted a Board of Industrial Advice for general industrial development, as well as for post war planning, with certain outstanding industrialists in British India to serve on this Board. The undermentioned gentlemen have agreed to work on this Board —

Sir Homi Mehta, Chairman, Sir Sultan Chinoy, Dr John Matthai, Mr Tulsidas Kilachand and Mr M C Ghia.

Raja Ratna S V Mukerjee, Member of Post war Development, will be ex officio Member of this Board with Mr R S Kanungo, Chief Secretary to the Government, as the Convener.

### BARODA BUDGET

Several cut motions were taken up on the last day of the Baroda Legislative Assembly budget session, but on the Government members agreeing to remove genuine grievances or enlightening the House with the correct situation, all of them one after another, were dropped.

Mr B G Desai brought to the notice of the Assembly an error in the method of the presentation of the budget. His objection was upheld by the Speaker and the House was told that, in future, it would be strictly regularised.

Mr C G Vakharia asked for more grants for the archaeological institution and better facilities for the post graduate studies at the Baroda College and an advisory bureau for students.

After an explanatory statement given by the Law Member, the budget was put to the vote and carried without a single dissentient vote.

## Mysore

### NEW COLLEGE IN BANGALORE

Dewan Bahadur P Mahadevaiah declared open an Intermediate College known as "Basappa Intermediate College", started by the Veerasaiva Educational Society of Bangalore

This college, is the outcome of private initiative and Messrs Basappa, N Rudraiah and Kenchappa have donated Rs 40 000, Rs 10 000 and Rs 5,000 respectively besides others, who have donated liberal sums To begin with, the college has started with provision for study of Physics Chemistry and Mathematics

It might be mentioned here that repeated representations were made on the floor of the State Legislature for increasing the number of colleges in the State and Government members, who explained Government's policy in this regard had observed that private initiative was necessary for progress in this direction

### KOLAR GOLD FIELDS

The Kolar Gold Fields in the Mysore State contain some of the deepest gold mines in the world, producing almost the entire output of the precious metal in India Over 20 million ounces of gold, valued at over £102 millions, have been produced from the gold fields since the commencement of mining operations to the end of 1943

## Cochin

### COCHIN BUDGET

According to the Budget estimates of the Cochin Government, presented to the Standing Finance Committee, for the next financial year 1121 ME, the receipts are anticipated to be Rs 262 82 lakhs and expenditure Rs 255 20 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs 7 62 lakhs This surplus does not take into calculation the substantial increase of Rs 32 lakhs expected to be brought in by the Excise auction sales Therefore the net surplus may be expected to stand at Rs 40 lakhs

## Travancore

### TRAVANCORE RESERVOIR SCHEME

The immense possibilities for growing sugarcane, tobacco and mulberry besides paddy that would open out as a result of the successful working of the scheme were indicated by Sachivotthama Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, laying the foundation stone of the Perunchani Reservoir Scheme

The scheme is to be an extension of the existing Kodayar Irrigation Project, the only one of its kind in the whole of Travancore Situated about 18 miles from Nagercoil and set in the midst of most beautiful surroundings of natural scenery and wild jungle, the site of the proposed scheme is a few hundreds of feet above the historic Pandiyan Dam The major river coursing through this area is the Paralayar, which after its confluence with Kodayar becomes the Southern Tambraparni

### ABOLITION OF TOLLS

The Government of Travancore have decided to abolish all tolls in the State and levy instead a tax on vehicles, as is done in British India and some Indian States, with effect from the coming Malayalam year Making the announcement at Sri Mulam Assembly, the Dewan President, Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, said that the vehicle tax was expected to be about 75 per cent of the Madras rates Municipal tolls would also be abolished and any claims for compensation would be considered and decided on the merits of each case

### EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

By 52 votes to 9, 3 remaining neutral, the Sri Mulam assembly recommended to the Government to take immediate steps to absorb all private managed primary schools in the State under the management of the Government.

## Gwalior

### CHILD EDUCATION IN GWALIOR

"It is a matter of deep regret that the important question of child education is not receiving the serious attention it deserves. The small child is akin to a growing plant which, if not properly looked after, is affected by unharmonious environments", observed Her Highness the Maharani Scindia, while performing the opening ceremony of the Montessori school in Gwalior recently.

Her Highness continued. The pre-school education of a child is more important than that of a grown up boy because the growth of his mental faculties begins at this tender age. A child's mind readily receives impressions of whatever action is performed exactly in the way as does the open lens of a camera. Whatever type of education the child receives, forms at a later stage the foundation of his character and reveals the truth of the axiom. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.

Remarking that a mother's lap serves as a primary school for her child's education, Her Highness advised mothers and teachers to handle children with extreme patience and care. She expressed concern at the existing low percentage of mothers who really appreciated the importance of pre school education of a child, and said that the present regrettable lack of good education among women was largely responsible for that low figure.

## Rajkot

### RAJKOT POST-WAR PLAN

Rajkot State has a post war programme for the development of irrigation since agriculture here, as elsewhere, is a gamble with the monsoon. The authorities have placed orders for plants for implementing the scheme to grow more food crops. It is stated that the scheme has received the approval of Sir William Stampe Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India.

## Eastern States

### JOINT HIGH COURT FOR E STATES

Thirty nine States of the Eastern States Agency are understood to have joined the scheme for a joint high court for the agency. The affairs of the court, according to the Eastern States Publicity Bureau, will be controlled by a board of control, consisting of six representatives of the States, elected every three years, and one political officer as the representative of the managed States. The contribution of the States will be fixed on the revenue basis. The prerogative of mercy will be vested in the Rulers.

## Kashmir

### KASHMIR CONFERENCE

The sixth annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference ended at dawn on August 6, after a night long stormy debate over the resolution regarding the right of self determination for nationalities. The resolution was carried by 159 votes to 83, the opposition staging a walk out.

The resolution suggested to the Congress to reexamine the Hindu Muslim question in a spirit of self analysis and work out a concrete formula of its own which may "allay the suspicions of majority domination".

## Bhopal

### SIR J BHORE APPOINTED PREMIER

Following the retirement from the State service of Raja Sir Audharnarain Bisaryya, H H the Nawab of Bhopal has appointed Sir Joseph Bhore, KCSI, KCIE, to be Prime Minister of Bhopal and President of the State Council of Ministers.

Sir Joseph was sworn in on August 2 by the Chief Justice of Bhopal.

## Chamber of Princes

### MR K V ANANTARAMAN

Rajamantra Pravina K V Anantaraman, till recently First Member of Council, Mysore, has been appointed Director, Major States' Committee, Chamber of Princes.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## Indians in S. Africa

The Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa gives some figures about the Asiatic population in the Union which are of great interest to us in this country. According to the last census taken in South Africa there were 219 621 Asiatics living in that country. Of these 36 234 were born in India, 1 648 were born in China and 146 were born in Japan. The overwhelming majority of course were born in the Union.

In fact the number of Indians in the Union who are actually born in India is shrinking all the time. This is accounted for by a natural decrease—*ie* by the death of immigrants who went to the Union before 1910—and by the fact that immigration has been on a comparatively small scale ever since.

Of the total number of Asiatics enumerated nearly 82 per cent were South African subjects and some 16 per cent British Indian subjects.

## U.S.A.

### U.S. AID FOR FAMINE RELIEF

Ten American societies have offered to help raise a fund of 12 00 000 dollars for relief of the famine-stricken areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mr. Gilbert White, Executive Secretary for American Relief for India, announced recently.

Mr. White said that appeals had been sent to community chests and war fund organisations of principal cities throughout the United States and replies promising help came from Chicago, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Gary and Muncie in Indiana, Oil City in Pennsylvania, Jonesboro in Arkansas, Hamilton in Ohio and Olympia in Washington State. Tentative commitments also were received from several other cities.

The money will be used principally for purchase of food to supplement diet, drugs and medical supplies which will be shipped to Calcutta by the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee.

## Kenya

### STATUS OF INDIANS IN KENYA

The Kenya Government's scheme for the reorganisation of the administration of Kenya is 'entirely unacceptable as it aims at reducing Indian subjects in Kenya to political servitude and at bringing about their ultimate economic destruction,' says Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, in a communication to the Department of Commonwealth Relations, Government of India.

Sir Rahimtoola says that the proposal 'is a sinister move on the part of the Government of Kenya to make it impossible for Indian subjects to live as a self-respecting people in that Colony. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government of India to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of Kenya to see the justice of the Indian cause and to force them to withdraw these proposals forthwith.'

In another communication to the Government Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy refers to the assurance of the Kenya Government to the India Government regarding the temporary nature of the regulations about the entry into the colony of non-natives and says that so far as the Association was aware, the Government of Kenya had no intention whatsoever either of rescinding or relaxing the immigration regulations against the entry of Indians. Sir Rahimtoola requests the Government of India to make known the step it proposes to take to protect the legitimate rights of Indians to enter Kenya after the war emergency is over.

## England

### SOCIAL CENTRE FOR INDIANS

Indians in London have opened their own social centre. The first of its kind in England, it is situated at Irving Street, Leicester Square. The centre has been convened by a number of Indian business men in London.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### THE VICEROY'S MOVE

A press note issued on August 21 on Lord Wavell's visit to London said His Majesty's Government has invited His Excellency the Viceroy to visit London as soon as possible for consultations and His Excellency has accepted the invitation.

The Viceroy left for London on August 24. The press note announcing the decision to hold general elections stated:

'General elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures are long overdue and the Governor General has decided after consultation with His Majesty's Government and the Provincial Governors that they must now be held as soon as possible.

The Central Assembly will, therefore, be left to expire on the 1st October, and the general election for that Chamber will be completed in time for the new members to take their seats at the Budget Session of 1946. The electoral rolls for the Council of State are not ready, and the life of that Chamber will, therefore, be further extended to 1st May, 1946 with a view to the holding of a general election as soon as may be after that date.

"In the circumstances, the Governor General will not summon session of either of the two Chambers this autumn.

### KING'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

The King in his speech from the throne on the opening of Parliament on August 16, made this reference to India: 'In accordance with the promises already made to my Indian peoples, my Government will do their utmost to promote, in connection with the leaders of Indian opinion, early realisation of full self government in India.'

### DESAI-LIAQAT PACT

The following is the text of the Desai-Liaquat Pact:

The Congress and League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government on the following lines:

(a) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature. Persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

(b) Representatives of minorities (in particular Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs).

(c) The Commander in Chief.

The Government will be formed and function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act. It is, however, understood that if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly, they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor General or the Viceroy.

It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members.

The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course:

On the basis of the above understanding, some way should be found to get the Governor General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor General invites Mr Jinnah and Mr Desai either jointly or separately. The above proposals would be made *desiring* that they are prepared to join in forming the Government.

# Utterances of the Day

## PANDIT NEHRU ON THE SITUATION

"I am prepared to take all responsibility for the happenings of 1942, because I am responsible for creating those conditions in the country" declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing one of the largest rallies in recent years in the Gandhi ground Delhi, on August 29

Pandit Nehru in his 90 minute speech spoke of the 1942 Movement and said that it was true that the movement was not started by any Congress declaration but when all the leaders were arrested over night the masses could not tolerate it. The people took it to be an attack on the independence of the country. They had only two alternatives—either to submit to the Government or to take the challenge. He was glad and proud of the movement which followed. He would have felt very sorry if the country had not taken up the challenge. The movement was responsible for creating a new spirit in the country.

Pandit Nehru said they were passing through an age of great revolutions. In this atomic bomb age, he said the demand for Pakistan was a hoarse and meaningless cry. At this time, the question was not how to divide the country but how to draw several countries together in order to defend themselves against great powers. In this age small countries had no place. He said that nobody, not even Mr Jinnah, had defined Pakistan. He referred to the speech of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in which he had clarified the self determination clause. The Congress made its position clear that if any part of India wanted to break away nobody could stop it forcibly. But in the Punjab he said, Pakistan raised a complex question. How could a vast number of Sikhs and Hindus live in Pakistan? Similar was the case in Bengal.

## SARDAR ON CONGRESS & LEAGUE

The view that all issues pending between the League and the Congress were capable of being easily settled by arbitration and that they constituted no insuperable obstacle in the way of the attainment of India's independence was expressed by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, addressing a recent gathering.

It was easy to create quarrels, but difficult to reconcile hostile parties. If he were given power to rule over Britain declared the Sardar, he could produce wars among England, Scotland and Wales. The British Government had been repeating that a Hindu Muslim settlement was their responsibility. Nobody invited them to shoulder this responsibility.

The world was not bankrupt of people with impartiality and a sense of justice. It should not, therefore, be difficult to arrange for all outstanding issues between the League and the Congress to be settled by arbitration. But as far as the Congress was concerned, it was not prepared to go knocking at the doors of the Government or the League. The position of Mahatma Gandhi was apparent. He was like an ocean in his generosity. He would go to the door of anyone who called him. But, said the Sardar, his own personal opinion was that while the Congress need not close its doors to any offer, it should not make any further offers. It had done enough.

In this connection he referred to certain fears that the Congress was going too far in placating the League. The Congress stood for justice and it would be willing to give to each party what was justly its due but no more. The Congress did not even insist on anybody to accept its own standard of justice. When there could be no agreement on any question, it was easy to settle such matters by arbitration.

## MR GANDHI'S OFFER TO MR JINNAH

I said and I repeat now that my offer to Mr Jinnah was not in the nature of a bargain. It was my settled conviction though originally received from Rajaji said Gandhiji in an interview to the Nagpur correspondent of the *Hindu* replying to the question whether his offer to Mr Jinnah made in September last year stood

Gandhiji added, I am not in the habit of deriving anything from anybody however great he is unless I can appropriate and assimilate it for myself. Therefore even if Rajaji went back on that formula I shall stick to it so long as I retain my sanity. I hold it to be substantial and also directly derivable from the Congress resolutions and immediately from the resolution of August 8, 1942. Only I have given it a concrete shape.

## HINDU MAHASABHA PROTESTS

The All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two day session at Delhi on August 19 after adopting their main political resolution without any amendment. The resolution declared that a Constituent Assembly based on separate electorates was unacceptable\* that the Communal Award should go and that the party principle in the Wavell formula was pernicious\*. The Committee also passed a number of resolutions condemning the continuance of Section 93 in Bengal, assuring the Mahasabhas support to the Arya Samaj for any movement that is launched against the banning of the *Satyarth Prakash* and expressing concern at the impending unemployment of millions of Indian men and women due to demobilisation.

Prominent leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha have decided to renounce their titles in protest against what they describe as the Government's increasingly hostile attitude towards the legitimate rights of Hindus\*. Their decision is in accordance with a resolution passed by the Working Committee and the All India Committee of the Mahasabha at Delhi on August 18.

Dr Sir Gokulchand Narang speaking at the All India Committee, announced that he had decided to give up his title. Later the President Dr Shyamaprasad Mukherjee stated that Raja Maheswar Dhayal Seth of the United Provinces and Rai Bahadur Harischandra of Delhi had declared their intention to renounce their titles.

## BAN ON CONGRESS BODIES LIFTED

Following the official announcement that General Elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be held as soon as possible the Governments of Bombay, United Provinces and Bihar and subsequently other provinces have removed the ban on the All India Congress Committee and all other Congress organisations in their provinces.

The Government of Bengal has also decided to remove the ban on the A I C C and all other Congress organisations in the province.

## SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON

A *communiqué* says The Hon Sir Firoz Khan Noon K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., has informed the Governor General that he wishes to resign from the Executive Council on 15th September 1945 in order that he may return to party politics. The Governor General has accepted his resignation.

Sir Firoz Khan has joined the Muslim League.

It is learnt that since the Defence and Civil Defence Portfolios were created purely as a war time measure, no new member will be appointed in Sir Firoz Khan Noon's place.

# Educational

## ADMISSIONS TO SCHOOLS

Excess admissions to schools up to a limit of 10 per cent of the strength of each class have been sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction Madras. Also, in some of Government colleges, specific provision has been made for increased admissions. These arrangements are described in a Press communique issued by the Government of Madras.

Referring to the lack of accommodation in colleges for the numbers seeking admission the Government point out that the root of the problem goes down to secondary schools, and set forth proposals to reorganise secondary education.

## POST-WAR EDUCATION

A scheme estimated to cost rupees one crore during the first five years has been prepared by Justice W R Puranik Vice-chancellor of the Nagpur University.

Through this scheme Justice Puranik proposes to develop the university post graduate teaching and research under its direct management fulfilling its own highest academic aspirations on one hand while making its contribution to the solution of the urgent problems of the community on the other.

The main items in the scheme are (1) extension of the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology (2) construction of a library building and increase of books (3) construction of a gymnasium and sports pavilion (4) hostels for boys and girls and quarters for professors and (5) establishment of a 'Translation Bureau' which will adapt a vocabulary of the languages of the province for this purpose.

Justice Puranik points out that in this scheme he does not take consideration of

the establishment of colleges of medicine, veterinary science and agriculture and animal husbandry, engineering or expansion of the colleges of science and agriculture and certain other colleges at Jabulpore and Amraoti as financial requirements of these institutions were being dealt as part of departmental plans of the Government.

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN TRAINING

The Government of India have made their final selection of candidates for the award of Madras Government scholarships for technical training abroad.

Out of a list of 106 candidates sent up by the Government of Madras, it is understood that 49 candidates have been selected. An official communication is expected to be sent to them soon individually intimating that they should keep themselves in readiness to start at short notice.

It is further understood that eight candidates have been selected from the Madras list for award of Government of India scholarships for foreign training.

## ANDHRA LAW COLLEGE

The Hon Mr Justice P V Rajamannar of the Madras High Court, inaugurated the Andhra Law College at Masulipatam in the presence of a large gathering. Mr L Subba Rao, acting Vice-Chancellor presided.

The Vice-Chancellor described the progress of the scheme to start the College and its realisation and thanked the Judge for his help in this connexion.

Inaugurating the College, Mr Justice Rajamannar explained the ideals of the art of law and promised his help to the college in the future.



## CHIMUR AND ASHTI PRISONERS

The death sentences on the seven Chimur and Ashti Case prisoners have been commuted to transportation for life by the Governor General

The seven accused in the Chimur and Ashti case were sentenced to death in connexion with incidents in Chimur and Ashti villages, in the Central Provinces during the 1942 disturbances. The sentences were to have been carried out in March last when a postponement was secured for submitting a mercy petition to the King. The King rejected the petition whereupon Mr Gandhi intervened on their behalf. Another attempt was made to save the lives of the condemned men by a *Habeas Corpus* application which was rejected by the Nagpur High Court in May last. An attempt was made to take the matter before the Privy Council which refused to grant leave to appeal. Mr Gandhi immediately wrote to the Viceroy urging commutation of the sentences.

## KULASEKARAPATNAM PRISONERS

In addition to the above the death sentences on prisoners involved in the Fatwa Jawnpur, and Kulasekarapatnam Cases have also been commuted by the Governor General.

In the Kulasekarapatnam Rioting Case Kasirajan and Rajagopalan were charged with rioting and murder during the August 1942 disturbances.

Rajagopalan and Kasirajan were sentenced to death in connection with the raid on a salt factory at Kulasekarapatnam on September 20 1942 resulting in the death of an Excise official in charge of the factory.

Twenty two persons were put up before the Special Judge of Tinnevely for trial under the provisions of Ordinance No II of 1942 on charges of rioting murder etc. Several of them were convicted of various offences while the two prisoners were convicted of the offence of murder, among others and sentenced to death.

The High Court dismissed their appeal. The matter was taken up to the Federal Court who confirmed the sentence of death by a majority decision. Varadachari J dissenting. An application was then made to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal but it was dismissed. H E the Governor of Madras and the Governor General were then moved for mercy to the condemned prisoners.

## SOLDIERS WHO JOINED ENEMY

The Government of India have decided to treat with mercy and generosity the rank and file of those soldiers who yielded to pressure and who were so misguided as to join the forces raised by the enemy. says a press communique. But they will allow the law to take its course and will try by Court Martial the leaders and those who are guilty of particularly heinous crimes.

The communique says that the offence of going over to the enemy and fighting against his former comrade is the most serious offence that a soldier can commit. It is punishable with death by the laws of almost all countries and those who have committed this offence and been recaptured can claim no rights as belligerents or prisoners of war.

The Government of India feels, however, that allowance must be made for the circumstances in which the rank and file found themselves placed after their capture. From that date they were in no position to learn the truth of the progress of the war or to hear any news but false and propagandist Japanese or German reports. Some of them were misled by this propaganda or gave way to pressure or the desire for better treatment and joined the enemy with no motives beyond an immediate improvement in their living conditions. Those men therefore who seem to have been merely misguided—and they are the majority—will be treated with clemency.

## INSURANCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Insurance Central Advisory Committee was held at 'Dare House', Madras on August 17. Sir Azzul Haque, Commerce Member to the Government of India, presiding.

The Committee discussed the report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate certain trends and undesirable features found in the managements of Insurance Companies in India and to suggest measures for removing the abuses found. The Committee came to certain tentative conclusions after discussion and the same would be considered by the Government before giving effect to the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee. After disposing of certain routine items the meeting terminated.

Among the important subjects considered by the Committee were questions regarding restriction of investments by insurance companies, the voting rights of share holders and the formula put forward by the Superintendent of Insurance (Mr L. S. Vaidyanathan), for limiting expenses of insurance companies.

At a dinner given the same night by insurance companies in Madras, to Mr L. S. Vaidyanathan at the Cosmopolitan Club, Mr Vaidyanathan explained the scope of his formula for limiting expenses and how such limitation would help the healthy growth of insurance companies. He gave an account, in this connection of the legislation undertaken in New York City where conditions similar to those prevailing in India existed before the legislative measures were enacted.

## WAR RISK INSURANCE

A press note says that in view of the cessation of hostilities with Japan, the War Risk Factories Insurance Scheme will be withdrawn from the first of next month and the War Risk (goods) Insurance Scheme from first of October.

## SOCIAL INSURANCE FOR SEAMEN

The *ad hoc* Advisory Committee constituted by the Government of India to consider the question of improving the conditions of Indian seamen generally, is expected to discuss at its first meeting, to be held in New Delhi on August 4, the question of evolving a social insurance scheme for the seamen employed in coastal and foreign going ships registered in India, as well as in foreign countries.

The formation of a suitable permanent machinery, for advising Government on maritime labour problems and directly dealing with all matters concerning ship-owners and seamen, will be another subject for discussion. The question of setting up either a national maritime board or a tripartite conference will be considered in this connection.

Other subjects that will be considered are regulation of hours of work of Indian seamen, recruitment, holidays with pay and clothing for seamen.

## THE JUPITER INSURANCE CO

'We, as Indians and as members of the business community, owe a duty to ourselves and to the community to show that we can make money and make profits not at the expense of others, but by adding to the common prosperity of the country,' observed Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., D.Litt., Bar at Law on the occasion of meeting members staff, agents and field workers of the Jupiter General Insurance Company, the management of which he has taken over as its new Chairman. Mr. J. C. Thakkar, the outgoing Chairman, presided.

Mr. E. S. Joel, the General Manager of the Company, welcoming Dr. Chettiar, observed that it was a happy augury for the Company, which is the second largest composite insurance office in India, that so eminent a captain of industry as Dr. Chettiar would be at its helm.

## INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS DELEGATION

The Indian Industrialists Delegation, which recently toured the United Kingdom and the United States, has not placed any orders for heavy machinery or other industrial equipment in either country. This was revealed recently at a Press Conference held by Mr Tata and Mr A D Shroff, members of the Delegation.

Mr Shroff explained that this was because so far as the United States was concerned, they had no dollars with which to pay for any purchases and in England they did not see any good 'bargains'.

At the outset, Mr Tata said that a fuller statement of the views and the general impressions of the Delegation as a whole would be issued after all its members had returned to India. This would be by the middle of this month when Mr G D Birla and Mr N R Sarker are expected to return.

## LEND LEASE AID TO INDIA

The total Lease Lend Shipment to India to the end of June, 1945, amounted to 2,033,385,000 dollars, according to the report on Lend Lease operations upto June 1945 submitted by President Truman to Congress. By means of this aid, the United States helped to relieve many of India's needs and strengthened the striking power of the Allied forces in the farflung China Burma India theatre, the report declared.

The major share of these shipments was munitions. Aircraft represented one quarter

of the dollar value of all Lend Lease material sent to India tanks and vehicles amounted to more than 20 per cent and ordinance 12 per cent.

After pointing out that India in reverse Lend Lease has given aid to America to the extent of 516,713,000 dollars, the report says "India's ports have proved extremely valuable, for example, in movements of war materials like jute and mica under reverse Lend Lease for war plants in the United States."

Under reverse Lend Lease, India produced these strategic materials, transported them to shipside and provided loading facilities. United States under Lend Lease provided hauling and transportation equipment. United States also supplied large quantities of tyre making materials to enable Indian plants to produce tyres for military vehicles.

## CAPITAL GOODS FOR INDIA

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member Government of India, who recently returned from a mission to the United Kingdom and United States mainly for securing capital goods and expert assistance and to have talks with His Majesty's Government on the question of elimination of the Commercial Safeguards clauses from the Government of India Act, 1935, told Press Correspondents recently that it might take two years and more before India could get imports of capital goods from the United Kingdom. From USA deliveries might be earlier.

In regard to Commercial Safeguards, Sir Ardeshir said that organised bodies of British industrialists were not prepared for any radical change in the safeguards provided for in the Act at present. They would like to consider the question in the context of the larger constitutional issue.

## WOMEN MPs

There were 14 women in the last Parliament and in this one there are a couple of dozen. Not much of an increase perhaps but the swing to the Left in women's representation is as marked as that of the General Election comments a writer in *Daily Herald*

Eight of the 14 last time were Tories. Two of them (Lady Astor and Mrs. Beatrice Wright) retired. Five of the others were knocked out. The only one to retain her seat was Lady Davidson at Hemel Hempstead.

All Labour women MPs except Mrs. Agnes Hardie, who has retired, fought victorious defensive actions. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Dr. Edith Summerskill and Mrs. Jennie Adamson. Lady Megan Lloyd George remained as a Liberal and the fate of Miss Eleanor Rathbone as a University member has still to be announced. The new women MPs are all Labour.

### MRS SAROJINI'S REMINDER TO LORD LAWRENCE

"Lord Wavell's sudden summons to London naturally presupposes a desire on the part of the Socialist Government of England to make a new offer or a new paraphrase of the old rejected offer to the people of India," says Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in an interview.

Mrs. Naidu adds: "But however complex and difficult our domestic problems be, India is no longer in a mood to consider fresh versions of the stale and too familiar phrases—'self government' or 'Dominion status'. She demands and can accept

nothing less than full independence, with all its far-reaching and intricate implications."

May I venture to remind Lord Pethick Lawrence that he and his distinguished wife, both old and valued friends of mine, have always proved in precept and practice their unwavering fidelity to the basic principles of equality and freedom. In this crucial hour of human history, there is an unequalled opportunity for the Secretary of State for India to rise to a height of wise and courageous statesmanship and make a splendid affirmation of his own avowed ideals on behalf of India's independence.

Concluding, Mrs. Naidu says: "Free and friendly India would be an invaluable asset to Britain in rebuilding the ruined world. Unhappy and rebellious India in subjection would be an indictment of Britain's moral failure and spiritual defeat."

### MUSLIM LADIES AS NURSES

A strong plea to the Muslim ladies to come forward to take up training as nurses has been put forward by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, in a statement to the Orient Press. Sir Ziauddin points out that while in England there is one nurse for every 300 persons, there is only one Muslim nurse for every five lakhs of Muslim population in India. He further states that the proposed Medical College at Aligarh will have an institute for training nurses as an integral part of the College. The estimated cost of the Institute, he says, will be Rs. 10 lakhs, the major portion of which will be utilised for providing stipends for food and clothing to the trainees.

Sir Ziauddin announces that Mrs. Saida Akhtar of Bangalore has taken upon herself the task of collecting the requisite amount for the Nurses Institute and is also contributing Rs. 10,000 herself.

## AMERICANS AND INDIA

'One of the first things soon after my arrival in America was the fact that while almost every part of the world was represented amongst the journalists in America, Indian journalists were conspicuous by their absence said Pandit Hindaynath Kunzru while addressing the Journalists Association at Allahabad

There was no Indian agency to send news from there to India of Indian interest Taking advantage of the absence of this organisation in America British propaganda unfavourable to India and Indian situation had its own way and was little counteracted by the work of Indian journalists there The fact that struck him most was that in spite of goodwill of Americans towards India their ignorance of affairs of India was profound

## MERGER OF FINANCIAL DAILIES IN BRITAIN

Britain's two financial daily newspapers are amalgamating The *Financial News Limited* has bought controlling interest in the *Financial Times Limited* held by Lord Camrose and his family Minority holders of the *Financial Times Limited*, will be offered the same price as has been paid for the controlling interest, namely 41s 3d per share

The *Financial Times* will acquire the copyright of the *Financial News* and subsequently the two papers will amalgamate

Mr Brendan Bracken is associated with the *Financial News Limited* which now controls both the papers

AMERICAN PUBLISHERS OFFER TO  
CHURCHILL

According to a reliable report in New York, Mr Winston Churchill has been offered 1 00 000 dollars (Rs 33 00 000) for his story of the war The figure covers book and magazine serial rights The offer has been made by a big American publisher, who said he would be trying to get Mr Churchill to sign a contract immediately

## LORD SINHA

Lord Sinha who last month took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time since his father's death in 1928, had, it will be recalled many legal difficulties to overcome before his right to a seat in the Upper House was recognised

Lord Sinha is the son of the first Lord Sinha who was raised to the peerage as Baron Sinha of Raipur in 1919 As a member of the House of Lords the first Lord Sinha piloted the Government of India Act of 1919 through the Upper House At that time he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India

## SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The Japanese News Agency announced the death of Subhas Chandra Bose in a Japanese hospital as a result of injuries received in an air crash on August 22



The Agency added that Lieut Gen Tsunamasa Shida was instantly killed and Colonel Habibur Rahman Subhas Chandra Bose's adjutant and four other Japanese officers were injured in the crash

## THE LATE MR RANGACHARI

Dewan Bahadur T Rangachari, whose death occurred at the ripe age of eighty was one of the older politicians of India with a record of public service spread over 25 years Like most members of the old brigade, he was a lawyer by profession and started public life with active participation in the civic affairs of his home town—Madras

### PROGRESS OF CANCER RESEARCH

The progress in cancer treatment made during the war at the London Royal Cancer Hospital was described as "little short of amazing" by Mr Chester Beatty, President at the hospital's last annual meeting.

Experiments which may throw light upon racial geographical and economic incidence of some cancers in man were mentioned in the reports of the work carried out during the year.

Cancer of the liver is far more common in the natives of South Africa and Southern Asia than in the natives of Britain while in England and Wales cancers of the skin, mouth, throat and stomach become progressively more common as one descends the scale from the richer to the poorer classes.

Mr C E Shattock, Chairman of the Medical Committee, said that no cure in the true sense of the word has yet been put to the credit of chemotherapy but it was within the realms of possibility that increasing experience might indicate that it was a key to success.

### TULSI LEAF AS CURE FOR MALARIA

The Tulsi leaf (*Ocimum Sanctum*) is an effective malaria cure, says Dr Mohanlal Sruthi of Ludhiana.

As a prophylactic against malaria five fresh leaves of tulsi with three black pepper should be chewed and swallowed early in the morning or between meals, twice a week. For children the dose should be reduced proportionately.

### PENICILLIN FOR INSANITY

Penicillin has just saved the reason of five patients in a Birmingham mental hospital.

The doctor in charge who believes that the new drug can be used to arrest and cure mental diseases grew the penicillin himself and has said that he will be glad to show anyone how to do so. Some of his penicillin was produced in ordinary jam jars.

### HYDERABAD EXPERIMENT IN DIETARY

Extensive and repeated surveys of the dietary conditions in Hyderabad State have revealed inadequacies in both quantity and quality, also a marked lack in protective value. The Nizam's Government have appointed a Nutrition Advisory Committee to ensure better nourishment of the population. Among the schemes engaging attention are measures for increasing milk production and regulating its supply, the extensive growing of vegetables and fruits, the establishment of fisheries, measures to improve the breeding of cattle and poultry, feeding of school children, organising of canteens for industrial workers, introduction of mobile canteens to supply foods of approved nutritional value at cheap rates and demonstration kitchens and stalls to show how the dietary habits of the people, mainly dependent on rice and wheat can be changed.

### EXCESSIVE CLEANING OF VEGETABLES

Meticulous processing and refining of foodstuffs which removes 'those imponderable metals which are found in soil and are needed for health' is blamed for teeth decay by Sir Leonard Erskine Hill, former Applied Physiology Director of the National Institute of Medical Research, Britain.

He points out that 'natives in general suffer from tooth decay only when they come to eat white flour and sugar in place of their own diet, and says that modern methods of washing wheat in the roller-milling process, excessive cleaning of vegetables, peeling of potatoes destroy the imponderables essential for healthy teeth.

Similarly careful filtering of reservoir water supplies while guarding against typhoid and cholera epidemics also removes any trace of the elusive metals.

### YAWNING AND EXCITEMENT

The assumption that yawning is caused by boredom is a mistaken one. A person is just as apt to yawn when moved by acute attention or breathless excitement.

## FUTURE OF INDIAN BANKING

Confidence that the Indian banking system was in a position to make its full contribution to the post war economic development of the country was expressed by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India presiding over the eleventh annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank held at Delhi on August 6

Sir Chintaman said that while the general banking picture continued to be healthy and encouraging there were certain undesirable tendencies which if not checked in time might react unfavourably on the country's banking structure. He uttered a word of caution in particular against three "unsound practices". These were (1) the tendency among a few banks to acquire control of non banking companies by the purchase of the latter's shares regardless of the price and yield (2) indiscriminate branch banking engaged in by a number of banks. In some cases he said, the expenditure incurred on branches was out of all proportion to the resources of the institution or the capacity of the head office to control them efficiently, and (3) excessive manipulation practised in a few instances at the time of the preparation of balance sheets which gave an altogether misleading impression of the bank's financial position, particularly in respect of deposits

## BANK OF ENGLAND

Much has been heard of late of the proposal by England's Labour Government to nationalise the Bank of England. This venerable financial institution has long been on Labour's list for nationalisation, although comparatively little interest has been displayed by the layman in the proposal, and indeed it would have little effect on the man in the street

Apart from keeping Government deposits and managing the National Debt the chief function of the Bank of England is to issue Bank of England notes for use by the public

## DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Rehabilitation development, amenities to passengers, construction of new lines and staff welfare constitute the important items of a Rs 319 crores plan for post war development of the Indian Railways, according to information received. The plan is claimed to be practical enough to operate without putting any excessive strain on Government finance and elastic enough to be enlarged or adjusted to conform to the needs of other maturing post war schemes

Considerable doubling of track, additions to stations and yards and improvement in signalling interlocking and other arrangements for improving the efficiency of the working of railways are envisaged in the plan. The Railway Advisory Committee are also advised to consider suggestions for the improvement of amenities to Third Class passengers like the construction of new platforms increasing the number of over bridges latrines and waiting accommodation, provision of separate waiting rooms for women, improved booking arrangements and additional comforts during travel by the reduction of the number of passengers carried in each compartment. It is proposed to reduce the number of ordinary passenger classes to three (corresponding to the present Second, Inter and Third) with considerable improvement in all the three, and to have in addition 'deluxe air conditioned accommodation in important trains. As an initial measure for ten years, and annual construction of 500 miles of new railway lines is envisaged and the programme is capable of expansion. Special consideration will also be given to lines required for the development of the country

The construction of locomotives will be speeded up, and in addition to the railway workshop already placed under the management of the Tata's for manufacturing boilers a second workshop is to be reorganised for production, under State control, of locomotives and boilers.

## TRADE UNIONS AND ART

In the United States of America, Trade Unions have lately taken a fancy for Art. They have made elaborate arrangements for Art teaching in a way, which is suited to the average labourer who is usually without any previous training or much of talents.

The students who join these classes are just ordinary labourers between 13 and 52 in age. Judging from the conditions prevailing in India and general standard of labour class on the whole it is surprising that they have any inclination at all for these finer aspects of culture. But that they find time and energy to dabble with paints after a day's hard toil is all the more astonishing. Perhaps it indicates a better condition of labour also.

After a strenuous physical exertion for full seven hours of the day, in an atmosphere of heat, sweat and noise they rush to quiet painting classes to get their physical relaxation coupled with intellectual and emotional pleasure, through the medium of painting or other plastic arts. It is a manner of recreation almost unknown to us and unthinkable for our Unions. But it is certainly a very desirable and noble past time to escape from the anxieties of our day to day problems.

This scheme not only offers a healthy and noble mode of recreation they give a chance to an ordinary labourer to test his talents in the sphere of Art.

## BARODA ART EXHIBITION

The Commercial and Industrial Art Exhibition organised by the Art and Science Association at the Cottage Industries Institute was declared open by Sir B. L. Mitter, the Dewan.

The exhibition was organised on the basis of an All India competition and about 150 entries had been received some of them from distant parts of India.

Prizes to the extent of about Rs. 1,300 were awarded. Among the entries, the most striking were poster designs for the Cottage Industries Institute and the Alembic Chemical Works as also some textile and label designs.

## INDIAN CRICKETERS

I think India has a bright future in international cricket, if we apply ourselves to the game and have the will to perform creditably on all kinds of wickets, said Dr P. Subbarayan, President of the Board of Cricket Control for India, in an interview in Calcutta.

Dr Subbarayan was sure that when hostilities in the East ceased, English teams would visit Australia and India. He said:

We must build a side who will work as a team. We must improve our fielding. Our cricketers must pay attention to this department of the game as they did to batting and bowling, inasmuch as good fielding makes a moderate bowling side into a good one in any contest.

Dr Subbarayan emphasized that Indian players should be able to overcome the difficulties of different kinds of wickets. He said: 'We have batsmen of reputation in Merchant Hazare, Amarnath and Mustaq Ali. Mody is very good, and I am sure he will be a source of strength for any Indian side for many years to come as he is still young. In Gul Mahomed we have a batsman who would distinguish himself in any company.'

## ENGLISH SOCCER TEAM FOR INDIA

There is a bright prospect for a representative English football team visiting India next year. It may be recalled that at the last annual meeting of the All India Football Federation, it was considered whether the Football Association of England could be approached for sending an England team. Mr G. C. Guha, Joint Honorary Secretary of the IFA who is now in London on business, was commissioned by the Indian Federation to contact the Football Association.

It is learnt that Mr Guha called on S. F. Rous, Secretary of the Football Association, who has tentatively agreed to send an England XI (not an international side) composed of professionals and amateurs to India in 1946 or 1947. The Football Association will officially consider India's invitation.



# SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Research fellowships in Chemistry, Physics and Biology worth Rs 336,000 are being given to the National Institute of Science of India by the Imperial Chemical Industries (India). The fellowships are to be available over the next five to seven years.

Details of the gift are contained in a letter sent by Lord McGowan, Chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd to Professor Wadia, President of the National Institute. Lord McGowan writes "We thought there could be no better way of encouraging the advance of science in India and with it the general prosperity of the country than by the offer of these fellowships which, under the wise administration of your Council will, I hope, lead to augmentation of the distinguished successes in science already attained by so many of your fellow countrymen."

Each fellowship is to be worth Rs 400 a month, and will be tenable for two years with the possibility of extension to three years. In addition there will be a grant for research expenses to be made to the fellowship holders according to their needs of special apparatus and materials. The fellowships will be open to persons irrespective of sex, race or religion under 35 years of age. The overriding qualification for membership will be scientific ability.

# GERMAN WAR SECRETS IN BRITISH HANDS

Practically all German war secrets are now known to the British, says a report. It is further reported that the Allied campaign to extract every possible war industrial secret from the Reich is assured of hundred per cent success following sweeping disclosures by two key German officials—Albert Speer, formerly Hitler's Minister of Armaments and War Production and Dr Osenberg, head of the Reich Research Council. Both these men now in British hands have handed over documents including a list of 15,000 leading German technicians and details of armament development in which they were engaged. Other documents embrace the entire field of research in missiles in Germany.

# 'MUHURT' OF UDAY SHANKAR'S FILM

An event of considerable significance to the Indian film industry came off in Madras when the 'Muhurt' was performed of Uday Shankar's film, "Kalpana", at the Gemini Studio.

The film is being produced under the banner of "Stage and Screen Presentations"—the company of which Uday Shankar is a partner along with Sir Chinnabhai Madhawal and Mr Vishnudas Shirali. A special licence for the film had been granted by the Government on the basis of Uday Shankar's services to Indian art and culture.

The "Muhurt," which was quite a simple affair, was preceded by six months continuous rehearsals, which is an unprecedented thing in Indian films. "Kalpana" is a social story dealing with some of the modern problems and abounds in dances and music of a novel type.

# CINEGUILD LTD

In order to increase their output of first class pictures, Anthony Havelock-Allan, David Lean and Ronald Neame have formed Cineguild, a production company working from Denham Studios.

These three young men have each gained an invaluable knowledge of film making through years of experience in every technical department of the business. They first came together during the making of Noel Coward's "In Which We Serve", David Lean as Co Director, Anthony Havelock-Allan as Associate Producer and Ronald Neame Director of Lighting. They took charge of the production of Noel Coward's "This Happy Breed" with David Lean directing solo. By this time they were working as a team and had collected a nucleus of experienced technicians. Thus Cineguild came into being.

Cineguild's film of Noel Coward's "Blithe Spirit" emerged in Technicolor as brilliant and gay as the stage play, and this has been followed by "Brief Encounter", starring Celia Johnson and Trevor Howard and based on a play from Noel Coward's "Tonight at 8.30" series.

## INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

The view that industrialisation of India was absolutely necessary before she attained political or economic freedom and that it was high time that Indians took a serious note of the warning of some of her leaders to "industrialise or perish" was expressed by Dr Rm Alagappa Chettiar speaking at a reception given to him by the Bombay South Indian Club

Dr Chettiar said that the question before India today was not whether she should develop large scale or cottage industries but how she should work out a judicious combination of both. If, in the development of large scale industries labour saving devices were introduced throwing her millions of labourers out of work and depriving those engaged in cottage industries of their livelihood, then indeed there was a strong case against big industries. If however, both of them were encouraged and the proper sphere and share were allotted to each, then there would be no conflict between the two.

## INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Propaganda in favour of industrial development on sound national lines and the appointment of a national planning committee for that purpose were advocated by Sir J C Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, at Bangalore

Dr Ghosh said there was need for setting apart 15 to 30 per cent of the national income for the development of productive enterprises on national lines. He urged that a comprehensive plan for industrial development should be drawn up and vigorously pursued. There was immediate need for starting heavy engineering industries. He said that science would play a beneficial part in all development plans.

## PACKAGING OIL IN PAPER CONTAINERS

Buying lubricating oil in paper containers, the way milk has been bought in the United States for many years now is made possible for US motorists. Oil is being packaged in this way now at the Socony-Vacuum oil plant at Paulsboro in the State of New Jersey.

## IRRIGATION IN INDIA

Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, has left for London to search Britain for machinery to speed India's "Grow More Food" campaign.

He is accompanied by the Technical Adviser to the Irrigation Department of the Government of India.

Before leaving for London, Sir William Stampe giving details of his mission said in an interview to API: "During the war years India has been carrying out her irrigation schemes with equipment similar to that described in the Bible. There have been many developments in the methods of irrigation and irrigation machinery during the past five or six years and I am setting out on a tour of British and American factories to study their latest technical improvements. I shall have to find out whether the plants manufactured in the two countries can be adapted to India's needs. If not, a special plant will have to be devised. Immediately I am in a position to make my report to my Government orders will be placed in both countries for necessary plant."

The plant for sinking tube wells and for water boring in parts of India hitherto unused for water production, will play an important part in India's food self sufficiency plan. The next two years will be vital, said Sir William, "and we want to speed up the campaign by every means at our command."

## INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Dr J M Kumarappa, Director of Social Economy at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay had an interview with Mr Henry Ford 3rd while he was in the United States recently. He said that Mr Ford was deeply interested in India's problems, and claimed that he could bring about a change in the agricultural economy of India within a decade by thorough agricultural research. India's need for a factory for the manufacture of agricultural equipment was, according to Mr Ford, more urgent than the need for motor cars.

## CHEAPER CARS

In a speech to the London Rotary Club reviewing the war production activities of his organisation Sir Miles Thomas Vice Chairman of the Nuffield Organisation predicted that in future cars would be cheaper. He said: "There is no doubt that we have learned a tremendous amount during six years of war production. Things such as the development of faster cutting steels and tools which speed up machining operations very considerably will help the public by making it possible for us eventually to lower the price of cars."

## MANUFACTURE OF U.S. CARS IN INDIA

The American General Motors Corporation have built a large plant in India for the manufacture of American designed automobiles by Indian labour, says the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Now that Germany and Japan have been industrially crippled India is the world's third wealthiest country, it adds and asks its readers: "How many Americans know that the British Empire's biggest steel plant is in India?"

## MANUFACTURE OF MOTOR CARS

Mr M. D. Mehta, who has returned from the United Kingdom and U.S.A. after establishing contacts with well-known motor car manufacturers there, has finalised arrangements for the manufacture in India of a small motor car which will be within the means of the average motor car buyer.

## MORE TYRES FOR CIVIL PURPOSES

Private motorists will obtain a substantial increase in the allotment of tyres for civil purposes in the next quota period according to the Rubber Controller.

Additional allotments of crude rubber are also being made to manufacturers to enable them to switch over smoothly and rapidly to the production of civil goods. Many items, such as hot water bottles, gum boots and good quality sports shoes, are expected to reappear as a result of these allotments.

## 400 MAJOR AIRPORTS IN INDIA

To-day, India has between 350 and 400 major airports. India's economy has been built up to the highest possible pitch of production. In terms of money India's contribution to the war effort is somewhere about £500,000,000.

These facts were revealed by Lieut. Col. J. D. Boyle at the week-end Youth Conference at Peterborough with India as its keynote. Over 1,500 delegates from Britain's youth centres attended the meetings.

The Indian Army had been completely modernised, said Colonel Boyle, but when Japan overran Burma the cupboard was bare. The condition in India then was much as it was in Britain at the time of Dunkirk. But Indian soldiers, thinly stretched over the enormous frontier, remained imperturbable. They hung on literally by the skin of their teeth and their reward now had been the most complete and smashing defeat of the Japanese on land yet achieved in any theatre of the Eastern war.

## BRITAIN'S NEW FIGHTER PLANE

Secrets of Britain's jet fighter aircraft Meteor, used against flying bombs last year and now classed as the world's finest fighter, are now revealed.

The Meteor is an all-metal low-winged, single-seater monoplane, powered by two jet-turbined engines. Its armament consists of four 20-millimetre Hispano guns, and a Camera Gun incorporated in the Gun button may be used independently from the gun. In flight the 'Meteor' is very manoeuvrable. It is the first jet-turbined propelled aircraft to fly successfully in Britain and possibly in the world.

## AMERICA'S BIGGEST TRANSPORT PLANE

The world's largest troop carrier land-based airplane NC99 is being built at San Diego. This was announced by Mr. Harry Woodhead, President of the Consolidated Vulture Aircraft Corporation.

The plane is the military counterpart of the 204-passenger liner ordered by the Pan American World Airways. It has a wingspan of 250 feet, a length of 183 feet and is powered by six engines.

## INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

The view that industrialisation of India was absolutely necessary before she attained political or economic freedom and that it was high time that Indians took a serious note of the warning of some of her leaders to "industrialise or perish" was expressed by Dr Rm Alagappa Chettiar speaking at a reception given to him by the Bombay South Indian Club

Dr Chettiar said that the question before India today was not whether she should develop large scale or cottage industries but how she should work out a judicious combination of both. If, in the development of large scale industries labour saving devices were introduced, throwing her millions of labourers out of work and depriving those engaged in cottage industries of their livelihood, then indeed there was a strong case against big industries. If however, both of them were encouraged and the proper sphere and share were allotted to each then there would be no conflict between the two

### INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Propaganda in favour of industrial development on sound national lines and the appointment of a national planning committee for that purpose were advocated by Sir J C Ghosh Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore

Dr Ghosh said there was need for setting apart 15 to 30 per cent of the national income for the development of productive enterprises on national lines. He urged that a comprehensive plan for industrial development should be drawn up and vigorously pursued. There was immediate need for starting heavy engineering industries. He said that science would play a beneficial part in all development plans

### PACKAGING OIL IN PAPER CONTAINERS

Buying lubricating oil in paper containers the way milk has been bought in the United States for many years, now is made possible for US motorists. Oil is being packaged in this way now at the Socony-Vacuum oil plant at Paulsboro in the State of New Jersey

## IRRIGATION IN INDIA

Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, has left for London to search Britain for machinery to speed India's "Grow More Food" campaign

He is accompanied by the Technical Adviser to the Irrigation Department of the Government of India

Before leaving for London, Sir William Stampe giving details of his mission said in an interview to API. During the war years India has been carrying out her irrigation schemes with equipment similar to that described in the Bible. There have been many developments in the methods of irrigation and irrigation machinery during the past five or six years and I am setting out on a tour of British and American factories to study their latest technical improvements. I shall have to find out whether the plants manufactured in the two countries can be adapted to India's needs. If not, a special plant will have to be devised. Immediately I am in a position to make my report to my Government orders will be placed in both countries for necessary plant

The plant for sinking tube wells and for water boring in parts of India hitherto unused for water production, will play an important part in India's food self sufficiency plan. The next two years will be vital, said Sir William, 'and we want to speed up the campaign by every means at our command'

### INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Dr J M Kumarappa, Director of Social Economy at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay had an interview with Mr Henry Ford 3rd while he was in the United States recently. He said that Mr Ford was deeply interested in India's problems, and claimed that he could bring about a change in the agricultural economy of India within a decade by thorough agricultural research. India's need for a factory for the manufacture of agricultural equipment was, according to Mr Ford, more urgent than the need for motor cars

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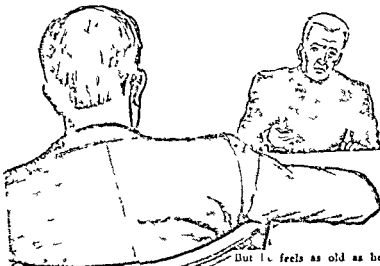
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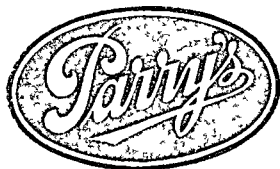
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## Tea Time— In Western India

The rich coast lands of Gujarat contrast with the stony plateau of the Deccan which is the main part of Maharashtra. The people are hard workers whether on their farms or as professional and business men in the cities.

Gujarati and Maharashtrian families share many customs. One of these is the stimulating cup of hot tea which begins the day after the morning bath. The tea is usually brewed in a china pot; milk and sugar are added to individual taste and fruit is often an accompaniment—especially in country places where the first meal of the day is taken about noon.

As in other parts of India, Brooke Bond fresh tea is a hot favourite in the country above and below the Western Ghats.

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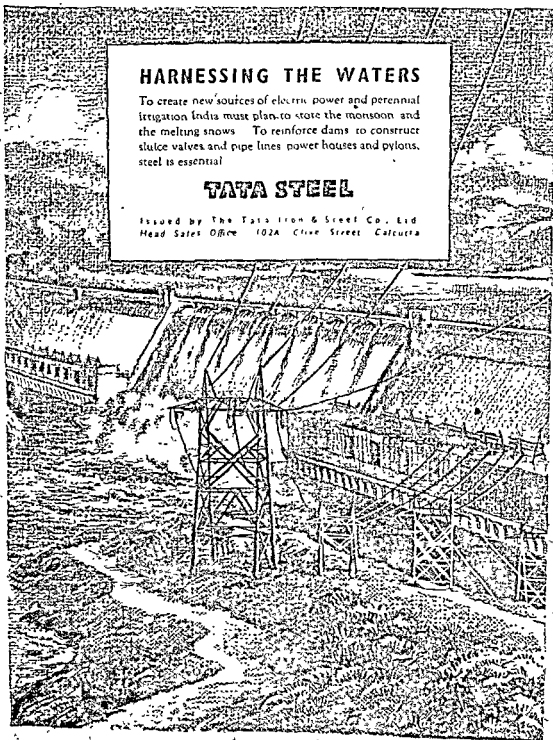
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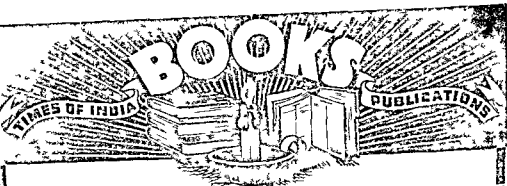
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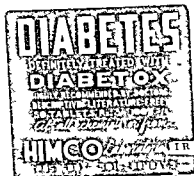
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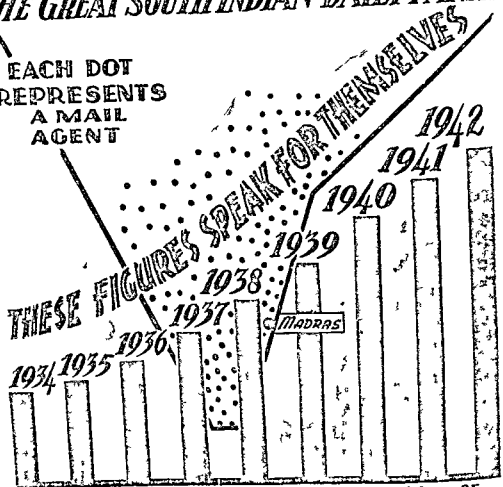


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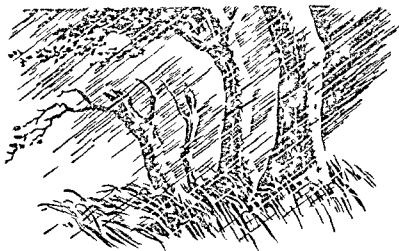
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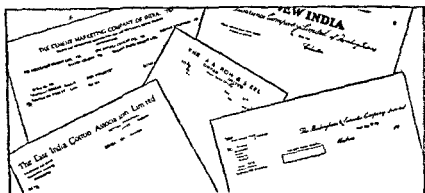
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THE

# INDIAN REVIEW

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1945

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OCTOBER

No. 10.

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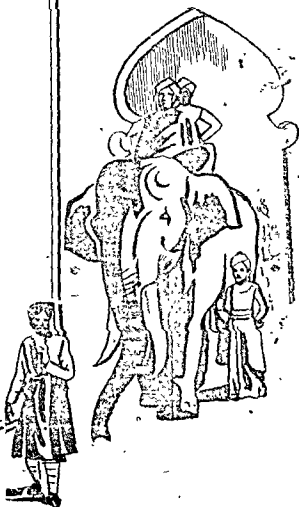
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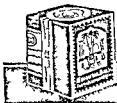


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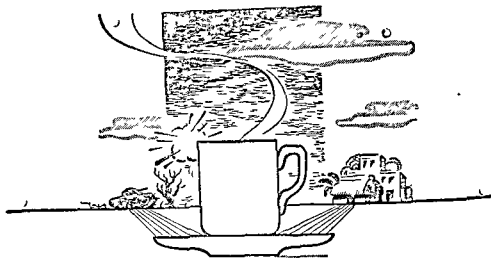
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.]

OCTOBER 1945

[No. 10.]

## BURMA'S RIVER HIGHWAY

By SIR HUBERT SAMS

AS the Fourteenth Army has battled its way down from Northern Burma the names of place after place as they have come into the news, have conjured up for some of us retired 'Thakins' vivid



SIR HUBERT SAMS

memories of happier days in Burma's green and pleasant land, days when the Pax Britannica seemed to be unbreakable. These place names recall chiefly Burma's great waterway, the mighty Irrawaddy, up and down which we used to travel so frequently and with so much enjoyment either in a well found steamer of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company or, if we were senior enough, in a Government launch which took oneself

\*The article was written at the time of the reconquest of Burma, bit by bit, by allied troops

the Burmese skipper, camp clerk, bearer, cook, orderlies and a bicycle or two

The pleasantest time for this dustless and almost motionless travel was of course the Cold Weather when a pull over was well come up to breakfast time, that was the season of pearly sunrises and of misty evenings, when, as the Horace of Burma sang—

The swift and welcome gloaming  
Hides the palm trees and the huts  
And the cattle homeward roaming  
Loom like ghosts across the route.

It was the season when the water was at its lowest level and when from the steamers deck we saw little more than the sides of the banks. Even so, there was always the thrill of the many stopping places, each one a vivid scene of activity and colour, of brightly dressed lugaleys and dainty mingaleys crowding onto or off the steamer. In the Cold Weather we could comfortably travel upstream from Mandalay, but the white skipper or wheat coloured serang would have to keep his eyes open to avoid striking a sand bank and being marooned, till several months later the Rains came to wash the steamer off. This catastrophe once happened to the skipper of the newest and most up-to-date vessel of the Flotilla Company he had to

endure the gibes, mostly in broad 'Cljdeside', of his luckier colleagues as they steamed arrogantly past him. Some wag suggested that the Company might make the best of a bad job by converting the ship into a hotel for honeymoon couples or hunters of game.

On the way up stream some of us would disembark at Thabekyin whence there was a motor bus service to Mogok of the Ruby Mines, where in the bazaar you could buy all the precious stones mentioned in Revelation and a good many more besides.

Others would go on to Bhamo. It was worth doing in order to enjoy the rugged scenery of the Second Defile and to have thrill after thrill, as the serang seemed to court destruction one second and the next skilfully to avoid it. Those who wanted to go on to Myitkina (by the great river) would disembark at Katha and take the tram from there. Bhamo is so near the Chinese Province of Yunnan that it is almost as much Chinese as it is Burmese. We often wished that we had the opportunity of penetrating even a short distance into the great realm of China.

In the Rains it was better to journey down stream. Then the Monsoon blows in one's face cool and strong from the south strong enough to bear up stream against a swift current the gallant Burmese craft their sails belying to bursting point. These graceful ships were always a delight as were the large rafts of logs felled in the lumber camps of the north. In the middle of the rafts would be a log cabin to shelter the Burman in charge his wife and family, all floating happily down stream to the Delta.

For our Rains tours we used to come down from Maymyo (Mays town), that lovely station in the Shan Hills beloved of Governors and their Secretariat, where in the Rains you could play golf or get a

game of Rugger in a temperature of only 80° in the shade. We would spend a few days at Mandalay, the big city only a few hours away down the hill, to renew our acquaintance with the Fort and the red lacquer of the Royal Palace, now a blackened heap. In the early days the Thakins used it as a Club and looked after it, until Lord Curzon, with his archaeological sense of what was fitting, evicted them and made them build a Club outside the precincts of the Palace. We would climb the hill to the north of the city to visit the Abbott U Khanti in his corrugated iron Phoongyi Kyauing.

Our business or pleasure at Mandalay finished we would slip down stream, past Sagaing and its glowing avenue of gold mohurs past Ava, Burma's ancient capital. And so we would reach Pagan, yet another old capital, the city of pagodas of which there are several thousand in various stages of neglect and ruin. It was at Pagan that one would buy, to send home as presents, the beautifully lacquered wooden boxes and the finger bowls made of lacquered horse-hair, so flexible that the opposite edges can be pinched together without breaking the wafer thin material or even cracking the lacquer. It was from Pagan that our troops recently marched across the Dry Zone to Meikila, that once pleasant and peaceful lake side station and to Thazi, the junction of the Rangoon Mandalay Railway with the mountain line up to the Southern Shan States and the pretty little hill station, Kalaw.

Further down stream we would come to Ye nan gyaung—'Water-smelly-stream', the centre of the great oil field, where derricks take the place of pagodas.

And so, steaming down stream by day and tying up by night, one would reach Henzada, where the hurried would disembark and entrain for Rangoon, while the more leisured, continuing the journey between the Mangrove lined banks of the Delta, would in time emerge into the Rangoon River and be welcomed by the golden gleam of the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

# THE A. I. C. C. MEETING

## WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

THE Poona Session of the Congress Working Committee was looked forward to with more than usual interest as it was the first time the Committee met after a lapse of three years during which the members were in internment and Congress organisations were all under a ban. Apart from that important questions touching the political future of the country had to be decided and the Congress High Command was expected to give a lead to the people in respect of many momentous issues confronting the nation.

The Committee met on the afternoon of September 12 in a specially erected tent, in front of Gandhiji's residence in the Nature Clinic. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Congress, presided. All the members of the Working Committee were present as also C. R. and others specially invited by the President. For six days the Committee discussed various questions and resolutions were adopted in respect of many urgent problems.

## GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Committee unanimously decided to plunge into Elections for both Provincial and Central legislatures. The decision was reached after ten hours' discussions. We are told that Gandhiji's one hour talk converted the opposition group led by Mr. Nehru.

Lord Wavell had not returned from his mission in England when the Working Committee met in Poona. To leave the door open for negotiations upon any offer that the Viceroy might yet announce, a 'nevertheless' declaration comes at

the end of a 2,000 word statement, drafted by the Committee for the A.I.C.C. The resolution on elections starts with an expression of suspicion about the manner and circumstances in which the election announcement was made and a protest against the continuance of the old imperfect rolls, and holding it under 1919 Act and under the present constitution which both of are 'completely out of date'.

## CONGRESS AND THE LEAGUE

A heated discussion about the issue of self-determination and the League's demand for Pakistan occupied a great deal of the Committee's time. The Working Committee, warned by repeated failures, decided definitely that it will not approach the Muslim League any longer for a settlement as they have given up hopes of reaching any agreement with Mr. Jinnah. The position is reiterated in the following resolution.

As declared by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Allahabad in May, 1912, the Congress cannot agree to any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless, the Committee also declared, it cannot think in terms of compelling the people of particular units to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life.

## THREE MORE RESOLUTIONS

Three other resolutions were adopted defining the position of the Congress in respect of three vital matters. One was a resolution urging the release of officers and men and women of 'the Indian'.

Army' The resolution also appealed to Government not to carry out sentences of death already passed on any Indian soldier or civilian in connection with any activities pertaining to the war This resolution was placed before the All India Congress Committee

#### WARNING TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Another resolution warned the United Nations and all others concerned that any commitments of the present unrepresentative and irresponsible government of India will not be binding on the people's representative government

#### THE ISSUE OF SELF DETERMINATION

The Congress Working Committee in a resolution on self determination stated that a Constituent Assembly should prepare the future constitution of India federal in nature but with the residuary powers vested in the Provinces

Emphasizing that the Congress cannot agree to any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component part to secede from the Indian union the Committee declared, however that it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in the Indian union against their declared and established will

The Committee assured that each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy consistent with a strong National State

Thus the three resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, in the words of the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, represent the considered view of the Indian National Congress, on the political situation in the country, on

the political objective of the Congress, and the method and steps the Congress intends to take to achieve that objective

#### BOMBAY SESSION OF A.I.C.C

The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on September 21, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm in a specially erected pandal exactly on the spot where it met three years ago on August 8, when the session was interrupted by the sudden arrest of the members Over 25 000 people turned up to greet the leaders. Maulana Azad, Congress President, speaking in Urdu said

At this moment every one of you must be thinking of an incident which took place more than three years ago Events pass by but they leave an imprint which even the passage of time cannot wipe off The last meeting of the A.I.C.C took place in this city and on this very spot The story of these three years has two aspects one of trials and tribulations and the other of the forces which have been created by these conditions The power of nations springs from such hardships An Arabic proverb says Hardships have the same effect on life as fire has on gold

Owing to terrific rains and the failure of the loud speakers the session had to be postponed for the next day The only item disposed of related to the constitution of the Congress which was last revised in 1939 A committee was set up to recommend changes in the light of recent developments, and consequential changes were made in the dates and procedure relating to elections to various bodies in the Congress

#### THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The first resolution moved was that on 'The Struggle of 1942 and after,' which Pandit Nehru discussed for 50 minutes It reviewed the incidents of the last three years and the resistance of the people and concluded:

The AICC, reiterates its national and international objectives, laid down in its resolution of August 8, 1912 and its conviction that the independence of India is essential for world peace, and must be the basis for the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. The independence of India must be unequivocally recognised, and her status among the United Nations must be that of an independent nation co-operating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of a world order of peace and freedom.

Moving this resolution, Pandit Nehru declared that the spirit of the nation was never higher or their determination to follow the lead of the Congress stronger than now. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel called for a "Quit Asia" policy, as an advance on the "Quit India" policy, and after Acharya Kripalani had moved the resolution of Congress Policy speaker after speaker urged a policy of "no negotiations". They urged that the Congress should be strengthened so that they would be able to compel the transfer of power to the people.

#### NON CONTROVERSIAL RESOLUTIONS

Sunday the 23rd opened with the adoption of three non controversial resolutions touching "sterling balances," Indian interests in Burma and Malaya and application to the Congress of the Anuma e Watan of Baluchistan.

#### INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the resolution on "The Indian National Army," urging that

in view of all the circumstances prevailing in India, Malaya, Burma and elsewhere at the time of the formation of this Army and subsequently, these officers and men and women should have been treated as combatants and prisoners of war, and discharged at the conclusion of hostilities. It would be a tragedy if these officers, men and women were punished for the offence of having laboured, however mistakenly, for the freedom of India.

#### A DEFENCE COMMITTEE

The Committee also appointed a Defence Committee to look after the interests of the men on trial.

In view of the forthcoming trial by court martial of some officers and men belonging to the Hindustan Azad Fauj (Indian National Army) formed in Burma and Malaya, the Working Committee resolves that a Defence Committee, consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Messrs Bulabhai Desai, Kadas Nath Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru, Asaf Ali (convenor) and Raghunanda Saran, with powers to co-opt, be formed to take all necessary steps for the defence of the officers and men and women of the INA or of his forces, who may be brought up for trial.

#### THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The AICC concluded its session after passing the main resolution of the session declaring that India and the Congress would accept nothing short of complete independence, and that the proposals made by the Labour Government for a constitutional settlement in India "are vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory."

The AICC has carefully considered Lord Wavell's and the British Prime Minister's broad casts on the steps proposed to be taken by British authority in India. These proposals repeat, with certain unimportant variations, the offer made in March, 1942 by Sir Stafford Cripps, on behalf of the British Government, an offer which was not accepted by the Congress. Neither the end of the war, nor the change of Government in Great Britain appear to have resulted in any real change in British policy towards India, which seems to be based on delaying every advance and in attempting to create new problems and fresh complications. It is significant that there is no mention in these broadcasts of the independence of India.

Nothing short of independence can be acceptable to the Congress, and the country. The proposals now made are, in the opinion of the AICC, vague, inadequate, and unsatisfactory, etc.

After having expressed disapproval of the British Government's new proposals, the Committee directed the Working Committee, in spite of the several handicaps placed in its path, to prepare the country to contest the forthcoming elections, both to the Central and Provincial Assemblies, in order to 'demonstrate the will of the people' on the issue of Indian freedom.

The Congress High Command put up two of its last "Parliamentary bosses" to pilot the resolution through Sardar Vallabhai Patel,



Congress Parliamentary Chief, and Pandit Govind Vallabhai Pant Deputy Chief of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Though many amendments were moved all except two were withdrawn after a speech by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opposing all amendments. The two amendments of Dr Ashraff and Mian Iftikharuddin received very meagre support only seven in a House of 283 voting in favour of them. The amendments being rejected, the House carried Sardar Patel's resolution without a division amidst continued cheers.

One point that emerged from the debate was a declaration made both by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel that the Congress would make no further approaches to the Muslim League leaders but would make a direct approach to the Muslim masses.

"We have done everything humanly possible to conciliate the League," said Mr. Nehru. "Much against my inclinations, I went to Mr. Jinnah. So did many honoured leaders of the Congress."

All that we got in return were insults. It is one thing to ask us to placate the Muslims, meet their legitimate grievances and serve them. It is quite another thing to placate the Muslim League. We are done with that. There will be no more placating. This is war. We will face the League and fight it out."

Pandit Nehru declared that he proposed to tour the Muslim areas in his own Province to demonstrate the hold the Congress had on the Muslim masses.

The main resolution having taken the major part of the session, the President finished the rest of the agenda by moving other resolutions from the chair.

#### PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

The session ended late in the evening amidst enthusiastic scenes. The President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his concluding speech declared:

"The fire that was kindled in the minds of the masses in 1942 in their urge for freedom is still burning, and I have no doubt that the country is now on its march to the goal of independence. No power on earth can now stop and a march towards her cherished goal."

## CONVERSION AND DIVORCE

By MR. K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, B.A. (HON.), LL.B.

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THE recent decision of the Calcutta High Court in *Ayesha Bibi V. Subhodh Kumar Chakravarti* (49 CWN 439) has set Hindus deeply thinking. The facts show that the Plaintiff Ayesha who was actually a Hindu had duly married the Defendant Subhodh Kumar Chakravarti according to Hindu rites in July 1941. Both were Hindus then and the husband is still a Hindu. The Plaintiff's case, shortly, was that her married life was unhappy and in July 1943 she was driven out of her husband's house and since then

she had been living with her father. She was nearly 19 years old. On 12th September 1943 she of her own free will and after due deliberation became a convert to Islam. The Plaintiff after her conversion called upon the Defendant husband, more than once, in writing to embrace Islam and to cease to be a Hindu, but he had not done so and he remained a Hindu still. The Plaintiff filed a suit against the Defendant claiming a declaration under Section 12 of the Specific Relief Act that the marriage

between Plaintiff and Defendant be dissolved and that the Plaintiff was not the wife of the Defendant

The learned Judge held in favour of the Plaintiff. In the opinion of the Judge Hindu Law governed only a Hindu and as the Plaintiff has ceased to be a Hindu Hindu Law has no control over her. The learned Judge also pointed out that by reason of the act of the Plaintiff in getting herself converted, none of the rights of the Defendant husband over her would have been effective, *re*, the husband could not have co habitation with her as it is not allowed under Hindu Law, that the Plaintiff can no longer perform any religious sacraments that the Plaintiff can no longer take any part in the preparation of the Defendant's food and that the Defendant was under no liability any longer to maintain the Plaintiff.

The learned Judge further pointed out that the conversion of the wife, the husband remaining a Hindu, placed the latter in no better position than the marriage had been dissolved. The Judge therefore passed a decree as prayed for by the Plaintiff and declared the marriage dissolved under Section 12 of the Specific Relief Act. It should be noted that this is not the only solitary instance of this kind. Such cases are occurring now and then, especially in the educated class of wives who are harassed by their husbands. The two other cases in the Calcutta High Court were of the same nature. In one case, the wife was married at the age of 14. Her marriage life was very unhappy. She was an MA of the Calcutta University. She was at present engaged in the Research Work on Sociology. She was

driven by such unhappiness and lack of social sympathy to seek any solace in a different social system based on different ideas, religious and social. In October she openly became a convert to Islam and called upon the Defendant husband to embrace Islam and to cease to be a Hindu. But he had not done so. Her marriage was declared dissolved by the Court. There is also another case of the same High Court exactly of the same type. These are cases from Bengal. Quite recently there occurred a case of the same type in the Telugu District of the Madras Province. The girl who was of a high class Brahmin had been married with the customary rites in her childhood but her marriage life broke up unhappily at the very beginning and the parties lived separately ever since. She continued her enforced freedom however, for educating herself at the father's expense, until she became a double graduate and a LL B, and started to do an educational service to her caste as Professor of Mathematics in Women's College in Northern India. About two years ago, she became a convert to Islam. Her husband of course, had in the meantime taken another wife and was leading a happy life. In order to make her own legal position clear, she notified him of her change of religion and gave her option to claim her, if he so wished by accepting Islam which of course he refused to do. She thereupon filed a suit for a declaration that her Hindu marriage with the husband stood dissolved under the law of her adopted faith and she was no longer his wife. Following the Calcutta ruling, the Court decreed the

suit in her favour and declared her marriage dissolved.

The effect of these decisions would be far reaching indeed. The Hindus consider marriage as indissoluble. They always believe that death is the only circumstance that cuts the marriage knot. Christians permit the dissolution of marriage under certain cases of hardship. But here no decree can be passed at the instance of a defaulting party as no one can take advantage of his or her own wrong. The judgments in these cases placed the Hindu Law in this respect on the much lower level than the law governing sister communities. Now taking an hypothetical case, suppose a Hindu wife does not like her husband, does not carry out her duties towards him and desires to get rid of her marriage bond. A Christian woman would have under such circumstances no remedy at all as she cannot take proceeding for dissolution of her marriage, but a Hindu woman may change her religion to that of Islam and then call upon her husband to likewise change the religion and on the husband not doing so, get a declaration from the Court that the marriage had been dissolved. Her cause of action in such a suit would be that she had changed her religion and that her husband had declined to be likewise converted. Her past conduct whether she was fulfilling her obligation to her husband as his wife, the motive of her conversion, etc., would be irrelevant.

No doubt there is a rule that when the party to the marriage is non-Muslim and one of the parties embrace the Mahomedan faith he or she can call upon the other to come and adopt the same religion and in case of refusal the Kazi is authorised to separate the parties. Really speaking, this rule of law cannot be made applicable to the facts of the above case as under Section 37 of the Civil Courts Act, it is necessary that both parties must be Mahomedan before the Mahomedan Law can be made applicable,

Further this rule must be taken to be Mahomedan Law and can be obeyed only in a country where Islam is the State religion. As remarked by P. K. Mukherjee J in 1939 Cal A I R 430, "These are undoubtedly matters of serious considerations."

No thoughtful Hindu can view such conversion with equanimity, however keen may be his philosophical sense of the oneness of all religions and however clear may be his vision of the utter vanity of religious divisions and antagonisms. These conversions cannot certainly be held as examples of Hindu Social Reforms.

The whole position is anomalous. Hindu Law does not allow Hindu wife to have recourse to divorce. Therefore she has to take recourse to this method of embracing to Mahomedan religion, and then calling upon the husband to change his religion. When he does not do so, she gets her marriage dissolved. After the dissolution of marriage she can enter into Arya Samaj and get herself reconverted to Hindu and then marry again any person of the Hindu religion she likes. Her former husband then cannot claim her as his wife. In this way she does achieve by conversion and re-conversion what she cannot do under the provisions of the Hindu Law as administered today. In fact this is exactly what was done by the Second Maharani of Baroda.

It is a pity that the draft Hindu Code should receive opposition from the leaders of the Hindu community. It is a matter of wonder and grief too that by opposing the salient provisions like those of Divorce in the Code, they are in a way indirectly responsible for such cases of conversions and driving women out of the Hindu Fold. These conversions it must be regretfully said, are an inevitable fruit of our own harsh family law. It is very high time and looking to the modern aspirations of the educated Hindu girls, some provision may be made to redeem their grievance and hardships.

# PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

BY SIR B J WADIA, Kt,

Vice Chancellor, University of Bombay

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**M**R K V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, an advocate of the High Court Madras, and a leading member of the Madras Bar, delivered in 1940 under the auspices of the Bar Council of Madras, a course of lectures on professional conduct and advocacy. The lectures were meant for the apprentices at law of the year, and were first published in 1940. The volume under review\* is the second edition of this publication, with two forewords one by Sir Maurice Gwyer, formerly Chief Justice of India, and another by Sir Lionel Leach Chief Justice, High Court, Madras. It retains the main scheme of the original lectures, but has been thoroughly revised and substantially enlarged.

Opening the series with a discussion about the legal profession and its responsibilities, the equipment of the lawyer, and the course of his training, Mr Aiyar proceeds to discuss how an advocate should deal with clients, how he should prepare his case and draft pleadings, how he should examine witnesses, and, what is most important, how he should conduct himself in Court. The author proceeds to discuss certain principles of professional conduct in general, indicating the duty of the advocate to the Court, to his opponent, his client, and the witnesses. He devotes a special chapter to "Duty to Yourself and another to "Duty to the Public and the State". The privileges of the advocate are next discussed, and the lectures conclude with an attempt to analyse the future of the legal profession in the light of the changes in our social and political environment.

The lawyer is indispensable in many ways, but is still not a *persona grata* with the public. People generally begin by abusing him. They speak of his tricks of the trade and his juggling with words. Shakespeare makes Jack Cade, the rebel, who claims the crown of England, say to his followers—"the first thing we do, let us kill all the lawyers". The worst thing about lawyers was however said by Dean Swift. He bluntly referred to them as men who were out to prove that white is black or black is white "according as they are paid. Much of all this is mere exaggeration. No society has been able to do without the lawyer. The oldest written code is that of Mammurabi, King of Babylon, over 2000 BC and there were lawyers even in his time. There can be no government without order, there can be no order without law, and there can be no administration of justice under the law without the help of lawyers. There are black sheep in every profession, but the dishonour and the malpractices of the few are no excuse for blaming the rest.

Throughout Mr Aiyar's book there is a sustained effort to bring home to the reader the great obligation that lies upon the advocate to possess high ideals befitting a liberal profession. He rightly insists on a high sense of honour, unflinching courage, and a wide outlook on the world. Brimful as the book is of information and advice of great practical value, it is also marked by a note of lofty idealism which makes no less a man than Sir Maurice Gwyer call it "a most admirable book". After reading it through the impression remains on the mind that in spite of all that has been said 'the profession is still that of gentleman, and now with the changing times, of the lady too'."

\* PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT AND ADVOCACY By K V. Krishnaswami Aiyar Oxford University Press

the Dominion Prime Minister. Thus it would appear that the architects of the Canadian Constitution were not wedded to any narrow conception of federalism. The other aim was to copy British institutions and to make the pattern as close as possible to the original. Not only were the institutions and conventions adopted but even the nomenclature.

The twin aims of avoiding American defects and of copying British institutions coupled with the desire to maintain the individuality of the federating units governed the deliberations of the Quebec Conference. Seventy-two resolutions were passed and subsequently given a statutory form in the British North America Act of 1867. This Act with the amendments gives the written basis to the Constitution. The unwritten element—which forms the flesh and blood of the framework of the Constitution—is supplied by constitutional usages and conventions, such as Cabinet Government, ministerial responsibility and the obsolete nature of the royal veto—to mention a few. The Constitution, as it stands today, provides for a double set of Government—Central and Provincial.

The Central Executive is formally vested in the King but is actually exercised by the Governor General appointed by the Home Administration on the advice of the Canadian Cabinet. His duties are substantially the same as those of the King of England. Since 1873, the Governor-General has never refused assent to any Bill passed by the House of Legislature. There is just one exception. In 1926 Lord Byng refused to dissolve the House of Commons on the advice of the Ministers.

The real executive power in Canada as in England is wielded by that extra constitutional body—the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is the keystone of the arch. He chooses his colleagues. His task is both difficult and delicate. He must choose his colleagues to provide not merely able administration but a proper representation of races, regions and religions. Woe betide a leader who overlooks the requirements

of a particular region. The local political board of strategy feels incensed and the local press raises a lament long and bitter. The effect of federalizing the Cabinet has unfortunate effects. It results in the passing over of able men to placate regional or racial demands. The Cabinet is responsible to the Legislature or strictly speaking to the House of Commons.

The Canadian Legislature is bicameral—the two chambers being the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate is a nominated body of 96. The Canadian Senate is a weak chamber. The very nature of its composition makes it so. It is not only a second but a secondary chamber and like the House of Lords perhaps its strength lies in its weakness. This nominated 'house of the aged' exerts little political influence and hardly attracts attention.

The House of Commons bears a close resemblance to the American House of Representatives. The members are elected for a term of 5 years. Any British subject 21 years of age or over, male or female is entitled to vote after one year's residence in Canada provided he or she has resided in the constituency for two months. Any qualified voter can stand for election.

Amendments to the Canadian Constitution are effected by the Imperial Parliament after it has received an address passed by the two Houses of the Canadian Legislature. The Imperial Parliament, as a rule, passes the proposed amendments without debate. In the Provinces the power of amending the constitution, except those provisions that relate to the Lieutenant Governor, are vested in the Provincial Legislature.

The power of the Imperial Parliament to amend the Dominion Constitution, and the practice of sending final appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council are the two self-imposed limitations on the sovereignty of Canada. They were imposed to placate the articulate French Canadian minority who do not consider themselves safe in the hands of the Dominion.

Such, in outline is the constitution of Canada. It would be interesting to explore its working. It had set out to reconcile the interests of minorities and to unite a nation. It has partially succeeded in both aims. The two races no longer "war in the bosom of a single State" but accept each other probably as necessary evils. National unity has been achieved. The two wars have amply demonstrated it. During the last war, the celebrated Atlantic Cable assured the Allies of "the last dollar and the last man"—and during this war it took Canada only 7 days to declare war on Germany. Her contribution from all sectors has been magnificent. But it would be futile to believe that the federal system so devised has been perfect or even that it has always worked smoothly. The functions and jurisdiction of the component units and the Central Government have been the subject of much litigation extending over three quarters of a century.

It is a matter of special interest that the problems of Canada are not dissimilar to those of India. India is also a vast sub-continent, inhabited by people with different

languages, diverse customs, strong local patriotism and varying degrees of political development. Federation alone can solve her problem—possibly a federation of the Canadian type with considerably more powers at the Centre. Canada's helplessness against the powers of the component units has retarded her progress. India's past history and future necessity would demand a strong Centre. Federations are established to effect a compromise—to reconcile national unity with local autonomy—the long term aim being the creation of one nation. Under modern conditions, federations with weak Centres mean inefficient administration. The tempo and stress of present day economic and industrial life puts a great strain on the Centre. It should be resilient enough to withstand that strain. The future of India as a powerful social service State, to a large measure, depends on the powers the Central Government will actually enjoy. It should not be content with mere residuum of powers, but should be in a position to deal with national emergencies not only of war but also of peace.

—Broadcast from Delhi.

## Poverty, Food Supply and Overpopulation

BY PROF. SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, Ph.D.

IN course of a debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, stated that one of the principal factors of the food scarcity in India and the terrible famine of Bengal was overpopulation and for this he laid the whole blame on the Indians. The same statement was repeated from various platforms by many eminent British statesmen and even scientists like Prof. Hill were not free from this biased conception. Mr. Amery's statement considered from all points of view leads one to think that the food scarcity is going to stay in this country, and unless the supply is supplemented by

foreign imports of food stuffs, India will not be able to provide adequate provisions for her children. A more lamentable admission of the failure of the administration of Indian affairs cannot be imagined.

The whole question of food supply and overpopulation should be considered not only from the point of the existing economic and political conditions of the country, but also from the point of the possible improvements of the country's resources under a better and more sympathetic system of Government. Whenever there has been a controversy regarding poverty of India, the official view in England has been

in favour of the theory that overpopulation is a potent cause of Indian poverty and by that the administrators try to wash their hands off any responsibility in this matter, Indian politicians, on the other hand, have always gone to the other extreme and have generally opposed the theory, but after that they have not exerted further

E Cannan, in his work on 'Wealth' (pp 68 69), has given the following definition of overpopulation

At any given time, knowledge and circumstances remaining the same, there is what may be called a point of maximum return when the amount of labour is such that both an increase and decrease in it would diminish proportionate returns. Just as there is a point of maximum return in each industry, so there must be in all industries taken together. If population is not large enough to bring all industry up to this point returns will be less than they might be and the remedy is increase of population. If, on the other hand, population is so great that the point has been passed returns are again less than they might be and the remedy is decrease of population.

In the light of this definition overpopulation means a departure from the optimum, in the direction of an excess in population. From the point of view of this optimum overpopulation is a relative term and is affected by many causes which are not stable but vary from time to time with the changing circumstances. Statistics of various countries will also show that prosperity does not always vary inversely as the density. The density of population in India is 195 per square mile which is much less than that in England and Wales where it is about 685 per square mile. It is therefore, not possible to draw any inferences about the economic position of a country from average density.

If the period of the last fifty years is considered, it is found that the actual increase in the Indian population has been very slow from decade to decade. The reason, as found from the vital statistics, is that although the birthrate is high, the deathrate has almost kept pace with it. The survival rate is lower than that in Europe. From 1881 to 1931, the increase in the Indian population is from 253.89 (millions) to 352.8 (millions). In the decade

1921-1931, the rate per cent. of real increase in the population is 10.6. Indeed, one of the symptoms of overpopulation is a high birthrate accompanied by a high deathrate, specially infantile deathrate. Although poverty and disease are the main causes of this high deathrate, they are not the only causes. Certain social customs and habits in India are also responsible for this deplorable state and these can be improved through village uplift work, namely, rural sanitation and rural education.

A comparison of the growth of population in the western countries and that in India is not warranted by various factors, the chief of them being the high marriage rate in India. In India marriage has always been almost a religious obligation. On the other hand, there is lower fertility in India arising from inferior fecundity among the upper classes and from prolonged separation between husband and wife among certain labour classes. The deliberate preventive check by means of contraceptives, which is so widely prevalent in the western countries, does not affect the masses in India but there are certain customs and habits among the people which check the growth of population, namely, prolonged suckling, hypergamy, etc. Thus it is found that the natural tendency towards an increase is to a great extent balanced by circumstantial and social factors so as to minimize the apprehensive character of overpopulation in India.

Scarcity of labour both in agriculture and industry in India is a general complaint. This is surely an argument against overpopulation. Increased population means increased labour power, which generally results in an addition to the total wealth. Industrial resources have been very little tackled in India and one of the main items of the post war reconstruction is the rapid development of small-scale and large-scale industries. This will require much increased industrial labour all over the country.

The above arguments will lead one to think that there is no need to be

apprehensive of India's growing population and it should be considered more an asset than a liability. Nature has prescribed a law of population which takes care of itself. So the first thing that should be proceeded with is to improve the social and economic conditions of the country. This statement may run counter to the prevailing official view but it is one which deserves coherent exposition and careful consideration. The whole problem must be considered in the light of India's existing resources and potentialities.

When a given population shows signs of increasing in such a manner as to cause a diminution of income per head it is a tendency to overpopulation. When there are reasons for expecting that if a certain diminution in existing numbers were to occur to lead to an increase of income per head it is a state of overpopulation. How can this theory fit in with the prevailing conditions in India? The calculation of national income shows that there is a steady increase in the income per head. The standard official statement is that for the persistent poverty the people are to blame for high breeding. But this is not a safe deduction from the statistical data available. Even if the truth of the above statement is admitted it is no credit for the Government who have been mishandling things for the last 150 years. Government have not exerted at the right moment to accelerate economic development and now they cannot escape the blame when no effort has been made to remedy the poverty of the people so often stressed by the Government statement. It is everywhere admitted that increase in wealth by industrial development is an indirect but powerful remedy of disease and poverty.

The most vital point connected with the growth of population is the adequate supply of food stuffs. The official argument in favour of overpopulation has always been based on food scarcity. The last famine in Bengal and the shortage of food supply in India were generally

ascribed to the abnormal increase in population. But various statistics would lead one to think that there were many other factors for the development of this regrettable situation. From 1920-21 to 1931-32, population has increased by about 10 per cent, whereas agricultural production by 16 per cent and industrial production by 51 per cent. From 1900 to 1931, population has increased by 19 per cent, agriculture developed by 29 per cent and industry by 189 per cent. From these data Dr P. J. Thomas has concluded that population has not outstripped production and India is not, strictly speaking, suffering from overpopulation. It is now generally believed that hoarding through private and criminal agencies and the denial policy of the Government were the main causes of the acute food scarcity prevailing in this country.

Dr Radhakamal Mukherji, in his excellent work on "Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions", concludes that food deficiency is only 12 per cent. Dr Mukherji is very careful about this conclusion from an unbiased collection of data, but even his deduction of 12 per cent food deficiency may be somewhat modified from the consideration of the members of the population as consumers of commodities and the consideration of the consumption demand varying with age. Dr F. C. Snow suggested a scale representing the average equivalent consumption demand for persons in different age groups, taking unity as the maximum consumption demand for persons aged about 30. He suggested the average consumption demand of children under 15 as 19, that of persons between 15 to 29 as 81, that of persons between 30 to 44 as 95, that between 45 to 59 as 68, that between 60 to 74 as 32 and that of persons over 75 as 06. The equivalent consumption demand units required will be much less than the actual population. If these points are considered, the actual food deficiency will not be much and hence



not give rise to food scarcity of the nature prevailing in various parts of the country

Even if there is a small amount of food deficiency there is no need of apprehension. There is much scope for production in India, for food supply must increase along with better shipping, better means of transport, better irrigation and better distribution. There are also great possibilities of agricultural development by improved manuring and introduction of scientific methods and by the principle of co-operative holdings etc. The unscientific and stereotyped methods of agriculture in this country have been the main causes of the low yield of food stuffs. The average yield per acre in India is 881 lbs rice and 662 lbs wheat, whereas in Japan the yield of rice is about three times and that of wheat is twice per acre. The first step towards the improvement of agriculture should consist in the abolition of the fragmentation of land and the introduction of economic holding. The second step should be overhauling of the irrigation policy throughout India. The third step will be the application of scientific methods.

From the Agricultural Statistics for British India, 1936-37 it is found that only one third of the land available for cultivation is sown and about one fourth more is cultivable and still not cultivated. This is, no doubt, great abuse of good resources. Distribution of agricultural labour and better arrangement of irrigation can increase food supply by more than 50 per cent. It has been found from experiment that some of the uncultivated land, if cultivated, produces good results.

Other methods suggested by economists for the increase of national wealth, which is a powerful remedy, for poverty and disease, are economic development, industrialization, distribution of population and emigration from places highly congested. In the case of food scarcity in a particular part of the country, emigration is a powerful

remedy. Inter provincial migration has solved some of the most acute problems of food consumption and accommodation in many places and this method should be adopted in India as far as practicable. Relief from emigration is most helpful from various points of view. In the United States of America emigration played a great part in the adjustment of the country's wealth. Not only the masses but also the upper strata of the people should be interested in emigration, otherwise there will be maladjustment instead of proper distribution.

India has no doubt, been an agricultural country but there existed various small scale and cottage industries to supplement national wealth. Early British Rule in India was responsible for the destruction of these Indian industries for the benefit of the then British mercantile classes. These industries must be revived on more scientific lines through co-operative organizations.

To effect all these improvements, special attention must be paid to public health and sanitation. Rural sanitation is the first step which leads to a better type of agriculture. This is a vital part of rural uplift work and for its success a comprehensive scheme of rural education should be adopted. This education should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of young children and less upon book learning. The principle of educating children through purposeful activity leading on to productive work is peculiarly suitable to village conditions and requirements. Nature study of plant and animal life, education with special reference to local subsidiary industries, physical and boy scout training and lessons in first aid will increase the vitality of the agriculturists, minimize sickness and disease and facilitate better production. For the improvement of agricultural training in the villages, Sir M. Visvesvaraya suggests, in his work on 'Planned Economy for India', permanent agricultural museums by the co-operative method. Better living and better

farming are so vitally inter-related that one is not possible without the aid of the other.

Besides rural education for better living will be necessary establishment of new industries particularly of minor or cottage type, the extension of the existing ones also and the increasing productivity of both agriculture and industry resulting in the restoration of balance between them. Industries must include the manufacture of agricultural implements fruit-growing poultry, dairy farming, canning, etc. weaving leather goods, cultivation of vegetables and husbandry all possible in the villages.

The success of the scheme of better farming depends on a right policy of marketing and adequate food supply in the country depends on equitable distribution. With this end in view village organizations on the lines of the ancient village societies should be started through the panchayat system. The last havoc wrought by food scarcity was largely due to the lack of competent village organizations to deal with the situation centralisation and want of distribution facilities brought about a terrible collapse in the natural food supply in the villages resulting in the villagers rushing to the cities and creating a scene of hungry beggars dying of starvation in the open streets. When mismanagement and corruption were rampant in the centre the villages were bound to suffer. The whole stock vanished from the tillers of the soil through fair means or foul and not the slightest portion returned to feed the hungry mouths of the villagers. Had there been village organizations active and sincere, to deal with the food situation they could have prevented the disappearance of the food grains by stocking them in their own granaries (*dhanjagolas*) and could have distributed the same unit fairly when the necessity arose. This would have saved the villages from the heartless conspiracy of the hoarders and profiteers. This is apparent from the fact that when

millions died for want of food, thousands of maunds of rotten rice and wheat are being thrown away to the detriment of the health of the locality.

It is, therefore, necessary that the disappearance of food grains must be stopped with strong hands through competent village organizations formed by the real panchayats. Food grains should be stocked in granaries when they are gathered after the harvest and should be equitably distributed in times of distress. For proper distribution contiguous villages and hamlets may be grouped into small units. Group villages should have their own controlling agencies and adequate staff for the work of co-ordination, collection and supervision. The unit areas should be autonomous as regards their internal administration, but a central advisory council in the district towns may be formed with the representatives of the village units to guide the general policy. Even a provincial board may be constituted with representatives of the district councils, local legislature and experts to give advice and to modify the policy as circumstances change. The whole system should be so arranged that it may not be too heavy. Centralised policy in food distribution is bound to fail as it has been demonstrated in Bengal with disastrous results.

It is evident that, with proper distribution of food grains, the growth of India's population is not a matter of apprehension. India's high death-rate comes from ignorance of sanitation. Disease is more or less prevalent for want of proper education. Food scarcity arises generally from maladjustment, profiteering propensities and incompetent management. Nature has liberally provided the Indians with enormous resources and when these are properly tackled for the benefit of the country poverty and food scarcity will not be a perpetual handicap in their progress and the nightmare of overpopulation will at once vanish.

# MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION:

## SOME ASPECTS

By MR R. S KANUNGO MA, JLB, BAR-AT-LAW, (A/LAHABAD)

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[T is worthwhile examining the origin of what is called Municipal Government. We know that a certain unit of population with defined geographical boundaries possesses identity of interest, communal political, financial, economical, cultural etc and has common ambition for all its components and this is known as a State. The State, by its very existence, connotes that its primary and fundamental function is to govern. Every such State consists of smaller homogeneous community units for the purposes of administration. For instance, in India, we have a village and a town as the distinctive administrative units in the body politic of the State. Put in more general terms, there are rural areas and urban areas. It is not possible in the very nature of things that the Government of the State, to be called Central Government, can efficiently manage and effectively control the local affairs of these units. And, as such, a need necessarily arises for setting up an administrative machinery which may be best fitted to deal with local problems which are confined to these smaller units. Sagacious statesmen devised that machinery to be called local government and created local authorities to administer the areas within a well defined sphere of activities, exclusively pertaining to those respective areas. Broadly speaking, such local governments fall under two nomenclatures, viz., Rural Authorities and Urban Authorities. Municipal Government is a synonym for the Urban Authorities.

As a result of our political relationship, systems of Municipal Government obtained in India are more or less a copy of the English pattern. And usually it is believed this is the only form of Municipal Government. But that is not so. I had the privilege to study in 1934 Municipal Governments in half a dozen countries of Europe, namely England, France, Belgium,

Holland, Switzerland and Italy, when I was deputed by the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad as a Baroda State delegate to the International Conference of Municipalities in France. Municipal administrations have different forms in different countries.

Prominent features of the English system are —

- (a) All local authorities are elected councils.
- (b) The work of the local authorities is carried out mainly by committees consisting of elected members as well as of co-opted non members.
- (c) Officials are under the direction of the municipal council. They are appointed and are dismissible by it.
- (d) Any person can vote irrespective of sex who is above the age of 21.
- (e) All Local Government powers whether legislative, administrative or executive are vested in the elected council.
- (f) Local authorities have various forms, e.g. Rural District Council, Urban District Council, Borough, County boroughs etc.

In France the unit of Local Government, whether for a small village or for a big city, is the commune, qualifications for voting are 21 years of age and of *male sex* and qualifications for membership on the commune is 25 years of age and must not be a *woman*. You will thus observe that in France a woman does not enjoy equality of even civic status. A Mayor is elected and such functions as are obligatory are imposed not upon the Council but on the Mayor, who consults the Council and acts subject to their control. The Prefect who is akin to our District Saba has very considerable powers of control over these bodies, their Councils and Mayors. He has the power to suspend or cancel orders of the Mayor, to suspend Deputy Mayors and Councillors, to cancel resolutions, approve municipal taxes, etc.

In Belgium the form of the local authority is the same as in France with this difference that the head of the Municipal Council is

called the Burgo Master, who is a representative of the Crown and appointed by the King for 6 years. Here the Executive consists of the Burgo Master, Aldermen and Secretary. There is an appreciable control over expenditure exercised by the State. All budgets, taxes and loans require the King's approval.

In Holland the form of the Local Body is the same. The system of Burgo Master and Aldermen as the Executive exists here as well. All the Councils and Executives are under a permanent control of the State.

In Switzerland communal organization, which means municipal organisation, is thoroughly democratic. Supreme authority is the Communal Assembly of male members of 20 years and above. This body has control of all affairs. There is hardly any control over the communes so far as municipal powers are concerned.

In Italy, just the reverse is the case. By a decree of 1926 the whole system of representative local government throughout the country was swept away and was replaced by a system which was described in Italy as one of "Autarchy." Under it Podesta, an official appointed by a Royal decree for 3 years, was the responsible authority. He was assisted by a council, which was summoned at his discretion and it had only to give advice on matters referred to it. The Podesta himself was the sole executive. He was personally responsible for any loss caused to the commune by his action or negligence. He was expected to carry out a definite programme during his regime.

It will thus be seen that municipal governments have special features of their own in each country. Similarly the degree of authority enjoyed and powers vested in them vary within wide limits from the absolute "autarchy" of the Italian Podesta to the nearly full liberty of Swiss authorities to do any act coming under the phrase "the benefit of the community."

Though such differences of form, constitution and methods of governance exist,

the subjects comprised under the control of municipal authorities and the public services administered by them are mostly the same. They are: (1) Public Health, (2) Education, (3) Highways; (4) Public Assistance, and (5) Police. The one outstanding qualification common to all municipal governments is the high degree of efficiency shown by them in the discharge of their duties. Take any town, English or European, you find the streets scrupulously kept clean, gardens well trimmed and decently arranged, parks neat and well maintained, litter receptacles provided at short distances and convenient places for the waste material to be put in, instead of being thrown at random, systematic and pure water supply, very perfectly managed sewerage system, children's clinic provided, baths and wash houses constructed and maintained for the use of the public, medical examination of children, administration of medical relief, maternity arrangements, play grounds for children, etc.

Let us now turn to examine our conditions. Whatever favourable attitude we may take, we do find that municipal governments in our country with few fortunate exceptions do not compare favourably with the picture I have given. It becomes necessary to find out the 'why' of it. When the sphere of activities with which our municipalities are concerned is very much less and limited and secondly when the authority and powers vested in them do not compare unfavourably with the conditions in Europe, is it not a surprisingly gloomy circumstance that we should have such a sorry rendering of accounts?

Whether by choice or by compulsion, we have chanced to adopt the English form, which is based on principles of democracy. Democracy, to be successful, requires an intelligent electorate, conscious of its duties towards society and as a zealous guardian of its rights. Do nothing democracy is more or less dangerous in its result. Democracy demands for its success responsible public opinion and

highly developed civic sense in the people. It should become a part of their character itself. Traditions need to be established in the spirit of public service. But this very fundamental is absent from us.

The one thing which is of prime importance is, therefore, intelligent, citizenship. All our talk of reform, all our endeavours for improvement and progress are of no avail, unless we secure the prime essential of an efficient civic government *viz.*, an interested and informed community. Participation of the public in their own administration to day stops at the election of councillors. Public interest should be continuous and critical. Men cannot register their minds at the polls unless they have minds to register and the voter who makes up his mind without information is no source of strength or wisdom to any government.

How can this be done? The reply is *By More Publicity*.

The publicity can be in many ways and through different agencies. Firstly the newspapers—This is a source from which most people get their data. Secondly, by explaining to the public the work of the municipal administration through the issue of bulletins. Thirdly, the American method of 'Open House' is very tempting and effective. It consists of inviting the general public to attend when the head of each department of the municipality explains the special branches of administration. This in my opinion will prove extremely popular, educate the public and make them the better judges of their elected representatives.

I would venture to put forth one more suggestion, *sc.*, voting in municipal elections should be made compulsory. Vote is a certain power delegated to a person holding it. It is meant to be used, and if not used or cared for, the person having it proves himself unfit to hold the power which the right to possess a vote entails. It is better not to have an electorate rather than have a

careless, indifferent and callous one. It is, therefore, logical that voting should be made compulsory. Non use should entail its confiscation. This rule is found to work well in Belgium.

Now to turn to another point, starting with Baroda as an illustration. It is well known that the Baroda Municipality is primarily a sanitary authority. There are two sides of public health questions—curative and preventive. The two are quite inter-related and inter-dependent. The first is a province of the medical world while the latter is a municipal responsibility. From my past experience of the municipality I feel convinced that a better and a closer co-operation and collaboration on problems of city's public health will certainly bring out more fruitful results. I think an attempt to establish a Citizens League for public health consisting of Municipal Health authorities and Members of the Medical Profession to jointly deliberate on problems of public health will provide a desired organisation for the purpose.

My experience of years of contact with the working of the municipal bodies shows that our municipal members need to enlarge their vision and broaden their ideas. There is a distinctive tendency to be observed that the municipal bodies are very touchy on questions of their power and status. Much of the useful energy is wasted in fighting out many unfruitful or academic causes at the cost of work for public. This mental attitude is traceable in its source, to a historical reason. The local governments of which municipal government is a part, came to be established in India in their modern forms, in 1860 during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty. They were designated as Local self Government, and one of the objects underlying their creation was to give people a sort of preliminary training in the art of administration so as to equip them better for greater association with the work of Government. The term "Local self Government" has done greater harm to the evolution of these institutions

than anything else. People have always looked upon these bodies as a school for political training and have subordinated the spirit of social service and duties and responsibilities, which they owed to the community as in charge of affairs of these local bodies. The result to day is that the political schooling is still in its infancy even after 60 years of experience while real duties have been neglected and responsibilities to the mass have not been shouldered properly. Municipal Councillors should fight this idea out and consider betterment of municipal affairs all round as their main concern.

Another suggestion in relation to municipal government is that every municipality should have a scientific survey and systematic planning of its areas for prospective improvement, what would make the city or the town an ideal one? How is it possible to expect any permanent improvement in any area unless we know first as to what we want? There is no intention to run down municipal administrations, but I mention this only as a fact that in the absence of such survey and plans, city fathers come to municipalities and go after every stated period and waste their time in pore day to day routine of work and local politics arising out of it. They have nothing before their mental vision for constructive work and they go as they come without having contributed anything to the permanent weal, and well being of the people who returned them as their trustees. The need, therefore, of such an exhaustive scientific survey and planning is of first importance.

Once the peremptory need of survey and plan is accepted the next important question relates to its execution. In this connection one cannot too much emphasise one principle that all such facilities, amenities or improvements as are of a permanent nature should be made available to all the inhabitants at one and the same time. I shall explain what I mean. Supposing the plan to make a city dustless is to be undertaken. The work of

asphalting all the roads of the city should be undertaken at the same time. If this is not done it means doing injustice to part of the taxpayers by giving preferential treatment to others whose areas are thus improved. Take Baroda city. Asphalting of roads was undertaken as a programme in 1936. Some parts of the city have asphalt roads while others have not, we need not enter into the question why this is not done. What is the result? One part of the tax payers enjoys better amenities than the other. This is unfair. The same applies to recreation grounds, parks and gardens, opening out congested areas, provision of sewerage etc. I am emphatic that such programmes should be taken up for the whole area so that every tax payer is given an equitable treatment which he is entitled to and which he can claim.

This necessarily leads to the consideration of the question of finance. It is usually argued that it is not possible within the means of the municipal income to undertake huge expenditure of this kind all at once. The argument is only plausible. If the means at the disposal are not enough to meet a scheme of any particular improvement, funds must be secured by creating liabilities. And there is every justification for this step. If the nature of the benefit to be conferred to day is of a permanent or semi-permanent nature so that the generations of the future will share in its enjoyment, it is but just that they should be sharers in this burden in the same way as the present generation is enjoying benefits conferred by its predecessors and shouldering liabilities created by them. There should be constructive imagination and bold execution in these matters.

This prompts reference to a common weakness of municipal governments on the score of finance. My experience tells me that the usual tendency of city fathers is towards making savings even at the cost of making improvements. Certainly wasteful expenditure must needs be avoided. But a mere attachment to the idea to fill up municipal treasuries by savings from the

yearly revenues is obnoxious on the very face of it. The income of municipalities is perennial and taxes are levied with a view to see that citizens receive benefits in return proportionately. If mere saving is the ideal, it should be interpreted to mean two things. First that all avenues of progress are satisfied, all amenities of civic happiness are provided and, therefore, there is no more need of so much taxation. Second that if this is not the case then the municipality is incompetent and inefficient and therefore does not deserve to be in possession of

funds which she cannot utilise to any better purpose. The tax payers would certainly be sufficiently justified in asking for reduction in taxation if accumulation of reserves without any planned idea to spend them is the goal.

In the domain of the municipal governments all individuals have a part to play directly or indirectly as tax payers or managers. If every one tries to make his little nook of God's creation more healthy and beautiful, our little municipal world will be happier in the sum total.

## CHINA AT THE CROSS ROADS

BY PROF S B MOOKERJI, M A

THE war is over. It is yet premature to say whether the years immediately following will be years of preparation for another war more disastrous and devastating in its consequences than any before.

The shape of things to come has been engaging the attention of all serious minded persons. While we in India have our own problems, we cannot be blind to the world at large, particularly those near our home.

China is our neighbour. In a sense, hers has been the most magnificent role in the tragedy the curtain on which has just been rung down. She has emerged victorious from a blood bath with few parallels in recorded history.

What next? What China will become is a question that is asked by every serious thinking man. A China peaceful, prosperous and united with her industrious millions and her natural resources is sure to play a beneficent role in the life of Asia and of the world in years to come. A China divided and disunited on the other hand will be a threat to world peace, will disappoint her friends and may become once again the victim of some aggressive nation or nations.

There are those who point out that China will never pull together as a

Republic and that a Civil War in China is in the offing. Has not they argue, the friction between communists and the Kuomintang survived during all these years of a life and death struggle? Do not the financial difficulties raised by the war almost defy solution? Are not her provinces unwieldy in size and disparate in characteristics and development?

Taking all these for granted, we should not, for a moment, lose sight of the tremendous distance covered by China since 1911. The Manchu Throne collapsed in that year like a house of cards. The revolutionaries, who had engineered the collapse, had no well defined plan for governing the country, and to make confusion worse confounded, no means of executing it, even if they had one. This is the basic cause of the dictatorship of Yuan Shu Kai, the rise of the Tutchuns and the disappearance of the last vestiges of all orderly government.

The pulsation of a new type was unmistakable nonetheless in the decade between the Washington Conference and Japanese seizure of Manchuria in 1931 when chaos and misgovernment were at their worst. The fire of Japanese invasion has forged a very tough steel, unity in resistance of the disconnected elements of a

him and the Yuan, can refer the dispute to the National Assembly. The highest appointments in the State are to be made by him.

There is, however, a check on the President's power in this direction. The Examination Yuan will first decide who are fit for official positions and the President must make his choice from among them. The President, moreover, is subject to the National Assembly in all matters. Meeting at such long intervals as the latter will, the check seems more nominal than real. But the village assemblies, it is expected, will continually express public opinion which will be transmitted to the Central Government through the provincial assemblies.

The question of questions to-day so far as China is concerned is the future relation between the Communists and the Kuomintang. Vital differences notwithstanding, the two united to ward off the peril from the East. General Chu Teh has claimed on behalf the Communists that "Communist troops had engaged 69 per cent. of Japanese troops in China and 93 per cent. of Puppet troops fighting for Japan." According to Stuart Gelder, "they have liberated 320 000 square miles of China and have brought freedom to 90 000 000 people of 200 000 000 people in occupied territories." Strange as it may sound, instances of armed clashes and angry disputes between the two even in the years of war have been by no means rare. One very serious clash occurred in Anhui. The press reported another only the other day.

What are the causes of the quarrel? The Communists have continually pressed for 'total war' against Japan. They wanted weapons being put in the hand of every peasant. This the Kuomintang did not do. The Communists further accuse Chungking of withholding from them even available supplies of arms and ammunitions. Chungking's counter allegations are that the Communists illegally increased the strength of their army (the 8th Route Army) and even

traded with the enemy. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the Times Correspondent in North China reports that the Central Government actually, blockaded adjacent areas under Communist control—*The Times, Nov 11, 1943*

What impedes the unity between the two? It is perhaps the suspicion lurking in the mind of the older party that the younger may create a state within the state too powerful to be effectively controlled by the Central Government.

That the future in China belongs to the progressives is indisputable. Communists alone by the way, are not meant by progressives. The days of one party dictatorship while the Kuomintang rule is, are fast drawing to a close. That party must admit this and must listen to what others have got to say. The very idea of constitutional government implies this and "it is the inescapable outcome of the war, and of the widely enlivening effect it has had on the minds of all Chinese even in the lowest strata" (The story of China's Revolution by O M Green, p 115).

The success of everything in China, or for the matter of that in all countries, hinges on the third principle of Dr Sun Yat Sen—Livelihood of the people. The Government realises this and is determined more on raising the standard of living of the people than on anything else.

China is at an advantage in comparison with most other countries. The Chinese can do things for himself and has not to wait for the bureaucracy's long delays. When, for example, a Chinese requires a house, he will not wait, while in England as in many other countries different Ministers will wrangle as to the sort of house he should have, the place where it will be built and who shall be allowed to build it. China's power of recuperation is uncanny so to say. Let us take an example. The city of Hankow was thrice burnt down and thrice rebuilt during the T'ai ping Rebellion. The same city was again a victim of incendiarism during the



1911 Revolution. But all traces of the disaster had disappeared by 1913. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that China badly suffered as she has will be the first of all the nations to recover from the war's ravages.

Agriculture employs four fifths of the Chinese nation. But this alone cannot bring to fruition the livelihood of the people. Hence the determination of the Government to industrialise the country. A Ten years plan has been drawn up already. It aims at the development of roads, railways and water traffic of coal and iron mines and other minerals in which China is rich, such as wilfram, manganese and antimony and of mills and factories. In spite of the war much headway has been made. The terra incognita of former days, Szechuan between Tibet and Szechuan is now humming with industry. North China too has its share of attention. West China is the region where abuses in general and landlordism in particular are most deep rooted. Yet West China can never again become what she had been before the war, a scene of the paradox of the people perishing in the midst of plethoric plenty. Burma has been re-opened. When the proposed railway links up Burma and Chinese systems the great natural wealth of the West and South will find a natural outlet adding thereby considerably to China's prosperity and political balance.

The Co-operative Societies have given a supplementary occupation to the Chinese peasant who is no longer absolutely dependent on the caprices of nature. The movement is rapidly spreading and will continue to do so. But China requires mills and factories because all industries are not within the scope of cottage workers. Hence the supreme need of industrialization. China will, however do well to eliminate as far as practicable the undesirable consequences of industrialization.

Wages and the standard of living must be raised. New industries must be created. The time honoured tea, silk

and two or three others will not do. China must learn to utilize her wealth beneath the surface as well as those above. Exporting countries may be alarmed by the prospect of China as a large exporter which she has to be if she wants to balance the budget and to realize the people's livelihood. The former will do well to bear in mind that though China as a market for cheap cotton goods and patent medicines belongs to the past yet for many years to come she will have to depend on others for high quality goods, machinery, surgical, optical and scientific precision instruments and countless other articles from abroad for which her appetite will grow with the means of satisfying it. A richer China does not, therefore, mean the impoverishment of the exporting countries, rather the reverse.

There is, however, one "if". A richer China will mean a richer world provided there is a better and more equitable distribution of goods so that there is not a wilful destruction of wheat or throwing back of the fish into the sea in one part of the globe while millions perish of starvation in another and starve off famine with bark and leaves in yet a third.

Many undoubtedly are the obstacles in the path of the realization of the principles of the people. But in the long ordeal from 1937 to 1945, a new China has been born—a China with faith in herself and in her leader. Under the sturdy blows of a ruthless enemy has been forged the tough steel of a nation's character.

The war has produced great changes full of promise. One very important is the decline of the influence of the family. The war has taught the Chinese people to think as they never thought before. It has freed their minds from petty parochial issues which "once bounded their horizon" and has taught them to think in terms of the nation.

# THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS

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[The proposals broadcast by Lord Wavell, on his return from London, have been criticized as inadequate and disappointing not by the Congress only but by other parties as well. The Rt Honble M R Jayakar, Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad and the Honble Sir N Gopalswami Iyengar, criticizing the new Attlee Wavell move in a joint statement, say — LEO IR]

THE British Government's whole object seems to be to postpone a decision on all crucial questions for seven or eight months at least and then, when there is a renewed deadlock, to hold up their hands in pious horror and pretend that all their sincere efforts to hand over power to the Indians have been foiled by disagreement among Indian leaders.

"The Viceroy's latest broadcast cold, uninspiring, was in depressing but unmistakable contrast to the warmth and friendliness of the broadcast that preceded the summoning of the Simla Conference. There has been a distinct hardening of tone and a deplorable deterioration of policy. Political tactics have now taken the place of statesmanship. As the Muslim League demands have stiffened after the failure of the Simla Conference the British Government's attitude towards the other political parties has become less and less friendly. Everything has been thrown into the melting pot, interim Government at the Centre, replacement of Section 93 by Responsible Government in the Provinces and even the summoning of a Constitution-making body.

## CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY

To take the last first, preliminary consultations are first to take place, after the Provincial elections between the Viceroy and the representatives of the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures as to the acceptability of the Cripps proposals and the form of the constitution making body.

The 'great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems' are the excuse for this resting from the position taken up in the Cripps Declaration. Mr Jinnah will not lock at any proposal for a

constitution making body, unless Pakistan is agreed to first. Is this preliminary conference intended in reality to give the Muslim League an opportunity for raising this issue and thereby creating a deadlock even at that initial stage? Have the British Government no mind on this question? If they have, why do they evade giving public expression to it?

It is pompously declared that the elections must be held first, so that the will of the Indian electorate might be known. Will on what? This is left delightfully vague. Surely, the Viceroy and the Labour Government must be fully aware that the elections on a very limited franchise by separate communal electorates will not settle the question of Pakistan. The British Government's whole object seems to be to postpone a decision on all crucial questions for seven or eight months at least and then, when there is a renewed deadlock, to hold up their hands in pious horror and pretend that all their sincere efforts to hand over power to the Indians have been foiled by disagreement among Indian leaders.

The Cripps proposals suggested a workable scheme for a constitution making body. That proposal is now to be examined *de novo*. The scheme of Federation was shelved in 1939 and after nearly seven years the question of whether and how a constitution making body is to be formed is to be the subject of fresh consultations. It would indeed be a miracle if anything but complete fiasco results from these consultations, judging from the manner in which they have been conducted in the past, with nobody, not even the Viceroy, owing the responsibility for reaching decisions and implementing them.

It is then, in connection with an interim Government at the Centre, that the very

ominous declaration is made that the new Government can only come into being if it has the support of the main Indian parties

Has the lesson of the Simla Conference and its sequel had no effect on British policy? Why should the British Government speak with mental reservations so painfully transparent? Will they continue the *status quo* after May next also if one of these Indian parties is again unreasonably obdurate? Again, why should the installation of a new Government at the Centre await the completion of the Provincial elections except it be that opportunity should be given to the Muslim League to increase its strength? The possibility of forming a new Government will apparently depend on Mr Jinnah's pleasure. Perhaps the Viceroy has doubts as to what Mr Jinnah's pleasure will be. Others less wise have not.

#### POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The latest conception of our rulers seems to be to dig up everything by the roots to see how their democratic system has fared in Indian soil. And what has happened to those manifold problems of post war reconstruction which figured so prominently when the Simla Conference was called and for the solution of which Indians, more representative and with adequate political backing were considered so necessary. Has the cessation of the war dissipated these very urgent problems into thin air? Or has a feeling now grown that, with questions of such vital concern to Britain, as the sterling balances, the Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army, the stoppage of British recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, the regulation of tariffs the rapid industrialisation of India, especially the establishment of heavy industries and the like, it is wiser to rely on the present tried and safe team than to take risks with politicians who might, with inconvenient foolishness, place the interests of the country above their

own? A humdrum Government functioning in a routine way, playing with planning for reconstruction and for a better standard of life and having, for this purpose, a limitless faith in committees and conferences on road communications, agriculture, public health, food and what not—how soothing this to the nerves of empire-sustainers compared to the unhealthy excitements of a Government that would talk of independence first and everything else afterwards! India is asked to play her full part in working out the new world order. Surely, the present Executive Council can be implicitly trusted with this task under British guidance. What should it matter if the Peace Conference and the first General Assembly of the World organisation will have met months before the bringing into being of the new Executive Council? The car of State is now in reverse gear going rapidly to the rear. Can it be halted in its backward progress? Is there any hope of its ever moving forward?

#### Gandhi's 77th Birthday

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a message to the Press on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's 77th birthday, says:

The 2nd October has become a significant date in India for that day was Gandhi's birthday 76 years ago. Whatever the day of the month or year Gandhi is ever present in our minds for he has dominated the Indian scene, moulded our national life and intimately affected innumerable private lives. What we are to day, nationally or individually, we are largely because of him, whether we realise this or not.

So to day, on his 77th birthday, we offer our homage to him and the love and affection which flow to one who has not only been a very great leader but, at the same time, much more than a leader—a friend, a comrade, a guide and sure haven in time of trouble and distress.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Lord Wavell's Second Plan

It is not surprising that the British Government's new plan for India has been condemned as disappointing and unacceptable by spokesmen of all parties. People were certainly led to hope for something better as a result of the Viceroy's consultations with the New Labour Government, but the proposals do not envisage any appreciable change from the Cripps Offer. Labour, which for England meant a refreshing change, has not proved to be quite so for India.

"Homa" of the *Hindustan Standard*  
put the position neatly in rhyme

Labour or Tory  
It's the same story,  
Keeping imperialism hoar,  
For Empire glory  
Making every proposal  
Without the will to disposal  
And wanting to sit  
When we say quit

Dr Jayakar and the non-party leaders in a statement published in another page, rightly draw attention to the cold and frigid terms of the Viceroyal broadcast and the Prime Minister's comment. It all looks like a deliberate attempt at dilatory tactics. While the crying need of the hour is prompt and immediate transfer of power to a truly national agency to stamp out corruption and tackle problems of reconstruction, the Wavell plan postpones all action for about a year.

It envisages the convening of a constitution-making body and as a preliminary step to it, the Viceroy proposes to call, after the elections are over, representatives of the provincial Legislative Assemblies and also of the States to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the Cripps Offer are acceptable or whether some modified scheme is preferable.

And while the constitution-making body goes on with its work, which may take years, the Viceroy proposes to reconstitute his Executive Council with the help and support of India's main political parties.

That is not all. For the Viceroy once again lays stress on Indians "reconciling their differences." When is this reconciliation to be realised and when are we to get the freedom we ask for? Once again it is merely creating fresh opportunities to play up the differences to hide Britain's unwillingness to part with power.

And yet, in spite of all these defects, the country has wisely decided to contest the elections, if only to vindicate the national urge for freedom and power.

## Travancore Education Policy

Since the days of Gokhale, it has been the dream of patriotic Indians that elementary education should be made free and compulsory. Attempts made by local bodies and private philanthropy have got nowhere. It is now well recognised that it is only the State with its infinite resources in finance and personnel that could cope with anything like efficiency in such a venture.

One would have thought that the Travancore Government, in embarking on such a scheme, has given the right lead to the country—in wisdom and courage. But strangely enough, this beneficent scheme has provoked a bitter controversy, sponsored, of all people, by the Catholic Mission who have themselves done so much for the cause of education and to whose services the country has always shown high appreciation. It is a pity they are on the wrong track in this matter.

For what after all does the scheme envisage? The Government have set out to banish illiteracy from the State. To this end they assume responsibility for running all primary schools. These schools are attended not by Catholic Christians only but by pupils of all religions. How could the State be partial to one creed only, and inflict on non-Christians teachings which they may reject? The Dewan put the case effectively when he pointed out,



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THIS INDIA By D F Karaka Thacker & Co, Ltd, Bombay Rs 6 14

Mr D F Karaka the author of *Out of Dust*, 'Just flesh' and a number of other well known publications hardly needs any introduction to our readers. Not long ago, we reviewed in these pages his brightly written account of the doings of the Fourteenth Army in Burma. This India his latest book deals with a variety of topics such as journalism, sample of administration love sex and morals politics and character sketches of well known political leaders under the title. Some people. The publishers describe the book as 'essentially a human document' and so it really is. Packed with facts anecdotes and autobiographical details it gives the story of a highly sensitive observant Indian in his early thirties—an Indian who was educated and who distinguished himself at Oxford. It is certainly a brilliant piece of provocative journalistic prose typical of the author. As the accredited correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* for over six years, Mr Karaka had abundant opportunities to study men and movements. He came into close contact with many leaders, got into touch even with the inner workings of the Congress, the League and the politics of the country in general. The book is therefore full of pungent and forceful observations, pleasant and unpleasant, and will amply repay perusal.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA By P B Balsa Oxford University Press, Madras

We get a concise and readable account of the salient economic and political facts about South Africa, a vast country with a thin population of which a small fraction is white. The whites dominate the land and labour power and exploit its wealth and resource. Full development of the country could be done only if it is industrialized with the co operation of native labour and the grant of equality of status for the coloured race that in essence is the South African problem viewed from the author's angle.

FRENCH STORIES FROM ALPHONSO DAUDET Translated by Indira Sarkar. (Chackerventhy & Co Ltd, 15, College Square Calcutta Rs 4)

The stark realism sensibility, the pathos and humour of the gifted French novelist Alphonso Daudet is revealed in these eight short stories rendered into English in this slim volume. They strike an exclusively provincial note and present vignettes of French life in all its vivid phases. Each story is an exquisite piece and displays remarkable descriptive powers of the writer. Special mention may be made of *The Pope's Mule*, *The Stars*, *The Old People* and *The Agony of the Semillante*.

**REBUILDING LIBERATED RUSSIA** By Prof N. Voronin A practical guide to reconstruction in India Kitab Mahal, 56 A, Zero Road, Allahabad Re 18

In the reconstruction and rebuilding of the many ruined, destroyed and devastated cities and villages, Soviet Russia offers the planners of a new civilization, a supreme example of a determined and courageous nation bent upon harnessing its rickety and depleted resources for a new and better social life. This grim and gigantic effort of the Russians is detailed in these stimulating pages by Prof N Voronin in all its several features. More, it provides a clue to the reconstruction of social life in India in the field of industry agriculture, art, architecture building and machinery

**THE SIMLA TRIANGLE** By Ashoka Mehta and Kusum Nair Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay

Here is the story of the failure of the Simla Conference narrated in the words of those who participated in it. It may be useless to discuss it at this length of time when events are moving fast, but the book will serve as a reminder of the efforts made to solve a baffling problem and how they failed to reach the desired end owing to reasons with which our readers are not unfamiliar.

A perusal of this record of day to day events in that Simla drama will reveal at once the strength and weakness of the freedom movement in this country.

The inclusion of the text of the Cripps offer, C R's formula and the Desai Liaquat Pact appended to the volume make it a useful book of reference for the future.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**BRITISH TRADE UNIONS** By Mary Agnes Hamilton Oxford University Press Bombay As 6

**TILLY OR THE FROG WITHOUT A JUMP** By Isabel M Mathews Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay Rs 28.

**THE GRAND INQUISITOR** By F Dostoevsky Translated from the Russian by H P Blavatsky International Book House, Ltd Bombay

**AN APPLICATION OF THE POETRY OF NAWAB SIR NIZAMAT JUNG SAHABADUR** By P V Sharma MA Madras : Aizaz, Hyderabad (Da)

**MOHAMMAD AND TEACHINGS OF QURAN** By John Devoport By Mohammad Amin Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore

**SOME MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OF AL GHAZALI** By Syed Nawab Ali MA Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar Lahore

**DEATH UNDER THE MOON** By Archie Jocelyn Thacker & Co Ltd, Bombay Rs 38

**YOUTH'S BURDEN** By Jawaharlal Nehru Foreword by P A Wadia Hamara Hindustan Publications, 232 Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.

**A SHROUD AS WELL AS A SHERT** By Shamooa Frazer Thacker & Co., Ltd Bombay Rs 6 14

**THE MEANING OF DOMINION STATUS** By S M Bose Oxford University Press, Madras and Bombay

**THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE** With a Foreword by the Earl of Clarendon Longmans Green & Co., Ltd, London and Madras

**THE AESTHETICAL NECESSITY IN LIFE** Three lectures delivered under the Sir George Stanley Foundation for lectures in Aesthetics in the University of Madras Kitabistan, Allahabad Rs 3 12

**SPARCULIGHT** By His Highness Rajaji Maharaj, Kitabistan Allahabad Rs 3

**WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIA** By Sir Allmon Raj Kumar Bagerji, Allahabad Rs 3

**BURMA AND THE JAPANESE INVADER** By John L Christian, Messrs Thacker & Co., Ltd, Bombay Rs 16 8

**CHRISTIANITY CHALLENGES CAPITALISM** By W M Hyburn and Clarence Folk. Published by Dr M S Vairasapillai, Forman College P O, Lahore.

**BRITISH PEOPLE SERIES** University Students and English Villages 1sh net each Longmans Green & Co., Ltd, London

**OUR YOUTH** By Kamaladevi

**OUR AGRICULTURAL PLAN** By D S Derby

**REBUILDING LIBERATED RUSSIA** By Prof N. Voronin Kitab Mahal, Allahabad

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- September 1 Dr Hubback enthroned as new Metropolitan of India
- Andamans not to be used as penal settlement
- September 2 Japs sign Instrument of Surrender
- September 3 Temporary Agreement between Chang and the Communists reached
- U S troops move into Japan
- September 4 The Mahadjo asks his people to observe commitment faithfully
- Spain asked to evacuate Tangier
- September 5 Akal leaders decline to negotiate with Muslim League on basis of Pakistan
- September 6 MPs appeal for full civic liberties and free elections in India
- September 7 Press censorship ends though advising is to continue
- September 8 Non party leaders condemn Government's surrender to League
- September 9 Birla's startling statement regarding Government's behaviour in respect of Textile Industry
- September 10 C R comes back to Congress (11) and is invited to attend Working Committee meeting at Poon
- September 11 Gen Tjo shoots himself to avoid arrest
- Round up of Far East War Criminals
- September 12 Congress Working Committee meets at Poon
- September 13 Gandhi advises Congress to contest elections
- September 14 Congress Working Committee decisions published
- Mr Sarat Chandra Bose and Lala Sarkarilal released
- September 15 Lord Wavell back in India
- September 16 Mr Bhulabhai replies to League Leader re Desai Liaquat Pact
- The Big Five decide that Italy should forfeit her colonies
- September 17 Plans for demobilization of Indian Army announced
- September 18 Mody Matthal report to Sapru Committee released
- September 19 Nationalist Muslims decide to fight the League in the elections
- Italy's Colonial Empire liquidated
- September 20 U S honour for Viceroy and C in C
- September 21 A I C C meets at Bombay
- Congress Working Committee demands freedom of all Asiatic countries
- September 22 A I C C reiterates its objectives Committee formed for defence of I N A men
- September 23 Deadlock in Foreign Ministers Conference in London
- Transport strike in Calcutta
- September 24 World Trade Union Congress meets at Paris
- Sardar Patel initiates Election Campaign in Bombay
- September 25 Maulana Azad's correspondence with Viceroy during Simla Conference released
- September 26 Hindu Muslim riot in Bombay
- Mr Aney attacked in the State Council, Ceylon
- September 27 Emperor Hirohito calls on MacArthur
- September 28 New Government of India 3 per cent loan announced
- September 29 British land in Java to restore order
- September 30 Central Akali Dal decides to co-operate with Congress in Punjab Elections



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## HUMAN FREEDOMS

Prof S V Puntambekar, writing on the above subject in the *Modern Review* for September, points out that great thinkers like Manu and Buddha have laid emphasis on what should be the assurance necessary for man and what should be the virtues possessed by man. They have propounded a code as it were of ten essential human freedoms and control of virtues necessary for good life. They are not only basic but more comprehensive in their scope than those mentioned by any other modern thinker. They emphasize five freedoms or social assurances and five individual possessions or virtues. The five social freedoms are

(1) freedom from violence (*Ahimsa*) (2) freedom from want (*Asteya*) (3) freedom from exploitation (*Aprigraha*) (4) freedom from violation or dishonour (*Avajabhichara*) and (5) freedom from early death and disease (*Amritatva* and *Arogya*)

The five individual possessions or virtues are

(1) want of intolerance (*Ahrodha*) (2) Compassion or fellow feeling (*Bhutatada* *Adroha*) (3) Knowledge (*Jnana*, *Vidya*) (4) freedom of thought and conscience (*Satya* *Sunrita*) and (5) freedom from fear and frustration or despair (*Pravritti*, *Abhaya*, *Dhriti*)

Human freedoms require as counterparts human virtues or controls. To think in terms of freedom without corresponding virtues would lead to a lopsidedness of life and a stagnation or even a deterioration of personality and also to chaos and conflict in society.

This two-sidedness of human life its freedoms and virtues or controls its assurances and possessions have to be understood and established in any scheme for the welfare of man, society and humanity. Merely the right to life, liberty and property or pursuit of happiness would not do, nor merely the assurance of liberty, equality and fraternity would help.

We in India, concludes the Professor, also want freedom from foreign rule.

Foreign rule is a damnable thing. This land has suffered from it for hundreds of years. We must condemn it whether old or new. Then we must have self rule in our country under one representative responsible and centralized system. Then alone we shall survive.

## BOMB AND CIVILISATION

In an article on "Bomb and Civilisation" in the *Glasgow Forward*, Lord Bertrand Russell writes

'The prospect for human race is sombre beyond all precedent. Mankind is faced with a clearcut alternative. Either, we all perish, or we shall have to acquire some slight degree of common sense. A great deal of political thinking will be necessary if utter disaster is to be averted. If men have wisdom to make use of the few years, which will remain open to them, there is another better possibility. Either war or civilization must end. If it is to be war that ends there must be an international authority with the sole power to make new bombs. All supplies of Uranium must be placed under the control of an international authority, which have the right to safeguard it by armed forces. As soon as such authority has been created, all the existing atomic bombs and all plants for their manufacture must be handed over to it. And of course, the international authority must have sufficient armed forces to protect whatever has been handed over to it. If this system is once established, the international authority would be irresistible and wars would cease.

United States won't consent to any pooling of armaments and no more will Soviet Russia. Each will insist on retaining the means of exterminating the other on the ground that the other is not to be trusted. If America were more imperialistic, there would be another possibility less Utopian and less desirable but preferable to total obliteration of civilised life.

It would be possible for Americans to use their position of temporary superiority to insist on disarmament not only in Germany and Japan but everywhere except the United States,—at any rate, every country not prepared to enter into close military alliance with the United States involving compulsory sharing of military secrets."



## IMPORTANCE OF UNITY

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an article in *The Concord* a Calcutta weekly, writes that "a joint Hindu Muslim British unity is the logic of Indian history."

Elaborating this thesis Sir Sultan Ahmed says

Our outlook should be clear. Hindu Muslim unity is for us the initial stage in our evolutionary march to the great goal of human unity and Indo British unity is the next immediate stage on our path. Britain has her ideal of a British Commonwealth of Nations which will be her great contribution to the still greater World Commonwealth of the future. It is for India and Britain to decide whether they will tread a common path to the realisation of this supreme end. Britain has got to help her to be so.

Sir Sultan Ahmed traces the failure of unity talks and conferences in the past to the lack of love between the contracting parties.

All that these conferences have tried for has been an adjustment of the material interests of the various groups separated in heart from one another. Attention has been focussed on what one party could get out of the other but never on what one should give up for the sake of the other.

What we want very badly, Sir Sultan Ahmed writes is a community thinking on things that are common and to take a firm stand on it.

There must be a meeting ground where men and women of all camps may, for a while leave politics alone in order to appreciate and enjoy the common good things in their arts and traditions, to give and take their cultural values, and to get a glimpse of their common destiny as children of a common Motherland. Thus, with the rediscovery of our cultural communion, moving along non-controversial topics a new sweetness will be introduced in our human relation and a new harmony will dawn on the horizon of our racial politics.

Sir Sultan Ahmed concludes

Political independence is necessary to India principally because it will give her a status to deliver to the world her message. India feels that the time is ripe when the world needs it. For the ills of the modern world cannot be fully cured by 'patent' remedies and economics alone. The West has made wonderful progress in the domain of Science and material values while in the realm of the spirit and culture India, the heir to all the great traditions of the East, has much to give. And this she cannot give as a subject nation. For, who in the modern world could listen to a people who do not rule themselves?

## THE MESSAGE OF THE VEDANTA

How before he decided to go to the West to attend the World Parliament of Religions at Chicago, Swami Vivekananda was assailed by doubts and how his Guru appeared before him in a vision and ordered him to go, is related by Swami Atulananda in the *Pratidha Bharati*.

The conquest of the Western thought world by a young Sanyasin from the East was a gigantic undertaking. The Swami, then only 23 years old, was fully aware of this. Still this was the enormous task that faced him. And unless this was accomplished, his attempt could not be called successful. No wonder a mighty tumult agitated the Swami's mind. Should he go to America or not? That was then the question.

Sometimes for days, his soul struggled for a definite conviction about his mission.

Was it his own ambition that sometimes thrilled him with anticipation, or was it God's command that made him so restless? Was it his duty to extend the scope of his work and to gather new experience in foreign lands or was he influenced by the enthusiasm of his friends and admirers.

Intuitively the Swami felt that it was his duty to go, that he had a message not only for his own country but for the world. But he was not satisfied to trust to his own conviction. He wanted more tangible proof.

And so the Swami spent days and weeks in prayer and contemplation. Then, at last, the command came. It came in an unexpected, mysterious way.

One night when this all important question had kept him awake for hours, he at last fell into a slumber. And in this state of half sleep he had a dream and vision.

He saw a vast ocean. And on the seashore he saw a figure. The figure was pacing up and down evidently musing in deep thought. Then suddenly it halted facing him. A shock of delight went through the Swami for there stood before him Sri Ramakrishna, his own beloved Master. There was sadness in the Master's face. But this sadness made room for a smile so sweet so gentle, so loving that it thrilled the Swami to his deepest being. Then the Master beckoned him, and turning around walked away upon the waters of the ocean. The Swami wanted to jump up and follow him. But then he awoke.

It was enough. Sri Ramakrishna had called him, had beckoned him to follow across the ocean! There was the command from above. The Swami's doubts were laid,

## THE ELEMENTS OF INDIAN MUSIC

Describing the Indian Raga as a mould for melody, having a definite emotional significance in *rasa*, a writer in the *Asiatic Review*, Dennis Gray Stoll, observes that in South India

there are about 500 types of individual *ragas* each a melody mould of distinctive scale or model pattern, as we might view the matter. The primary *ragas* are significantly called Lords of Melody, a striking indication of how Indians see them. They number no fewer than 72 and from these 400 odd secondary *ragas* are formed by combining in various ways five or more of the notes used in the primary *ragas* under which they are grouped.

The classification of *raga* in the South differs from the North, where most musicians use what might be described as a family system of six principal *ragas*, each having a number of *raginis* or melody mould wives, and *putras* or sons. The general principles that apply to southern *ragas* apply to the north also. Much of the difference is in name only.

The instinct to embellish a melody is as universal as music itself, yet nowhere is it so pronounced as in the non-harmonic music of India. Melodic ornaments are natural and necessary to all systems that employ no harmony. The delicate brush work of the Indian *gamakas*, grace notes *lana* the light and shade of a picture in sound, just as the consonance and dissonance of harmony do in western composition.

*Gamakas* are as integral a part of Indian melodic expression as the lips are to the face.

Without them a melody cannot smile. *Gamakas* are never imposed upon a tune; they grow there as the spontaneous expression of emotion, an indication of spiritual emphasis. Fox Strangways rightly insists that "There is never the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced; the note with its grace makes one utterance."

Instrumental *gamakas* vary from a kind of wail, produced by deflecting the wire of a vina, for instance, to elaborate fingered phrases.

Some of them seem to require an aural microscope for our unaccustomed western ears to grasp them in detail. Indian ears make bare breadth distinctions, sensitively attuned as they are to a highly evolved art of pure melody.

## COMMUNAL DIVISIONS

"These communal differences of which we hear so much are largely invented by Indian politicians for their own purposes", writes Professor A V Hill, in an article in the weekly, *Picture Post*.

Pointing out that far fewer people were killed in India in communal disturbances than in Britain, with its much smaller population, by road traffic accidents Mr Hill adds "My own expectation is that this initial failure of the Simla Conference may do good in the end by convincing sensible Indians of what the real needs of their situation are. With time for reflection, a growing sense of national purpose and an increasing realisation of what national responsibility must mean will bring people together."

Claiming that, "if we washed our hands of the whole business and cleared out of India, it is more than likely that faction and disorder would set in", Mr. Hill states that, nevertheless, India must have independence—the expression "Dominion Status" is not used in the article—for two reasons. "Firstly, because no country can really take part wholeheartedly in its own development unless the responsibility is its own or as long as someone else can be blamed for all the inevitable mistakes and failures and secondly because Britain is bound by honour and obligation to hand over control to an Indian Government as soon as Indians are reasonably agreed on who and what that Government shall be."

The tasks of defence and development would become impossible, writes Mr Hill, if faction and division were to lead to Balkanisation of Indian India. Britain's duty is to ensure that authority is gradually handed over to Indians. That is Lord Wavell's idea. He is not a party politician but a man who has the vision and humanity to put first things first. He knows that it is vital that Indians should take responsibility themselves, should plan and strive for the welfare of their own people and for the unity and glory of their country."

## TOKYO THE CAPITAL OF JAPAN

Tokyo, scene of the signing of surrender terms by representatives of the defeated Japanese nation and the victorious Allies is a city whose 217 square miles nouse a population of 7 100 000 persons

It is the third largest city in the world (first is London area 693 square miles population 8 700 000 second is New York, area 310 square miles population 7,450 000) Located on the main Japanese island of Honshu it is the seat of the Japanese government and one of Japan's largest industrial centres

Before concentrated U S air attacks crippled its industries it was estimated that Tokyo district produced 12 per cent of Japan's pig iron, 18 per cent of her steel and 18 per cent of her rolled steel products Nearly 50 per cent of Japan's oil refining capacity was concentrated in eight plants on the Tokyo waterfront

Lying in the midst of the extensive Kwanto plain the city itself is built upon more than 100 hills varying in height from 50 to 130 feet The social organization of the city follows the topography—the wealthy on the hills, the middle class on the slopes and in the hollows, the masses

Near the centre of the city, on an eminence surrounded by moat and medieval castle wall, stands the Imperial Palace Since no one must look down on the Emperor, there are no high buildings near the palace

The city is intersected by the Sumida river and its many tributaries The main thoroughfares are broad and paved off them the streets become alleys or flights

of stone steps Tokyo's transportation system includes buses 126 miles of trolley or tramways, 25 miles of subway and 40 miles of elevated trains that circle and bisect the city

After the great earthquake and fire of 1923, when an estimated 100 000 lives were lost, the city was partially rebuilt Six new avenues 120 feet wide, and 120 new streets, 36 feet wide, were cut through the city Modern fireproof and quakeproof buildings replaced many of the destroyed buildings in the principal business districts and fireproof apartments and business blocks were constructed elsewhere

But 98 per cent of the buildings in Tokyo are still Japanese style structures of wood and paper Even so, it is by far the most modern and most fire resistant city in Japan

In climate the city is unfortunate It is subject to blightingly hot summers, bitterly cold winters Typhoons are not infrequent and earthquakes occur in cycles of six or seven years throughout the islands

Tokyo is the heart of Japan's railway communications and 41 tracks connect it with the most important cities on the main island and with the heavily industrialized east and south coast urban belt Since its harbour is too shallow to admit large vessels Tokyo's commercial port is Yokohama 18 miles to the West Its naval port is Yokosuka where elements of the Allied fleets are now anchored

## INDIA'S CASE FOR FREEDOM

Prof Harold Laski, Chairman of the British Labour Party, in an article in *Collier's Magazine* states that 'the Labour Party is hostile to Imperialism in all its forms The Labour Party has always been a vigorous critic of political Imperialism which as in India has subordinated the will of Indians to be a nation to a tradition which has always become obsolete once a people was determined upon the right to govern itself'

# INDIAN STATES

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## Hyderabad

### NEW CONSTITUTION FOR HYDERABAD

"Members of certain political organisations in the State have been sponsoring the idea of setting up a Legislative Assembly under the new constitution by means of nominating prior to holding elections, a Press Note issued by H E H the Nizam's Government

The local Press has also commented upon the different aspects of the proposal and with a view to avoiding a possible misunderstanding the Government wishes to make it clear that the Reforms Secretariat has been doing its best to see the elected Assembly and local bodies start functioning as early as possible. It may be mentioned in this connection that provisions to franchise has already been published, and the work of preparing electoral rolls concerning various interests is proceeding apace and the drafting of the electoral rules is receiving the fullest attention. It would not therefore be desirable to constitute a nominated assembly at the present moment.

Moreover, it is presumed, that persons who might be nominated would themselves not desire to be nominated for such a short period.

### TRADE UNIONS ACT

It is reliably learnt that H E H the Nizam of Hyderabad has sanctioned the enforcement of the Trade Unions Act which provides facilities to workers to organise and aims at giving legal and corporate status to the Workers' organisation and invest them with immunity from civil and criminal liability in respect of legal strike.

This piece of legislation will give great impetus to the Workers organisation for developing it on healthy lines and will greatly assist in the further improvement of relations between employers and works

## Mysore

### EXCESS PROFITS TAX FOR MYSORE

The Mysore Government have, by a Gazette extraordinary, promulgated the Excess Profits Tax (Emergency) Act 1945 which in the main follows the British Indian legislation. The Act, which comes into force at once shall remain in force for a period of six months.

Under the Act except under certain circumstances, a tax equal to 60 per cent of the excess of profits over the standard profits earned by any business concern to which this Act is made applicable, has been imposed.

The tax shall not be levied on any profits which are under Section 4 of the Mysore Income tax Act exempt from Income tax and profits from life insurance business.

The Act shall apply to every business of which any part of the profits made during a chargeable accounting period is chargeable to Income tax. The standard profits shall be taken to be Rs 36 000. The profits accrued from July 1, 1944, will be subjected to tax under this Act.

### ELECTRIC POWER FOR MYSORE

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Mysore Government held at Bangalore on September 12, the Dewan presiding matters relating to the post war electrical development and particularly the Jog Power Scheme were discussed.

Besides the Ministers, Sir Henry Howard, Consulting Engineer and the Chief Electrical Engineer were present.

The first stage of this scheme is expected to be completed by the middle of 1947 though some power may be released by about June next year. The generating capacity of the plant at the end of the first stage will be 48 000 K W. But provision has been made for installing additional generators and Penstock lines with a view to increasing the capacity to 120,000 K W.

## Baroda

### SCHEME FOR SMALLER STATES

Addressing the Baroda State Legislature the Dewan reiterated his belief that the only solution to the problem of small States in India was the attachment of these with their bigger neighbours. 'It would not be out of place he said if I mention briefly what the Baroda Government has done in this connection. Their aim is twofold: amelioration of the condition of the people in the attached areas and furtherance of the education of the sons of the Chiefs and Talukdars with a view to make them fit for their responsible position. For securing the first object His Highness has constituted a fund called The Shri Maharaja Pratapsinha Gaekwar Attached Areas Development Fund enabling the expenditure of one lakh of rupees on the development of the attached areas by providing school buildings, hospitals etc. As for the second item Government has placed at the disposal of their special officers a sum of Rs 10,000 for scholarship to the sons of Chiefs and Talukdars for higher education.

### BARODA IRRIGATION GRANTS

The construction of 800 irrigation wells and the improvement of existing wells in Baroda State at a cost of Rs 12 lakhs will form part of the 'Grow More Food' campaign for 1945-46. Provision has been made in the State budget for distribution of high quality seeds at a cost of about Rs 3,00,000, while an equal amount has been earmarked for interlining of cotton cultivation with food crops. More than Rs 2,00,000 has been allotted for manuring subsidy and composite making.

A total expenditure of Rs 29 lakhs has been provided for in the budget for the 'Grow More Food' campaign in the coming year.

## Travancore

### CONTROL OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

The announcement that the Government of Travancore have decided to take over control and management primary education in the State was recently made in a Gazette Extraordinary. The Director of Public Instruction has accordingly been instructed to formulate detailed proposals on the basis of a ten year programme for implementing this decision.

The Government of Travancore declare that having bestowed their anxious consideration on the subject they have come to the conclusion that the responsibility of imparting education throughout the State devolves upon and has to be shouldered by them and they have accordingly decided to assume control and management of primary education with the definite object of making such education both free and compulsory within as short a period as practicable and they have instructed the Director of Public Instruction to formulate detailed proposals on the basis of ten year programme for implementing this decision.

After announcing the decision to assume control and management of primary education the Government make a number of points clear.

Private agencies now conducting primary schools in buildings and premises belonging to them will not be called upon to surrender those buildings and premises to the Government nor will the Government take any steps towards the closure of such schools so long as they conform to the general standards of primary education and the general curriculum that will be formulated in the course of implementing the decision of the Government.

### FERTILISER PLANT

A synthetic fertiliser plant to cost 7,000,000 dollars will be built in Travancore by Edward C. Pawley and Lewis C. Magarity, President and Vice President of the Intercontinental Corporation.

## Mahratta States

### JOINT HIGH COURT

The Crown Representative has instructed the Resident of the Deccan (Mahratta) States that a joint High Court for all the States should be constituted for the benefit of all those States which are willing to join the scheme. Kolhapur has been approved as the venue of the High Court.

It is likely that those States which do not agree to accept the joint High Court at Kolhapur will be allowed to make their own independent arrangements, so long as they prefer to do so and will be allowed to come into the joint scheme when they desire.

## Bhopal

### RAJA SIR O N BISARYA

A Bhopal "Gazette Extraordinary" announces the retirement at his own request of Raja Sir Oudh Narain Bisarya, President of the Bhopal State Executive Council, after 40 years of State Service, in the course of which he held charge, at one time or another, of almost every department of the Government.

The Raja Sahab took active interest in the Indian States affairs and was one of the States delegates to the Third Round Table Conference.

## Kashmir

### FOREIGNERS ORDER

The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir have directed that para 10 of the Jammu and Kashmir Foreigners Order, 1906 requiring that no foreigners shall remain in enter into or pass through the territories of the Jammu and Kashmir State, unless he

- (i) is an Afghan or Nepalese subject,
- (ii) is a Chinese subject entering from or proceeding to, Chinese Turkistan, or
- (iii) has obtained permission in writing in that behalf from the Government, shall be deleted.

2 A foreigner does not, therefore, now require a permit to enter Kashmir.

## Patiala

### REFORMS FOR PATIALA

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has announced his decision to introduce important constitutional reforms to bring the administration of the State in line with modern and progressive administration.

A committee consisting of officials and non officials is to be appointed to frame a constitution for the establishment of a legislative body in the State. Secondly, municipal and small communities with elected majorities will be established throughout the State.

In announcing these measures His Highness reiterates his resolve to improve the standard and efficiency of the civil services and to continue the effort that is being made for the industrial and agricultural development of the State. At the same time, he expresses his desire to associate his people more directly and closely with the administration by introducing the system of representative Government.

## THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, Ltd.

(Established—December, 1911)

Authorized Capital	Rs 5 25 00 000
Issued Capital	Rs 5 04 39 000
Paid Up Capital	Rs 2 11 18 900
Reserve and Other Funds	Rs 2 06 09 300
Deposits as at (30 6 1914)	Rs 97,36 64 000

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# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## S. Africa

### DESHMUKH'S CALL TO INDIANS

Calling on Indians to live in harmony with the population of South Africa the High Commissioner Mt Deshmukh declared at a reception to Sam China Cup Inter Provincial Soccer players in Johannesburg that India with her own difficulties could only to a limited extent look beyond her boundaries

Indians must not depend on India for their future but make the rulers of South Africa realise that their future lies there

'We don't want to interfere in the affairs of this country. All we want is that we be treated decently and be given rights that belong to every human being no matter in what country they be. I am here to advise you to treat this country as your own and live with the rest of the population. Let us not think when India speaks on behalf of Indians here that she speaks in an offensive nature

Mr M John disclosed that a committee had been appointed to negotiate more Indian football tours in South Africa and investigate the possibilities of sending a South African team to India

### UNEMPLOYMENT IN NATAL

Approximately 17 600 Indians were employed in the Province of Natal South Africa during 1944 as compared to 26 000 employed in the previous year. The total number of male adult Indian Immigrants in the Province was 43 218 according to the Annual Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants who explains that many of the immigrants are farming on their own account and carrying on other trades

The housing accommodation according to the Report still leaves much to be desired. But there were no complaints of ill treatment by employers. No immigrants returned to India during the year

The health of the Indian population was good during the year, but the deathrate from tuberculosis was still very high. The total population increased to 217 549 from 210 107 in 1943. The total number of children attending Government and Government aided Schools during the year under review was 32 875, showing an increase of nearly 2 000. Still there were many Indian children who were receiving no education owing to there being no room for them in schools

## Burma

### ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO BURMA

The view that no constitutional limitations like those referred to by Dr Khare Overseas Member of the Government of India in his speech to the Madras Muslim Chamber of Commerce, were in existence and nothing could prevent the free entry of Indians into Burma was expressed by Rai Bahadur Maneklal Kapadia

Rai Bahadur Kapadia explained to the Associated Press of India that Burma was a part and parcel of India. When Burma was separated an assurance that no restrictions will be placed on the rights of any British national entering Burma was included in the Government of Burma Act 1935. Mr Kapadia thought that if British nationals were not to be prohibited from entering Burma Indians could not be restricted and that whatever constitutional restrictions were placed on the unskilled Indian labour immigration into Burma by the Bajpai Agreement they were now void as the agreement itself had been declared a dead letter

## Malaya

### INDIA'S AGENT IN MALAYA

Mr S K Chettur, I C S., has been appointed the Government of India's Agent in Malaya. After three months' stay in Delhi he will proceed to Malaya

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA LORD WAVELL'S BROADCAST

The Viceroy, in a broadcast announcement on September 19, authorised by HMG, said

*It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene, as soon as possible a constitution making body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake immediately after the elections discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable*

His Excellency said that discussions would also be undertaken with representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they could best take their part in the constitution making body. The Viceroy added

*His Majesty's Government have further authorised me, as soon as the results of the Provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties*

After making the announcement, Lord Wavell said that it meant that HMG were determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to self government at the earliest possible date. He made it clear that it was not possible to undertake any major alteration in the franchise system as that would delay matters for at least two years

### MR ATTLEE'S COMMENT

The British Premier, in a broadcast from London, assuring that the British Government would do their utmost to give every assistance, said that the British Government were giving their immediate consideration to the contents of a treaty with the India Constitution making body, as envisaged in the declaration of policy towards India made in 1942, which "stands in all fullness and purpose"

Mr Attlee declared that the treaty would not seek to provide for anything incompatible with the interests of India

He referred to the splendid part India played in the war and stressed that victory had come essentially from unity. He urged all Indians to follow this great example and join in a united effort to work out a constitution which the majority and minority communities would accept as just and fair

### MODI MATTHAI REPORT

Sir Homi Mody and Dr John Matthai in a memorandum prepared by them on the economic and financial aspects of Pakistan, say that the division of India into separate sovereignties would spell stagnation and probable disaster unless some effective and continuous form of co operation in matters relating to Defence and economic development is accepted as an indispensable prerequisite to any scheme of separation and as an organic part of it. The signatories sum up their conclusions in two main propositions

1. Judged solely by the test of ability to maintain existing standards of living and to meet budgetary requirements on a pre war basis, but excluding provision for defence, separation would appear to be workable on economic grounds

2. If, however provision is to be made for future economic development on a scale sufficient to raise the general standard of living to a reasonable level and for measure of defence, which may be considered adequate under modern conditions, any scheme of political separation which may be contemplated should as a necessary prerequisite, provide for means of effective and continuous co-operation between the separate states in matters affecting the safety of the country and its economic stability and development

If such co operation did not exist, the position of both Pakistan and Hindustan might be seriously jeopardised

Mr N R Sarkar and many others, however, contend that even for economic and administrative reasons, the Pakistani Provinces cannot afford to be self supporting,



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# Utterances of the Day

## PROF LASKI'S PLEA AT TUC

The importance of self-government and freedom for India and of the "liberation of the Spanish people from their Fascist prison" was stressed by Prof Harold Laski when he addressed the 750 delegates representing over 6 500 000 workers at the Trade Union Annual Congress at Blackpool on September 10.

Prof Laski described himself as a harassing phantom to the Prime Minister and his colleagues. They would like him as Chairman of the Labour Party to set an example to the rank and file of silent devotion. If they did not insist upon his being deaf they thought it his duty to be dumb.

I am unable to share that view. The life of the democratic movement is in discussion and there is no discussion more helpful than that which comes from friends.

The Labour Government's task was to transform political democracy into a genuine socialist democracy, Prof Laski said. There were powerful interests anxious to see Labour fail. They had first of all to meet the grave and growing problem of demobilisation then housing, pensions, and last but not the least self government and freedom for India.

The first two Labour Governments failed mainly because they were more anxious to secure approval from their opponents than to secure enthusiasm from their friends. They never attempted anything more than half measures.

The moment is the parting of the ways for the Labour Party. Either it convinces the people that democratic socialist principles are valid in practice or it will give way to men ready for some other experiment which will not be democratic. The age of capitalism is drawing to a close and it rests upon us now to inaugurate with this Government the age of capitalism drawing to a close and it rests upon us now to inaugurate with this Government the age of democratic socialism in Britain.

## PT NEHRU ON ELECTION

'Quit India will be the Congress election cry' said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru discussing the Congress election programme at a Bombay public meeting on September 26. Explaining himself, Pandit Nehru said that it did not mean the physical departure of Britishers but meant complete recognition of Indian independence on the part of the British Government.

The Congress, he said, would leave no stone unturned to smash all opposition to Congress candidates in the elections both to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. It was silly, he added, for a non Congress candidate to hope to win any seat in the general constituencies, he would only lose his deposit.

As regards Muslim constituencies, Pandit Nehru said that the Congress would contest the elections wherever possible.

But, he said

Congress will not split votes by entering into a three cornered fight to benefit any Muslim League candidate. Wherever a non Muslim League candidate has chances the Congress will lend him all support to defeat the League candidate. The Congress stands for a United India and any Muslim who stands for the ideal of a United India will get the support of the Congress.

## MR BOSE ON INDIA'S DEMAND

Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, addressing a Press Conference, at Bombay, on September 25 said that the British Government's offer to India was unacceptable to the country. Mr Bose declared that he would be satisfied with nothing less than Complete Independence. The words 'substance of Independence' did not satisfy him. He disagreed with those who thought Lord Wavell's offer showed a change of heart.

Taking into consideration all the facts since 1939 we will be well advised not to look to London for anything at all. We should take immediate steps to rally the people and for creating a situation which will attract all our workers to the Congress ranks, to strengthen the fighting elements in the Congress and to make every preparation necessary for the next struggle which I have no doubt, will come much sooner than we are anticipating at the moment.

## MR ASAF ALI ON PAKISTAN IDEA

"I earnestly hope that the Indian Muslims will not be carried away by mere slogans but will demand a clear, definite and detailed statement from the propagandists of Pakistan about (1) the proposed constitution of the so called Pakistan areas which has not seen the light of the day since 1930 although it was promised by the Lahore Resolution, and (2) a full list of benefits expected to accrue from the proposed separation of Pakistan from India," says Mr Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement

Crores of Muslims permanently living in the Hindu majority provinces cannot afford to think in terms of far off Pakistan. They should formulate their demands as a minority and seek constitutional safeguards for their vital interests

In the absence of anything definite in shape of a draft as contemplated by the Lahore Resolution, I do not see how the electorate can intelligently appreciate the implications and consequences of a vague term

Whichever way one may look at it, one cannot see how stable sovereign States can be established in the north west and the north east without fully satisfying the powerful minorities which reside in these areas. Nor has it ever been made clear how these sovereign States can function in the modern world without entering into treaties with the neighbouring States

No indication of the recommendations of the Pakistan Planning Committee is available and the masses of the poor Muslim peasants, labourers, artisans and even lower grade public servants and masses of unemployed have a right to know by what scheme and policy their poverty and wretched conditions will be improved. Vague theories can be no substitutes for clearly worked out blue prints

## THE DODUMA DISPUTE

The Government of India have appointed Sir B N Rau to enquire into the points of dispute between the Governments of Madras and Orissa regarding the fixing of boundary limits for the two Provinces at Doduma.

## CHRISTIANS AND COMMUNALISM

"The Indian Christian community stands for the political freedom of this country and would be happy if India is placed in the position of a self governing dominion within the British Commonwealth", says Dr V K John, M.L.C., in a letter to the Secretary of State for India, conveying the greetings of the Indian Christian Community in his capacity as Leader of the Madras Legislature Indian Christian Group and President of the Federation of Indian Christians

Dr John adds

Indian Christians are not communal minded and look anxiously forward to the day when communalism will be rooted out from the public life of this country. Indeed the object of the Federation of Indian Christians is to eschew communalism from the political, social and economic life of this country and to safeguard the interests of the Indian Christian community so long as communalism prevails in the major communities. The community, however, regrets that communalism prevails generally in the major communities and the interests of Indian Christians need protection

The British Government introduced in the past separate electorates, and this only accentuated communalism in the country, and the present policy of the Government apparently is to balance the major communities and ignore the small ones, in particular the Indian Christian community. We request you to reverse this policy

It is also our earnest request that you will devise a scheme which will root out communalism from the public life of this country instead of perpetuating it

## SIKH LEADERS AND PAKISTAN

"The Sikhs will shed the last drop of their blood to prevent the establishment of Pakistan in the Punjab", declared Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., presiding over a well attended lecture in Hindustani by Principal Ganga Singh on "Position of Minorities in Pakistan" arranged by the Young Men's Sikh Association, Delhi and Simla, at the Kalbari Hall, Simla, on Sept 12,

## ADVANCED STUDIES IN U S

Mr M S Sundaram, Educational Liaison Officer for the Government of India, told administrative heads of the University of California at Berkeley that India's Government hoped to place 400 graduate students in American Universities to take advantage of advanced courses for future expansion of Indian agricultural industrial and cultural arts

Mr Sundaram was the guest of the Faculty Club presided over by Mr John D Hicks Dean of the Graduate Division

Mr Sundaram hopes to place a minimum of 25 students at the University of California specialising in agriculture and industrial sciences. If housing facilities can be arranged another ten will come. He disclosed that arrangements were completed with Dr Don Tsudder President of the Stanford University at Palo Alto to admit 19 graduate students there. They will study engineering biology aeronautics and chemistry. Representations are now being made to the American State Department to obtain transport so that students may enter the autumn terms at both Universities

## MILITARY ACADEMY FOR INDIA

In connection with the establishment of a Military Academy as India's National War Memorial it is understood that the Government of India are deputed Mr John Sargent Educational Commissioner Government of India and Dr Amarnatha Jha Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University to visit America's West Point Academy.

Their mission is specially connected with reporting on the general educational facilities, curriculum and standard of teaching being followed at West Point

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION SCHEME

An advance step in their post war educational programme has been taken by the Government of Madras, particularly in the direction of compulsory elementary education in the province

The Government are introducing compulsion in certain areas in each district selected for the purpose and have suitably amended the age limits so as to bring as many children as possible under compulsory instruction even in the first year

This preliminary step is designed to bring one among every 24 children now not attending any school under the compulsory education scheme

A sum of Rs 20,00,000 has been provided for the purpose in the current year's budget

The Director of Public Instruction has already selected villages in which compulsory education is to be introduced in consultation with the District Board authorities concerned and the new schools will be maintained by the local bodies with grants in aid from the Government

## MARRIED STUDENTS AT MICHIGAN

Marriage can promote culture at least so it would seem at the University of Michigan where it is reported, the United States Government has made a loan of 23,775 dollars for the planning of apartments for married students

## CENTRAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Governor General in Council has nominated Dr B R Ambedkar, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as Members of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India for a period of three years with effect from August 18 1945, says a Press Note

## RELEASE OF INTERNEES

With the effective surrender of the Japanese at Singapore, it has become unnecessary to keep any longer in custody a number of persons, including Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, and certain members of his family, who had been detained by order of the Central Government to prevent them from acting in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war, says a Press Note. They have accordingly been released.

Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, who arrived at Calcutta on September 17, in an interview said that nine days after his arrest (when he was in the Presidency Jail) he had sent a communication to the Government of India challenging them to prove the charge made against him in the official *communiqué* issued at the time of his arrest that he had contacts with the Japanese. So far no reply has been received, he added.

## PRESS CENSORSHIP

Following the signing in Tokyo of formal surrender terms and the occupation by Allied forces of strategic points, Press censorship in India has ceased.

Simultaneously, "Press instructions for war" lapse, with the exception of certain clauses which have been communicated to Editors through Provincial Press Advisers.

Censorship of postal and telegraphic communications and censorship of documents carried by travellers also cease forthwith.

## MR. AZAD'S DEFENCE OF INA

"If combatant enemies receive the benefits of the International Law and custom, the nationals of the country under a foreign rule are morally entitled to nothing less," says Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement to the United Press of India.

## A MARATHI NOVEL

The contents of a Marathi novel, "Shakuntala" were read over and over again before a full bench of the Bombay High Court when their Lordships heard a petition by the author of the novel Prof N S Phadke, challenging the Government's order of forfeiture of the book and demand for a security of Rs 1,500 under the Indian Press (Emergency) Powers Act.

Their Lordships, Mr Justice Divatia, Mr Justice Chagla and Mr Justice Rajadhyak came to the conclusion that the tendency of the book was clearly to discourage people from taking up commissions in His Majesty's forces and dismissed the petition with costs.

Their Lordships said that it was difficult to get away from the conclusion that there was in the book a steady under current that it was wrong for the heroine's husband to have taken a commission in the armed forces.

## SIR S VARADACHARI'S ADVICE

Addressing the members of the Tanjore Bar on September 16, Sir S Varadachari, Judge, Federal Court, stressed the need for lawyers being up-to-date and in touch with the latest developments in law, and urged them to acquire more and more of knowledge, so that they might be able to take advantage of the opportunities that were likely to occur to them in the future. Adverting to the introduction in India of the dual system of law as in England he said that in view of the peculiar position of lawyers in this country, it should be on a voluntary basis. The lawyers in India were not only agents of their clients, but they even fulfilled the function of officers helping in the administration of law, he said.

## BRITISH WOMEN M.P.s

"Although the number of women in the new House of Commons has risen from 14 to only 24 I believe that Women are going to play a much bigger part in this Parliament than in any previous one," writes Barbara Castle who at 33 is one of the youngest Members in the new Parliament. She is also a Councillor at St. Pancras. "For the first time we shall cease to be something of an oddity and be accepted as ordinary hard working members. This is what we want even if we lose some glamour in the process."

For we have come to Parliament to do what for want of a better word I might call, a 'man sized' job in short to represent the interests of all people men and women young and old, in our constituencies. Any one who expects us to concentrate on a few domestic issues will have some surprises.

Women have been elected this time for every type of area from London to Tyneside and from North Lanark to Norwich. We have in our ranks a barrister a journalist teachers economists, local councillors and students of international affairs.

We shall raise every type of problem in the House. By our work in this Parliament I prophesy we shall end once and for all the idea that women can be sent to Westminster to represent only "women's interests."

## AIM OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

The real object and aim of women's education must be to train them to discharge their special responsibilities which they alone can discharge owing to the natural biological and functional differences between men and women. The mission of women in life is to be good mothers, healthy wives and to build up a cultured home," said Dr B. B. Dey, Director of Public Instruction, Madras declaring open the new building of Guls' High School at Tencomin.

## UPLIFT OF VILLAGE WOMEN

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the Maharashtra Provincial Kasturba Memorial Fund at Poona said

"Kasturba was born in a village. She was fond of villages and lived all her early life in a village. This Fund, which is collected in her memory, must, therefore, as I have said from the beginning, be spent in villages for the uplift of village women and girls. If it is spent otherwise it will make me sad."

"Women in the villages, are ignorant and lead a pitiable existence. The burden of the whole family falls on the woman. Her life is a drudgery from morning till night. She has to feed the husband and children and look after their wants. She may sometimes have to walk two or three miles to fetch drinking water and carry it on her head. That water is only sufficient for drinking. There is no question of bathing which is impossible for her for days together. Sanitation does not exist. Dwelling places are hovels. And yet the woman's world is her village home. It is to bring light and health and cleanliness into these homes that the Kasturba Memorial Fund has been founded."

## FUTURE OF W.A.C. (I)

I hope the W.A.C. (I) will go on after the war. I can't say now that it will but if I have anything to do with it I shall do my best to see it is kept on as part of the fighting forces after the war," said the Commander in Chief in India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck in an address to recruits at the W.A.C. (I) training centre Ahmednagar.

Addressing officers who had recently been in Burma, General Auchinleck said "You and others like you have done a wonderful job. People in England and America and other parts of the world have realised that the war in Burma is just as tough as even the war in Germany or Italy or Africa."

## DR. PATTABHI'S HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS

The official history of the Indian National Congress, written by Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya in 1935, is to be brought up to date. Dr Pattabhi has now completed a second volume of 1200 pages covering the period from 1935 to 1945 which, in Dr Pattabhi's own words, "is full of memorable events". This new publication will shortly be before the public.

Dr Pattabhi is also publishing another book "My Study Window in an Unknown Fortress". This book is a day to day record of anecdotes and thoughts during his jail life in Ahmednagar Fort and later in Vellore Central Jail.

## VAGARIES OF ENGLISH SPELLING

A professor at London University recently speaking on spelling reform suggested that 'fish' should be spelt 'ghoti'. This, he went on to explain quite seriously, was justified because according to ordinary pronunciation 'gh' was the sound of 'f' as in 'rough', 'o' in 'women' sounded as 'i' and 'ti' in 'nation' was the same as the 'sh' in 'fish'.

But then a student at Oxford asked his professor what 'ghoti' spelt. Of course, said the professor, it spells fish. But the student retorted that 'ghoti' is not a word at all, because all the letters are silent - 'gh' as in 'though' the 'o' as 'journey' and the 't' as in 'castle'.

## A NEWSPAPER CURIOSITY

A newspaper with editorial offices in two capitals, *Paris-Bruxelles* is a journalistic curiosity of the war. This paper appears in two capitals, Paris and Brussels, and describes itself as 'a daily evening international'. Its leader writers are French and Belgian, and the leader follows the most important question of the day in either capital, giving preference to the subject-matter for the time being of greatest importance to both capitals. *Paris Bruxelles* was founded four months ago.

## C R &amp; THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The following correspondence between Mr C. Rajagopalachari, former Premier of Madras, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, on Mr Rajagopalachari's rejoining Congress, will be of public interest.

In a letter, dated August 12, to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, Mr Rajagopalachari says

I write this in pursuance of our conversation at Simla. Now that the points that compelled me to seek freedom of expression of my views through resignation of my membership of the Working Committee have ceased to be in controversy, I desire to serve the Congress duly enrolled as a member. The organisation not being in working order now I write this to you to declare my acceptance of article 1 and my membership may be recognised in the normal way by you as President. Needless to say my services are ever at your disposal if you deem them to be of any value.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad replied from Gulmarg on August 19 as follows —

I have just received your letter of the 12th August. I note with the greatest pleasure that you have become a member of the Congress anew. The time of separation was neither pleasant to you nor to us. It has after all, come to an end and we are forgetting it for ever.

On the invitation of the Congress President, C R attended the meetings of the Working Committee at Poona and the A I C C meeting at Bombay.

## MAULANA AZAD AS JOURNALIST

"Azad" is the pen name of the Congress President, Maulana Saheb, which he took when he started the celebrated political journal *Al-Hilal*, the *Crescent*, one of the few papers in the history of Indian journalism that exercised influence. At the time of its violent death at the hands of the Government, its circulation had mounted up to 25,000.

## U S HONOUR FOR VICEROY &amp; C INC.

The President of the United States has conferred the Legion of Merit (Degree of Chief Commander) on H E the Viceroy, Field Marshal Lord Wavell, and H E the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck. This is the highest honour that can be awarded to non-American.



## RESERVE BANK AND SCHEDULED BANKS

The Reserve Bank of India has issued the following *communiqué*.

The Reserve Bank has recently issued a circular letter to scheduled banks on the subject of making payment of cheques in cash after normal banking hours. Such a practice, according to the Reserve Bank, is undesirable as it not only involves unfair competition between banks which follow the normal course of business and observe banking hours and those which do not but imposes a heavy strain on the banks staff and leads to delay in the balancing of books.

The Reserve Bank considers it advisable that the depositing public should expect repayment of bank deposits only during usual banking hours. It is also doubtful, from a strictly legal point of view, whether payment of cheques after office hours is payment "in the ordinary course of business" and there is, therefore, a risk of such payments losing the protection provided by Section 85 of the Negotiable Instruments Act. The scheduled banks have therefore been requested to refuse to encash cheques, etc., after the normal banking hours.

## THREE PROVINCIAL LOANS

Three Provincial Governments—Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces—have floated 3 per cent (1960) loans of the total amount of Rs 8½ crores. The issue price for each loan is Rs 99.8.

The proceeds of the loans of the Governments of Madras and the Punjab, of Rs 3 crores each, will be used for productive capital expenditure, namely, Electricity schemes, Irrigation works, industrial development schemes and advances to local bodies and agriculturists.

The United Provinces loan of Rs 2½ crores will be utilised for the repayment of an equivalent portion of the consolidated debt due to the Government of India.

## NEW ELECTRIC TRAIN SERVICE

A giant scheme costing several crores for the laying out of an electric train service between Mysore and Bangalore (80 miles) is under consideration by the Government of Mysore.

It is learnt that the major reason underlying the above scheme is to obviate the present acute coal shortage and utilise Mysore's abundant electric energy, for the industrial and economic progress of the State.

## E I RAILWAY

The East Indian Railway proposes to provide eighteen additional trains shortly with a view to improving passenger service. Announcing this at a Press Conference in Calcutta, the Chief Operating Superintendent of the Railway stated that four of the additional trains would be introduced from September 15 and the rest from October 1. The administration would be able to give further relief to the travelling public only when the rolling stock requisitioned for military purposes was released.

## RESTORATION OF TRAIN SERVICES

The General Manager, M and S M, in the course of a statement, says there is no immediate prospect of restoring the trains which have been withdrawn but that it is hoped that by November some partial restoration may be possible, due consideration being given to those sections of the line where the need is greatest.

## N W RAILWAYS LEAD

The North Western Railway has decided to start 40 new train services on the main and branch lines as from October 1, 1945.

This is the first instalment of restoration of services which had been cut down owing to the exigencies of the war.

## RAILWAY EXTENSION IN S INDIA

As a result of discussion with the Madras Government, the South Indian Railway authorities, have decided to push ahead with plans for the construction of the following lines: Arantangi Karaikudi, Tanjore Pattukottai, Dindigul Gudalur; and Kollangode-Trichur.

## A NATIONAL PHYSICAL LABORATORY

An important step will be taken in equipping India in the matter of scientific and industrial research when the recommendations of a Committee appointed by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research finally take shape.

The Committee met at Bombay under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ghulam Mohammad and the following members were present: Dr. Wali Mohammad, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Prof. G. R. Paranjpe, Dr. R. M. Chaudhri with Dr. K. N. Mathur as Secretary of the Committee.

The Committee examined the final report on the possibility of establishing a national physical laboratory following the lines of similar institutions in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. The tentative proposals of the Committee had been circulated to the universities, scientific bodies and eminent scientists abroad and in India. It is stated that these proposals have found whole-hearted support both in India and abroad from eminent scientists and others.

It has been decided to locate the proposed national physical laboratory at Delhi at a site already acquired for the purpose. The building and equipments are expected to cost about Rs 40 lakhs, while the recurring expenses are estimated to be about eight lakhs annually. It is proposed that the laboratory should have eight sections, including weights and measures and optics.

## ARTIFICIAL WEATHER BY ATOMIC BOMBS

One immediate possibility for the atomic explosive is the creation of artificial weather. This should be possible by firing special shells into the upper atmosphere to create vast regions of high and low pressure which might vary the weather as desired. If atomic energy can be controlled, it should replace coal, oil and water as power sources.

## PROPAGANDA FILMS

Now that the war is over the production of propaganda films should be dropped and the compulsory exhibition of such films in picture houses should be abolished, said Rai Bahadur Chunilal, President of the Indian Motion Picture Producers Association, in an interview in Bombay.

Speaking of the post-war prospects, Mr. Chunilal thought that the war had made people more cinema-minded. There was need for enlarging the exhibition side. More touring cinemas could be got up.

Mr. M. A. Fazalbhoy said, "I appeal to the producers to have control over our film production in view of our limited studio facilities and the dearth of artists, so that the quality of our films may be maintained. At the same time, we cannot ignore new people anxious to come in the production line. A joint appeal must be made by all concerned in the industry to the Central and local Governments to grant permission to construct more sound stages and cinema houses as also to import adequate equipments to meet the industry's needs."

## FILM EQUIPMENT FOR INDIA

Indian films may soon be shown in Britain and the United States. Mr. K. Shorey, of Lahore, one of the four Indian film experts who have spent some weeks studying the British film industry, said that he soon intended to make a film in English and Hindustani of the life of Omar Khayyam.

"It will be made in technicolour. One part of it will be produced in Britain with the co-operation of British film studios, and the other part in India", he said.

## FILM OF EISENHOWER

Sam Goldwyn is going to film the life of General Eisenhower.

Eisenhower will devote the profits from the film to a foundation to further the cause of the United Nations, while Sam Goldwyn will devote his profits to a foundation to combat intolerance—which leads to war.

## MAKING OF CARS AND RADIOS IN INDIA

Arrangements on a reciprocal commercial basis are understood to have been entered into between an industrial combine of Indian commercial concerns and its counterpart in the United Kingdom

Under this arrangement it is stated certain important British industrial interests will give facilities for the manufacture of motor cars aeroplanes radio sets and other goods in India as part of post war industrial development

The relations between Indian and British interests are said to be entirely on "unorthodox lines" Thus the Indian combine will not only have joint Indian and British capital in India but will have capital interest in Britain in the concerns who have joined hands with them

## ASSEMBLY OF MOTOR CARS IN INDIA

The Studebaker Motors Limited have entered into an agreement with the Hindustan Motors Limited providing for manufacture and assembly and distribution of Studebaker passenger automobiles and trucks in India Burma and Ceylon

Hindustan Motors is the 15 million dollar company organised by Birla Brothers Ltd

Studebaker initially will ship a complete set of components for assembly by Hindustan Motors As quickly as possible the latter will undertake to manufacture various components and later manufacture complete automobiles and trucks

## HINDUSTAN CARS

Mr G. D. Birla revealed that as a result of his deal with Lord Nuffield for the manufacture of automobiles in India the first 'Hindustan' (as it will be called) will be on the market in about six months' time

Altogether about 1 000 such cars will then be on sale with the price slightly below that of imported cars Later, as more 'Hindustan' cars are produced, the price will be still less, he said

## AIR TRAVELL MADE SAFE

Safety of peace time air travel all over the world will be improved from the new methods of fire fighting in mid air evolved from the war time experience of the Royal Air Force

Many aircraft failed to return from missions against the enemy because of engine fires caused by fuel or hot oil escaping from damaged tanks or pipe lines The fuel it was proved was usually fired by the ignition system of a still rotating engine

To combat this aircrews were instructed in a revised fire drill The extinguisher system was placed under the voluntary control of the pilot and an automatic warning light indicated to him the presence of fire in the power plant

As a result of the improvements, it has been demonstrated that not less than 90 per cent of power plant fires can be extinguished in flight if the pilot applies the recommended drill

## CALCUTTA—AIR JUNCTION OF THE WORLD

Calcutta will become one of the busiest air junctions the world over if plans of the United States Air Transport Companies mature says the *Daily Mail* Air Correspondent United States Companies want Calcutta to be the terminus of their Pacific as well as their Atlantic routes

The United States State Department have opened negotiations with the Government of India seeking landing rights for American air liners in Calcutta and elsewhere

## NEW YORK—INDIA AIR SERVICE

Four officials of the Trans Continental and Western Air Lines have left New York for Foryness, Eire, to survey bases and facilities along the recently authorised New York India air route

Mr Thomas B. Wilson, Chairman of the Board of Trans Continental and Western Airways, said that service to India would start as soon as six transport planes could be transferred from the War Department for conversion into 40 passenger planes

## INDUSTRIALISTS REPORT

The Indian Industrialists Mission in a report on their visit to the United States and United Kingdom say that prospects are anything but bright about the availability of capital equipment in the immediate future. In both the countries the market is primarily a seller's market and buyers will have to take their turn. The position, they say is probably least satisfactory in regard to textile machinery, for which India's need is perhaps the most urgent. There appears to be no chance of getting any for a long time from America while deliveries from England cannot be expected under two years.

The mission consisted of Mr J R D Tata, Mr G D Birla, Mr N R Sarkar, Mr A D Shroff, Sir Sultan Chao, Mr Laik Ali and Mr Ajaib Singh.

## SHIP BUILDING IN INDIA

Now that hostilities have ceased and materials will easily be available from foreign countries, the ship building yard of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company at Vizagapatam will start building ships in the near future.

The keel of the first ocean going cargo vessel to be built in India will be laid there towards the end of this year. The vessel will be of 8000 tons and its length will be between 400 and 415 feet and the beam between 52 and 56 feet. The vessel is estimated to cost about Rs 32 lakhs.

Enquiries made with the Scindia authorities at Bombay reveal that an order for the machinery needed for building of the ship had already been placed in America and its import into this country is awaited.

## CESS ON INDUSTRIES

The Central Government it is learnt, are thinking of levying a small cess on Industries on the basis of hands employed. The fund will be utilised for technical training of workers and for welfare activities of labour particularly housing.

## RIVER AND WELL IRRIGATION

The 15th meeting of the Research Committee of the Central Board of Irrigation concluded in Simla under the Chairmanship of Mr F H Hutchinson, President of the Board. Delegates from various Provinces, Indian States and Ceylon attended.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr Hutchinson stressed the importance of the work being done by Research Officers in India and stated that it was very desirable that the recommendations made by the Research Committee from time to time, be brought to the notice of the Engineer in the field, to ensure that the most economical methods of design and construction were employed in the post war period.

He further stressed the need to publish an historical account of the research work done in India in connection with waterways and general irrigation problems a sphere in which a very large contribution to knowledge had been made in this country.

The Committee discussed the subject of "regeneration and absorption in rivers".

## AGRICULTURAL INCOME TAX BILL

The Agricultural Income tax Bill, it is understood, has been dropped for the present by the Madras Government.

The Bill which proposed to levy a tax on every person, whose total agricultural income in the Province is not less than Rs 5000 per annum, was published in March 21 this year for eliciting public opinion.

Following its publication there were strong criticisms of the measure by the Press and the public.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar, commenting on the Bill sounded a note of warning to the Adviser regime. He said "A measure of this far reaching importance ought to be undertaken by a popular Government and not by an Adviser regime. 'No taxation without representation' is an elementary principle of the British Constitutional law and usage".

## BONUS TO AHMEDABAD MILL WORKERS

The Industrial Court at Bombay in an award in the dispute between the Ahmedabad Millowners Association and the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad regarding the payment of bonus to the textile workers of Ahmedabad Mills declares that employees earning less than Rs 200 per month are entitled to receive one fifth of their earnings in 1944 irrespective of whether they are at present employed or not those who have worked for less than 75 working days and more than 32 working days will be granted a bonus to the extent of 50 per cent and employees who have worked for less than 33 working days are not entitled to any bonus under the terms of the award.

The court lays down certain conditions under which the bonus will be paid to the workers. The bonus, under the award, will be paid in two instalments and the quantum of bonus to be paid to contract labour is left to the discretion of individual mills. The quantum to be paid to employees who receive more than Rs 200 per month has been left to the discretion of the individual mills by the court.

## VICTORY BONUS FOR MILL WORKERS

The cotton mill workers in Bombay will get a victory bonus equivalent to one twelfth of their respective total earnings, exclusive of the dearness allowance during the year ended August 31 1945. The payment on this account will be approximately Rs 62 00 000.

This decision was arrived at the urgent general meeting of the Millowners Association, Bombay, recently. The resolution passed at the meeting stated that the bonus should be paid to all workers whose names stood on the muster rolls of the member mills on August 31 and who would continue to be in service until October 15, the date of making the payment.

## BEGGARS IN INDIA

The number of beggars in India is about 14 lakhs of whom 6 lakhs are blind  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs deaf and mute and 1 lakh insane. This was revealed by Mr J Barnabar, Organising Secretary, Social Services League Lucknow in an address on the Beggar Problem.

Analysing the growth of beggary in India he said that the main factors behind it were unequal distribution, social disorganisation blind belief in fate, indiscriminate charity and disease. Beggary of the modern type the speaker observed, was not a legacy of ancient India as many imagined. In the "Varnashrama" system of life mendicants came into being who begged only for themselves, and their "gurus". Beggary was considered a form of discipline of oneself and not a public nuisance.

## INDIAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN FAR EAST WAR

The gallantry of Indian troops had saved India declared the Lord President of the Council Mr Herbert Morrison, when he spoke in London last month.

Mr Morrison said that the 14th Army which held the Japanese on the borders of India was a largely Indian army.

'Out of the total strength of just over 1 000 000 the figure given for all our forces in Burma over 700 000 were the British-Indian Army (predominantly Indian soldiers).'

Indian divisions fought in North Africa, Tunis Sicily and Italy, but it was in the Far East that her soldiers made their greatest contribution to the victory and it was there that 20 out of 27 Victoria Crosses won went to the men of the Indian Army."

## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S WARNING TO GOVT

That reoccurrence of another famine in Bengal would be the greatest tragedy for the whole country and that the Bengal Government should take concerted measures to check the disaster was the opinion expressed by Acharya J D Kripalani, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in an exclusive interview to the United Press.

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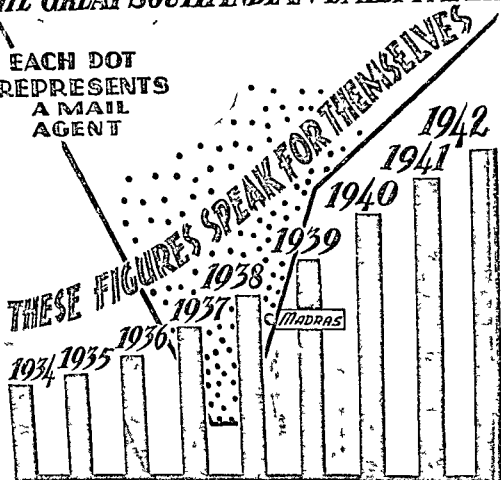
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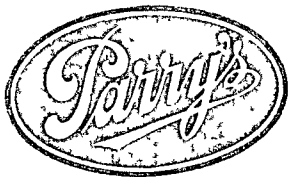
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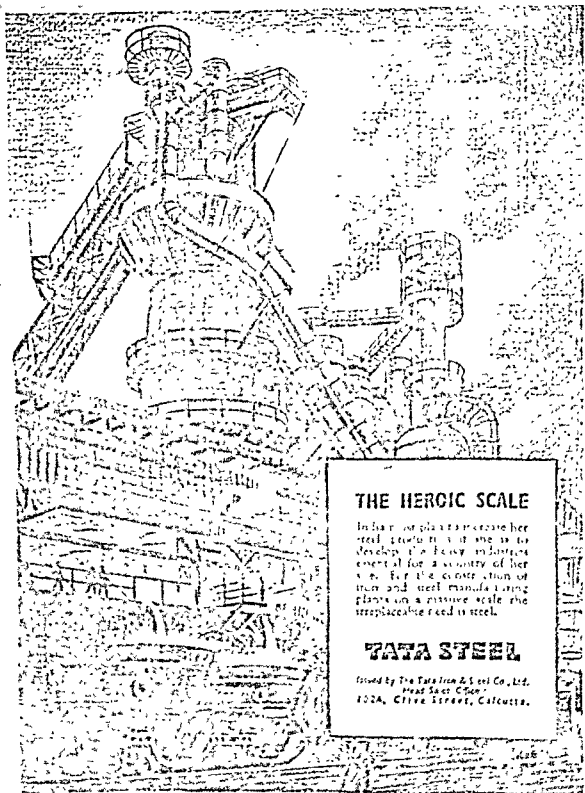
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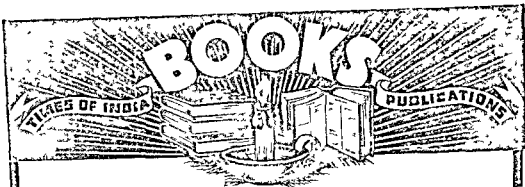


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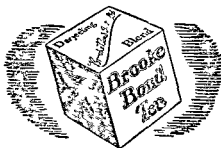
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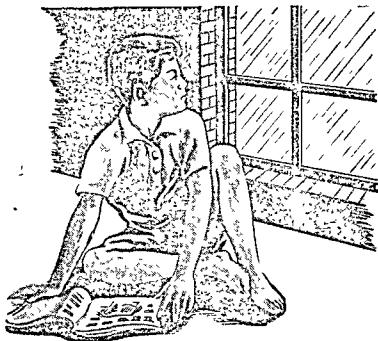
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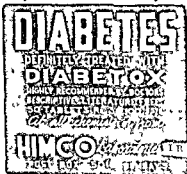
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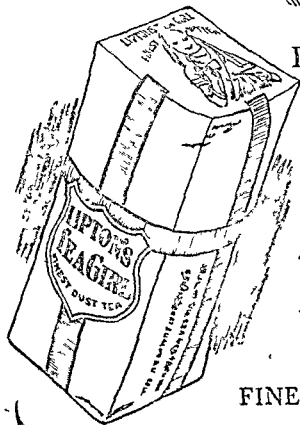
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## Prospects of Freedom in Post-War Asia

By ST NIHAL SINGH

I

AT this moment every one who is not content just to float down the stream of Time, is asking Is the era of aggression ended—ended for Asians as well as for other peoples—and, if it has ended, is the era of self expression free from domination and exploitation, dawning upon this continent? "

The aggressors of Asian birth and blood, who have been operating from the verge of the Pacific Ocean, have been humbled. Many of them have perished in the conflagration of their own lighting. Many more are being rounded up and hurried to the fate that is ever the portion of men who permit themselves to be frustrated in carrying out their ambitions but ill-conceived designs.

Even though man has learnt to build more quickly, if not more surely, than ever before in human annals, it will take a long time to remove the vestiges of the havoc that has been wrought, to dig newer, deeper foundations and to raise grander structures than those destroyed. The scare inflicted upon the body, the injury done to the mind and the shock administered to the soul will remain with us for a considerable period. Before the

healing has proceeded very far many of the persons who caught aggression by the throat and brought it to heel would have been, I fear, carried to the grave.

II

The one country of any importance in Asia that began this century in complete freedom has lost that splendour through the madness of the war makers. The proximate cause is known even to children—the wanton and, in the long run, foolish attack upon the United States of America's mid-Pacific naval base at Pearl Harbour.

That outrage brought Americans into the war. Britons joined in, as, in advance, they had declared, they would. Australia, in the vigour of its youth, rushed in. Even French Canadians from far off Quebec took their stand in Hong Kong's defence works. China, dragged years earlier into the conflict, fought with reinforced vigour. In India the authorities, though lacking the stimulus and support of popular enthusiasm, achieved the miracle of expanding the fighting forces to the 2,500,000 mark. In addition to transporting troops and tools of war from Britain and keeping them equipped and supplied, His Majesty's Government found the resources to assemble a considerable host from

Africa in India and from our shores hurl the braves against the enemy

The stupendous effort made conjointly by forces so vast and so varied climaxed by the atom bomb shattered the mightiest offensive power ever organised by any Asian people. Its extent and efficiency are worthy of the highest praise as indeed are its objective and accomplishment

### III

Behind the proximate cause lies however the primary cause. Without assessing the potency of the primary cause and the strength of the impulses it created no true appreciation can be made of the situation that has been dealt with through thousands of combats in the air upon land at sea and under water. Without such assessment it certainly is not possible to form an idea of the prospects that lie before Asia.

The primary cause of the struggle that has ended in the humiliation of the Japanese is as I see it is the policy that they pursued towards their fellow continentals. Ruthlessly annexationist in character it was all embracing in scope. It roused suspicion in the first instance. Misgiving soon became mistrust. Mistrust begat fear. Fear became transmuted into alarm.

Had the Japanese who laid down this policy and superintended its administration been prudent in addition to being sagacious they would have seen what was happening and would have altered their policy—altered it betimes. Lust for land and greed for economic gain blinded them, however, and they pursued their course with added purposefulness.

### IV

By so doing they roused antagonism. Antagonism expressed itself as it always does where the antagonised party is inferior in politically hitting power. Assuming the form of boycott it sought to prevent the rapidly expanding industrial system in Japan from carving an economic empire upon the mainland.

The complications that come inevitably from a conflict such as this angered the boycotters as well as they who were boycotted. The incorporation of Korea in the Japanese Empire, the hardly veiled attempt to secure China's subordination while the first world war was raging and later the creation of Manchukuo served to stiffen Chinese resistance. The attempt to break up Chinese national solidarity as a prelude to invasion—or in Japanese official parlance, the 'China incident'—led finally to the marshalling of the Chinese forces and their direction with intelligence and inflexibility of will power that are without precedent in modern Asian history.

The disaster that the Japanese junta met this summer is fundamentally and ultimately attributable to this resistance. Had China submitted readily, there would have been a few shrugs in the United States, Britain and perhaps a few other countries. It is to be doubted that there would have been intervention.

The Chinese did not exhaust the Japanese fighting forces. Nor did they bankrupt the exchequer at Tokyo. Nothing like it. They, nevertheless, put up resistance and kept it up most of the time prior to the

attack upon Pearl Harbour all by themselves in heart breaking conditions. When the Americans and Britons entered the war, they did not find the enemy anything like as fresh as he would have been, had the Celestials carved in.

There is another consideration of hardly less importance. Had the Japanese managed to come to some accommodation with the resistance forces in China, their political propaganda to create the 'co prosperity sphere' might have had a punch to it that in time might have become well nigh irresistible. As it was not a few Asians in countries spread from the Pacific Ocean to the Arabian Sea fell for it. Why they did so is a matter requiring separate handling.

The struggle that has ended—I refer solely to the sanguinary aspect of it, for at least I am under no illusion that the struggle in all its aspects has ended—has, therefore to be reviewed from three distinct angles.

Firstly, there are the gains accruing to China. Certain territories have been restored to her, some in partnership with Russia. Certain rights and privileges and pieces of land that during the lengthy period of the Chinese helplessness had been extorted by aliens, including her present allies have been surrendered. They have the prospect of being masters over their affairs in a manner and to an extent they did not have even in our fathers' time.

Secondly, there is their position in the councils of the nations. It is not what idealists should have liked it to be. Many tussles have still to come this has been made patent, for one thing, by the conference of Foreign Ministers that has just risen in

London. While complete equality has yet to be extorted, it must, nevertheless, be admitted that the Chinese position in the international sphere is incomparably superior to what it was at the end of the world war No. 1 and during subsequent years.

Thirdly, there is the reflex action of the Chinese gains of these categories. China has managed to work her passage through the troubled waters of semi subordination or, shall I say threatened, exploited existence. With Japan occupied largely if not wholly, by Americans, this Asian Republic is the one free country on this continent. That she is free through the exercise of her will power, sacrifice of blood and treasure and almost superhuman exertion are matters of the profoundest interest to Asians and will have repercussions in lands near and far—repercussions of the most potent character.

Life in other countries that till the other day were in Japanese possession flows in a current swollen with determination for self realisation. It no longer is the undertow, both weak and fitful, as it was in most of these lands.

Effort is being made to regulate these currents everywhere, with the possible exception of the Philippines. This effort is advertised as beneficent. The peoples that are struggling to be masters in their own homes have, however, been "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for decades and even centuries. They have laboured in the fields and upon the plantations, in mines and factories, not for themselves so much as for the nations that have dominated them and deflected life to serve their own imperialist ends. They have, moreover, constituted a market for

goods produced by the governing classes in their own countries and often admitted into the vassal states upon a preferential basis

The struggle for freedom may therefore, be difficult and conceivably much longer than the enthusiast may at the moment expect it to be. It has however, been intensified

by the war that China has been able to wage despite all handicaps, in successful resistance of domination. Such has, indeed, been the effect of the war in general. It has brought fresh inspirations, roused new hopes, as well as reinforced old aspirations and quickened old expectations.

## ECONOMICS OF PEACE

BY PROF P C MALHOTRA MA

THE economic problems of peace may be divided into immediate and post immediate ones although in practice it would not be possible to divorce the two from each other. The post immediate problems relate to the major question of planning the entire Indian economy. One of the lessons of war for this country is that India has no excuse to remain under developed. It would be a crime both against herself and against humanity. Potentially rich but poor nations offer temptations for exploitation to strong and ambitious ones, and this rivalry provides fertile soil for international sabre rattling and gun thundering. In the domestic sphere poverty and unequal distribution of wealth breeds internal disorder. The sovereign recipe for curing poverty of India is summed up in the word planning. But planning is neither 'crystal gazing' nor "blue printing" as is widely supposed. It is an attitude of mind, a method of doing things, and a philosophy of social economic organization and action.

### PRODUCTION IN PEACE

Under the stress of the war the economy of the country was keyed up to mobilise

her resources for the saturation of war needs. This meant the contraction of civil sector to permit expansion of military sector. While the military demands kept bloated up, the belt was being tightened on the civil sector of India's economy. Obviously the first necessity now is to loosen the belt on civil sector gradually so as to offer full scope for its natural expansion.

The fundamental factor in restoring the civil life to health is full development in production. It has been estimated that domestic production increased by about 20 per cent during the war. India's first need is to whip production from one level to another. The stimulus provided by war to production must be soon substituted by another equally effective one. War profits cannot be maintained in peace time, but an attempt should be made to guarantee for some time to the producers something approximating the net profits (obtained after deducting from gross profits excess profits tax and surcharges on income tax). That might necessitate either stabilizing prices at a certain level, or subsidizing costs of production in order to keep a certain margin of profits to the

producers The contracted civilian demand when free to expand, would certainly swallow up increased production

#### A BALANCE SHEET OF SACRIFICES

It is futile to balance the sacrifices of the civilians with the military population. It has been estimated that some 40 lakh persons were directly involved in war work. But in a total war like the one just finished the distinction between the sacrifices of the civil and the civil cum military and purely military population gets obliterated. While the military population has suffered physical privations, the civil population has undergone severe economic hardships.

#### DEMobilIZATION

No one would question the desirability of giving all help to demobilized soldiers to resettle them as well if not better than the places they were occupying before they joined the army. There are land settlement schemes which can profitably absorb the developed talents of the warrior farmer. Land reclamation work would again provide work for his new fangled skill learnt in the army. A soldier of to-day had to be a semi-mechanic, at least he got a flare of machine-mindedness. With proper training this initial asset can be made to fit the demobilized soldiers for some easier jobs in factories while those engaged in munition and war work factories can be reconverted into efficient industrial factory workers. All those who had joined the army would have built financial reserves out of which to meet the costs of individual readjustments and the Government schemes for post-war demobilization provide help of a general nature

#### RELIEF TO THE CIVIL POPULATION

The case of the civil population for considerate treatment cannot be brushed aside. They had to stunt themselves to spare whatever could be given for war needs. Their standard of living has been subjected to a severe cut. Where the standard of living is high this cut falls on comforts and luxuries and does not palpably affect living conditions, but in a country like India where most of the people live from hand to mouth, the general effect of war strain on living conditions proves to be disastrous. It results in wide spread famine or famine conditions. The standard of nourishment therefore became impossible to be maintained during the war period. This has impaired the physique of not only the civil population, but to a far greater extent of their dependents in general of posterity. It should therefore be not a matter of surprise to find that the young generation of the war period has a stunted growth.

Those who have struggled through these odds have found themselves at the end of their tether, financially pauper and mentally strained, having had to fritter their nest eggs.

What form should assistance take in the case of the above referred to sector of Indian society?

During the war an attempt was made to recognise their difficulties by means of dearness allowance. In itself a 10 per cent dearness allowance was not even a feather weight in the scale of a 300 per cent rise in the cost of living. But it was a token of the moral support given by the



employers to their employees which sustained them through intolerable living conditions. There is therefore a strong case moral as well as economic for the merging of the D A in the substantive salaries of the employees. The cost of living is not likely to come do pre war level for several years from now and this relief would be the poor man's compensation for having borne the economic strain so well. The society owes a debt of gratitude to the civil population no less to the soldiers.

It was only in the autumn of 1944 that the Government extended the benefit of dearness allowance to persons getting high salaries the maximum dearness allowance being fixed at Rs 250 per month. It is suggested that no serious hardship would be caused if the dearness allowance is withdrawn whenever it is decided to do so in the case of persons having an annual income of over Rs 4000.

Another relief that the small incomists may be offered is by the way of income tax. With an abnormally high cost of living prevailing during the war the case of exempting incomes below Rs 4000 from income tax stood on unassailable ground. But the needs of war called for sacrifice from one and all. It would not be unreasonable therefore to suggest that incomes up to Rs 4000 be exempted from income tax for five years from the first peace time budget is framed.

To maintain production at a high level demand has to be kept up. The cessation of war orders would knock the bottom out of spurious war prosperity for business. The gap must be filled up if a sudden crash in the economy is to be avoided. The

retention or absorption of dearness allowance in the salary and the suggested income tax relief would release some necessary purchasing power to satisfy the pent up civilian demand for goods and thus give some support to production at a high level.

#### POST WAR TAXATION

Taxation in war budgets became naturally steep. While it is not possible to strictly adhere to canons of economy in defence expenditure this situation seems to have developed into an excuse for extravagance both on defence supply and civil administration in India. Extravagance in public expenditure was abetting inflation and was taking shelter behind the imperative needs of war. New jobs were created and at bloated salaries. Obviously some vested interests have been created in administration. In the field of public finance the urgent problem is to sift between useful and useless services for post war needs. And what is more important the scales of pay must be revised on the basis of normal conditions.

According to Sir Jeremy Raisman, India's last Finance Member, the total resources, including taxation on borrowing and direct private investments but including the resources of Provincial and State Governments estimated as available for reconstruction and development in the first quinquennium of the post war period was Rs 1500 crores. This visualised the maintenance of a high scale of taxation. With post war plans itching for execution it is a warning on the wall that the level of taxation must be high. From the point of view of economy of the country the absolute level of taxation is of little significance.

The relevant considerations in deciding the level of taxation would be the following —

#### WHO DECIDES THE LEVEL OF TAXATION?

If the people have the responsibility to decide the question, they can be persuaded to sanction a high level of taxation provided they have an equal say in the matter of sanctioning public expenditure. The otherwise inelastic resources of the provinces expended from Rs 8 258 lakhs in 1937-38 to Rs 9 087 lakhs in 1940-41 as the provinces became masters of their own shows under provincial autonomy.

2 How is the money so raised to be used? If the revenue from taxation is to be employed for the benefit of the public or for developing them economically or culturally, a high level of taxation would be considered by the people as a blessing in disguise.

3 Level of income. Taxation can give high yield only if incomes develop, hence a high level of taxation assumes a prosperously growing economy.

4 Underlying the question of the level of taxation is the psychology of the people taxed. People must be convinced that they are taxing themselves for their own benefit. It is political freedom alone therefore that can create the proper atmosphere for a high level of taxation in India.

#### INFLATION AND POST WAR SLUMP

Inflation created prosperity is topsy-turvy and hence shaky. While a small section of the population at the top got bloated, it caused emaciation throughout at the bottom. The orgy of war gave no time for thinking and the inflation induced revelry went on. The first peace-time

monetary problem is how to substitute a real impetus for economic progress in place of the one provided by inflation. The note circulation in August, 1945, was Rs 1,132 crores as against the pre-war note circulation of Rs 187 crores. It is apparent that the peace-time structure cannot absorb this plethora of currency.

Deflation of currency is therefore inevitable. But if the superfluous currency is mopped up under a plan the nasty effects of deflation can be avoided.

Public administration in India (Central, Provincial and Local) must fill in the breach caused by cessation of war-time expenditure. There is so much to be done in the field of social services and economic development that a well-planned programme of public borrowing must be the sheet anchor of India's post-war economy.

Another form of surplus purchasing power that needs useful canalising is the idle deposits of the scheduled banks in India. The demand liabilities of scheduled banks in India increased from Rs 130 crores in 1938-39 to Rs 629 crores in August, 1945. This purchasing power is lying in ambush for investment which can create a runaway boom if left untrammelled and can also lay foundations of prosperity if afforded opportunities of building the country's economy. Planners or plans must take up this challenge.

#### WINNING PEACE

The war has been won. The more urgent problem now is to win peace. On the economic front the battle must be waged to banish poverty, not in abstract but in concrete. The five giants—want,

ignorance, disease, squalor and idleness—must be killed. The post war civilization must be one in which the common people can fully share in the good things of life with the few because in the words of James Wilson. We can little hope to improve the mental and moral condition of a people while their physical state is

deplorable." This menace to post war peace, national and international, the social-security schemes in different nations seek to remove.

The lesson of this war is that peace is indivisible and poverty anywhere constitutes danger everywhere. Let the national and international planners work in that light.

## EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION

BY PROF K G SAINIDAIN

LET us analyse the main features of the traditional system of education in India. This is an education which has been mainly academic and mental, bounded by books on all sides. It gave a good deal of attention to the training of individual character—the intimacy of relationship between the teacher and the pupil ensured it—but neither practical nor social training found a recognized and clear cut place in it.

If we study the matter carefully we will find that there was, at that stage some justification for this over emphasis on the academic aspect. During the medieval period life was so organized that many agencies other than the school, naturally looked after certain aspects of education which, under the changed circumstances of modern life, have been brought under the purview of the school. The family was a definite social and vocational unit and the child received most of his social, and some of his vocational, training through active participation in family life and occupations. Then, there were centres of apprenticeship and associations for training artisans and craftsmen where children could receive the necessary modicum of technical education. When

they came to the 'Madrasa' or the 'Maktab' or the 'Patshala' or the 'Guru' they did not ask for or receive a comprehensive, all-round education but were taught primarily through books and the spoken word, and their syllabus comprised mainly of languages, religion and certain studies associated with religion. In those days, before the printing machine was invented, books were much more costly and rare and their mastery was looked upon as a great accomplishment. So there grew up in Indian education a tradition compounded of religion, individualism and the academic approach. The scholars who passed out of these institutions were neither trained, nor hankered after official jobs, they were people who had received a scholastic cum religious education. But the comparative narrowness of the curriculum, the exaltation of the written word and the excessive use of the memory did take their revenge on this education. It degenerated, in its later days into formalism, verbalism and the memorizing of other people's ideas and opinions. Hence, in the 19th century, there was a general, impatient desire for a change—a change in educational as well as in cultural and social life.

In what way did this change come about? The usual reply is that the introduction of the present system of English education brought about a radical change in the situation. I am afraid it is not possible for me to subscribe to this view. There were no radical changes, no new experiments in education when English became the medium of instruction and, as a language took precedence over Indian and other oriental languages in the curriculum. There was the same teaching of set and prescribed text books, the same preoccupation with sharply 'defined subjects,' the same emphasis on the study of words, the same taxing of the memory, the same smoke screening of life by the book! The only marked difference was that the pale glow of religion which had cast a halo round education was swept away and it emerged definitely as a secular activity. It would not save your soul but it might secure you a job.

I do not mean to suggest, however, that this impact of English culture and civilization on India had no important aftermath for our life or education. It had a kind of deferred action—like that of the time bomb. It set into motion new social, political and cultural movements—a desire to study western ways of thought and life, a quickening of interest in modern science, a straining towards the new revolution that was slowly shaping itself with the object of bringing the "common man" into his own and an impatience of the many fetters, internal and external, that had held the Indian economy captive. But all this did not react directly and quickly on the educational inertia, for education has, at all times suffered from what is usually known as a

'time lag'. The forms changed but for a long time the spirit and methods continued unaltered.

The leaven of new ideas was, however, slowly working all the time, partly in response to the developing Indian situation and partly on account of the impact of new educational movements from the West. The existing educational system had been weighed over and over again and found wanting—even in its narrow objective of equipping students to earn their living. It was a single track system, carrying every one, who cared to travel, through the book-school across the Matriculation style, towards the goal of the University degree, ending very often in unemployment. Thus it failed to impinge on the multifariousness of life at many points or to train students to participate in its reconstruction. On the other hand, since the end of the first World War in most western countries education had turned over a new leaf and new experiments and ideas, new methods and slogans were in the air—Freedom, Activity, Co operation, Individuality, Child centricism.

Under the stress of these two sets of forces, one can discern two main tendencies in Indian education—a desire to vocationalize education and link it more closely with industry and productive work and a readiness to try new experiments in educational technique and methods—with the object of releasing the creative impulses of children and securing the maximum development of their personality. There have also been some valuable attempts to harmonize, within a single educational system, the values implicit in these two trends and to give Indian or Indo-Islamic culture and ideals,

Instances of such attempts may be seen in the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at Aligarh, of Dr Tagore at Shanti Niketan and later of Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram and Dr Zakir Husain at Delhi. They have not been content merely with borrowing what the West may offer, they tried to exploit the inner resources of the Indian genius and culture in order to put new life and meaning into education.

Barring these special institutions how ever if we survey the Indian horizon as a whole we find a large number of rather scattered educational experiments all over the country—there are several good Montessori and Nursery Schools some more or less sporadic attempts at working out the Dalton Plan a fine experiment with the Project method at Moga a few pioneering schools like Vidya Bhawan trying out ideas of freedom activity and happiness for children. They are valuable so far as they go, but they are generally scattered and unco-ordinated and have not been assimilated into the general educational system of the country. This is so because most of them do not represent any dynamic or original response to the nascent needs and forces of Indian life but are, in the main well meant though rather uninspiring attempts at copying western experiments.

#### BASIC EDUCATION

Of a different order and more significant in its implication is the attempt at educational reconstruction associated with the Scheme of Basic National Education which has been partly incorporated in the Plan for Post war Educational Development in India. It would not be right to say that it is an entirely novel or revolutionary

educational doctrine, for it has many points of resemblance with progressive educational movements in other lands. But in its fundamental approach and emphasis, its deeper inspiration it does represent the original response of the Indian mind to the peculiar Indian situation. It accepts, no doubt, the principle of Activity, which it shares with other educational movements, but it arrives there not through the orthodox psychological approach, but through the doorway of practical experience through observing and sharing in the life of the masses. Men learn through work, through craft, through productive activity. Knowledge does not drop into their lap like manna from heaven, it has to be hewn out of their daily needs and experiences. If that is so—and how can any one but the ivory tower academic deny it?—the school can be brought nearer to life only by being broadbased on the bedrock of intelligent, productive work. Through this approach, the object is to give the rural population a sounder system of education, coterminous with their life, and the output of children's craft work is also expected to meet a good part of the educational expenditure. How far experience will justify this financial optimism it is too early to say. But there can be no denying the fact that the scheme is having a vitalizing effect on the sleepy hollow of the school. I have seen scores of Basic Schools in different parts of the country and speaking generally, I think it can be claimed that, wherever the true spirit of Basic Education has knocked and been admitted, even in ordinary schools, it has touched the dawn of children's life with joy, hope and activity. No doubt in the

vast field of Indian education quantitatively Basic Education is at present nothing more than a gesture But the gesture is also a beacon of light and hope!

I do not, however, wish to convey the impression that I attach undue importance to any particular method or system There is one thing that far transcends methods systems, curricula, organization, every thing—the ability, the integrity, the personality and the attitude of the teacher Traditional education did hold the teacher in the highest esteem, now he is regarded as a somewhat depressed social worker and his worth is computed at so many or so few

rupees per month If we wish to stimulate and keep alive the spirit of experiment in education, we must attract to the teaching, profession men of the right calibre we must secure for them favourable conditions of work, both material and intellectual, and we must grant them the proper social status Without it, we can neither have good nor progressive nor experimental education If the teacher is really good, all else will be added unto him, if he is poor, socially or intellectually, even the finest gold will turn into ashes in his hands!—*Broadcast from Delhi*

## DRUGS WITHOUT DOCTORS

BY MR H J C LARWOOD, MSc

LISTENING to the radio one evening, I found myself idly turning the pages of a widely distributed magazine published in India The number of advertisements for patent medicines struck my attention, so I began to count them Making categories such as 'electrical', 'foodstuffs', 'beauty preparations' and so on, I classified the advertisements and found that the number in 'proprietary medicines' far exceeded that in any other class

Now this is no worse than the state of affairs in England just before the war, when one sixth of the advertising space in the 'dailies', and one third of that in some 'weeklies', was filled with exhortations to try this, that or the other remedy\* But

to say that India is no worse than any other country is to evade the issue You will notice that I say 'no worse'. Is the advertising of patent medicines, then, so very wrong? I believe that it is

In the first place such advertisements suggest that the reader is suffering from such and such a disease Open a magazine and see how many proprietors exploit fear Most of us from time to time suffer from minor pains and discomforts, we get an attack of indigestion through eating unwisely, we develop a cough, our gums bleed when we use a new, stiff toothbrush The advertiser uses these familiar disorders to suggest that our indigestion is perhaps an indication of a gastric ulcer, our cough is the first stage of tuberculosis and that our bleeding gums herald the approach of pyorrhoea These haunting fears have disturbed most of us

\* An estimate given in the British Medical Journal of July 17th 1944 declared that 3 people out of 4 in England were taking drugs without medical advice

at one time or another. They are so powerful that once aroused it is easy to play upon our credulity and faith in the printed word and to convince us that the remedy which the proprietor has to offer will, indeed, cure us. And it usually does—because such temporary disabilities would in any case have mended themselves in a day or two. Indeed the medicinal content of many remedies is so small that any effect they produce must be largely by suggestion. Yet in all fairness it is probably true that many do have a beneficial effect: a laxative may frequently be valuable if not used to excess, and some oils are no doubt good for the hair (although I am sceptical of claims that they increase the memory and stimulate the brain). Certainly I would not go as far as to say that many are harmful but that is not the point. The little good they do in isolated cases cannot offset the rear or what is worse the false security that they arouse in others.

And what if the pain before meals is due to an ulcer? What if the cough *does* indicate consumption? The remedy may bring a measure of relief to that too—for a certain period. The trouble lies in the fact that by the time the remedy has ceased to be efficacious the malady is well established and if a doctor is now appealed to he is not in such a good position to effect a cure as he would have been at the beginning. I am not suggesting for a moment, that I think that all doctors can cure all patients of all diseases. I am fully aware of the limitations of medical knowledge. Yet it seems reasonable to suppose that an early diagnosis by a man

or woman who, after all, has spent some years in studying disease and practising its cure is more likely to lead to successful treatment. One of the worst aspects of many advertisements is the suggestion they frequently carry that even if you did go to a doctor he would simply recommend the same proprietary medicine. This is an argument which is the more plausible in India where the doctor relies for his living chiefly upon the drugs he sells. It is regrettably true everywhere that the medical man as much as the layman, is subject to his own type of propaganda. Advertisements in professional journals as well as tasteful and expensive circulars often persuade him to use an attractively produced product instead of an equally effective and much cheaper prescription he could make up himself.

It seems such an obvious argument, this, that in the case of a recurrent discomfort it is better to seek expert advice that it is hard to find a reason for the immense sales which patent medicines have. Just how immense the sale is is indicated by the fact that in England before the war nearly as much money was spent on patent medicines as on hospital services. Is it that they cost less? Most emphatically this is not so. If the more reputable products for which a formula is given, can be made for a small fraction of the selling price,\* it is probable that the less respectable are making even greater profits. Is it, then, that they are more easily

\* The true value of the average Is. ad. patent medicine is authoritatively stated to be between a penny and twopence.

obtained? It is true that India is short of doctors but I question whether drug stores are more common than doctors. None of these explanations satisfy and it would seem that the observation of Lord Horder,\* that a mysterious cure is preferred to one involving a plain statement of the cause of the disease, and of its cure is as true of India as of England. If this is so what can be done about it? Two methods of attack present themselves: legislation and education.

The menace of the patent medicine trade has been recognized at least for forty years in England. During that time numerous committees have sat and countless measures to control the evil have been discussed—with very slight results. Even the modest recommendations of the 1914 Committee has had little effect. It was then proposed that manufacturers should be registered, that the contents of medicines should be stated and that the advertisements should be subject to censorship. The aim of the last recommendation was to prevent the appearance of advertisements which were definitely misleading and which would encourage people to waste their money. It is this censorship which is most needed in India to day. How many remedies for the cure of diabetes do you see? Yet I believe it is still true to say that this disease can be controlled only by insulin, and that if a cure is possible it is only by prolonged dietetic treatment under expert guidance. The case of diabetes is not isolated. I have seen advertisements for alleged cures of sexual

disorders, tuberculosis, piles, deafness and asthma. That they may be successful in isolated cases, I do not doubt, but I do suggest that in the majority of cases they are bound to be ineffectual and a waste of money.

But this is a digression. Returning to the legal safeguarding of the public, how much was achieved? Apart from the Act which forbade all but qualified doctors from treating venereal diseases, and which prohibited the advertisement of alleged cures, very little had been done. So that in England, as in India, at a time when the people are becoming increasingly 'health conscious', there remains this pernicious exploitation of the nation's fear and ignorance. The reasons for this regrettable state of affairs are complex, but one of them, at least, may be suggested: the influence of the press upon the politician, and the control of the press by the advertisers.

There remains, then, the second method of combatting the evil—education. A short while ago the annual representative meeting of the British Medical Association passed unanimously a resolution declaring that 'the education of the public on the meretricious claims of patent foods, drinks, medicines, etc., should be intensified immediately'. This statement would apply equally well to India. Early last year Sir A. V. Hill said that India's problems were largely biological, and this is true not only in connection with agriculture and food. Biology is growing in Indian schools and universities but not fast enough. I have met zoologists and botanists doing first-

\* Quoted in Plapson, E. S. *Ind. Med. Gazette*, February, 1939.

\* Quoted in the *Economist*, January 6th, 1940.



rate work in the universities—but they are so few in number. It is not a handful of specialists which is needed but an attitude on the part of everyone. Biology is the science of life, and as such it should permeate the outlook of every man

and woman. Only when it does, shall we be able to hope that the specious claims of high sounding names that at present waste the money and dissipate the hopes of suffering thousands will be assessed at their proper value.

## Paper-Making as a Cottage Industry

BY PROF. R. VISWESWAR RAO M.A., B.T.

FROM a press report it appears that hand made paper also has been included for purposes of the recent paper control order of the Government. One may say that in the face of these orders the position of this industry will be precarious and it is truly said that the Government by this order has 'restricted the use of paper without any indication of its intention to make simultaneous efforts to increase production. One can easily say that such a control will defeat its own purpose if it is the intention of the Government to restrict the use of paper, it is all right, but Government must be aware of the increasing difficulties experienced by the public, in obtaining supplies of paper. Much can be done only by increasing production of paper thereby relieving the difficulties of the consumers.

Even with the decision of the Government to commandeer a major part of the paper produced by the Indian Mills, the problem of adequate supplies of paper for public use began to attract the notice of the people. The situation was also aggravated by the fact that before the war, we were importing paste board pulp etc., to the tune of nearly 4 crores of rupees per year and the present war has thrown

us on our own resources as for many other things of every day need. Imports of paper, paste board etc. have been curtailed. Even the Indian Mills could not cope with the situation since their productive capacity could not be increased all on a sudden.

With the Government having control over the supply and price of mill made paper, the acute shortage is bound to persist unless hand made paper industry is fostered, which has great potentialities. Now if hand made paper also is brought within the orbit of the new control orders it only means that the Government want to impose cuts without encouraging an increase in production.

### POTENTIAL TIES OF THE INDUSTRY

This industry, in fact, flourished all over India up to 1870. After that, various causes especially the importation of paper from abroad and establishment of paper mills contributed to its decline. It did not die out completely, however, thanks to the 'Sabukar' who still prefers to use hand made paper for his accounts books. As a part of the programme of encouragement and revival of village industries, the All India Village Indus-

tries Association, Wardha, has secured a considerable patronage for hand made paper and is making vigorous propaganda for its use. It is, indeed, a simple industry needing little equipment and within the capacity of even women and children at home. The processes involved are chiefly two—one, whereby the constituent fibres of the material used are reduced to a condition of minute subdivision and the other whereby they are brought together to form a single fabric or sheet. This industry has, therefore, great potentialities in the direction of giving gainful occupation to the abundant labour force we have in India, if only it is put on its feet once again and made to work along modern scientific lines which is what the All India Village Industries Association is trying to do. Indeed, modern scientific knowledge can be brought to bear on the industry in order to make it more efficient so that gainful occupation is provided and rural life improved. Even if our educated employed take to this industry, they can not only earn a modest livelihood but perform a public service. Even after the war this industry is bound to thrive.

#### (4) HOW GOVERNMENT CAN HELP

Indeed, the Government can finance these centres to enable them to purchase raw materials and equipment through co-operative societies and give grants in aid to educated people who will come forward to start industries of their own. We have also to provide for facilities for marketing. Then Government can, indeed, put the industry on a sound basis. Even tariff protection is to be given to hand made paper. Let it

not be thought for a moment that this is an artificial industry which will be extinguished with the return of the piping days of peace.

With the spread of literacy, we are bound to have greater demand for paper. The civilization of a country is shown by the consumption of paper. The consumption of paper per head per annum in various countries is as under:

U S A	152 lbs
Great Britain	81 ,
Germany	48
France	40 ,
Belgium	30 "
Japan	18
Egypt	5 "
India	less than 1 lb

Thus it can easily be seen that if hand-made paper centres are developed, they not only offer a perpetual source of employment, but also relieve us a good deal from the acute shortage of paper. This subject can be made a compulsory subject of study in our high schools so that they can be self sufficient. Even in jails, paper making can be introduced as a cottage industry. Thus, it is hoped that the Government will take steps for the development of this industry and exempt it from the control orders. It may not be out of place to mention that the cost of hand made paper depends upon the raw materials used and the labour spent over it. It is earnestly hoped that public opinion will assert itself to this aspect of the problem 'Eternal vigilance', as Professor Harold Laski says, is the price of liberty.

It is a good thing many Provincial Governments and Indian States, like Travancore,

Mysore and Hyderabad, have begun to take interest in the industry and have done much in this direction. One may note that if hand made paper centres are started throughout the length and breadth of the country the question of transport also does not arise. The raw materials needed for this industry are found in abundance in various parts of the country. As preliminary process of the production of pulp appears more difficult than the rest this can be done by the use of power driven machinery and the pulp so got may be distributed to the paper mills at reasonable rates at Government controlled centres so that the paper mill is not exploited in any way. Many have already taken steps in this direction.

#### CONCLUSION

The hand made paper industry has thus great potentialities if once put on its feet and developed along scientific lines. It can give rise to many occupations connected with it and capable of being carried out at home. As is well known it is a simple industry needing little equipment. Since in paper made by hand the original length of the fibres is retained while in machine production the fibres are crushed into fineness hand made paper is more durable. We have already seen that paper can be made of almost any form of waste material to be found in villages such as rag gunny bags grass, straw, bamboos, old baskets ropes etc. It can also be made out of waste paper. With the exigencies created by the war, the place of cottage industries in our national income has been appreciated and

attempts made for the resuscitation of village industries. It is earnestly hoped that the Government will create a network of hand made paper centres and organize them on a sound basis, so that, even after the war they will play their legitimate role. We can no longer depend upon imported paper. The true basis of freedom is economic independence which we cannot have unless we are self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency is the keynote of Swaraj while dependence on others is the keynote of slavery. One would only wish that in the schemes for post war planning, the place of small scale and cottage industries will be properly appreciated so that there can be a balanced economy in the country.

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# FOLK-SONGS OF KASHMIR

BY PROF S N DHAR

**K**ASHMIRI, the vernacular of Kashmir, has descended from Sanskrit. Actually Kashmiri is a very old language. During Muslim rule, it was enriched by Persian diction, and later on in the modern period, Urdu and Hindi have been influencing it considerably. Kashmiri has had a rich literature. It yet lives in its songs, the folk songs, which form a veritable "literature of the people" of Kashmir. In the Golden Valley, with its abundant beauties of nature and man it was but natural for some unknown hoary folk bard to have started the immortal vogue of folk songs.

Folk songs in Kashmir preserve the myths, customs, traditions and legends of by gone days. Thanks to Sir George Grierson, Sir Aurel Stein, Rev J Hinton Knowles, and Prof Davendra Satyarthi Kashmiri folk lore has been revived. They are current in every rural home in Kashmir. Rural itinerant minstrels usually carry a *Dahra*, an iron rod with loose iron rings on it, and when they sing folk-songs they shake the rings skilfully up and down so as to produce a pleasing jingle. These minstrels have mostly passed on the folk songs by word of mouth down through the ages.

Kashmiri folk songs present considerable variety in theme, content and form. They can be broadly classified into opera and dancing songs, pastoral lore, romantic ballads, play songs, semi-mystic songs etc. Then there are other songs sung during particular seasons or in accompaniment to certain occupations. Boatmen, labourers, seed sowers, harvesters, embroiderers, paper-mache makers, milk men, saffron reapers, shepherds, village belles fetching water, grinding, stacking or weeding paddy, sing their different melodious folk songs in chorus. Yet others are sung as lullabies or cradle songs, or at the birth and the naming of a child or at its circumcision or sacred thread ceremonies. Then there are wedding songs sung in chorus by women

at and before marriage ceremonies. Dirges, popularly known as *Pan*, are sung in chorus by the women after the death of old persons in the family.

The predominant theme of folk songs is a woman's touching plaint about her strayed lover who has deserted her. Here is a typical love song.

O you must tell me  
Where my boy has gone  
Is he a fountain in life's garden  
Or a well of nectar, sweet and delicious?

The last two lines evince the power of exquisite imagery of the unknown folk bard. These love songs are chaste, simple and pathetic. The love sick maiden consoles herself in these words:

My love is out to tend his goats  
And he must be weaving a garland there  
A garland of fresh daisy, *sosan* flowers  
For me, ye maidens.

The serpentine and calmly flowing river of the Valley, the Jhelum, forms the just theme of folk songs.

O thou slow motioned Jhelum!  
For thee let me devote my all O Jhelum  
How great is thy stateliness?  
For thee let me devote my all O Jhelum

Kashmiri peasant women sing praises of the majestic and beautiful tree of Kashmir—the chinar. The beauty of its leaf is thus sung:

To me O chinar leaf my love has sent thee,  
My all, O cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee  
Thou art O chinar leaf a prince of beauty  
My all O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee

Saffron is one of the most beautiful products of Kashmir. Saffron fields of Pampur, at a distance of 8 miles from Srinagar, are famous. Peasants, both men and women, sing exquisite folk songs while picking saffron flowers. A part of a love song is:

Towards Pampur went away my darling  
Saffron flowers caught him in fragrant embrace,  
O he is there and ah me! I'm here  
When, where, O God would I see his face?

A village gul may sing a conceit in sweet tones:

Proud of the self art thou,  
O saffron flower!

Far lovelier than thou art I,  
O saffron flower!

The labouring folk hardly enjoy the loved product of their labour or its usufruct which goes to the contractor's store and they feel the poignant separation of the enchanting flower as they express in

How pink is saffron a colour  
Collect it into heaps we are bled in sweat  
Soon too soon it will be hurried to the city  
I enjoy its glorious glow O Samad  
How pink is saffron a colour

The touching refrain of the song is reminiscent of the wonderful view of the saffron blossom which is especially charming in full moon or at sunrise or sunset

Saffron pilferers actual or aspirant lustily shout the humorous doggerel

At Panjore are the saffron sellers  
Bare footed I at all steal saffron  
My Pir I see at Vapurar  
Why should I run there

The poor Kashmiri peasants may not afford to use the shawl, Kashmir's world famous product of art but they spin its wool and love its beauty. The bride happily sings

Shawl wool shall I spin with my own hands,  
And shall get it dyed in saffron colour

In a wedding song\* the bridegroom's mother leads the chorus

You pretty damsele stay here to night,  
Oh! do sing in honour of the Sultan of India  
His wife's people claim him as their own,  
And I shall decorate I say bed with mica

The marriage ceremony is preceded by the so called "Henna Night", when the hands and feet of the bride and bridegroom are dyed in henna, while women sing chorus songs\* far into the night

We congratulate you on your henna night!  
You have been blessed with God's mercy  
May you be safe from danger and accidents,  
May God remove your difficulties

The beauty of the bride is fitly sung by the rustic muse in such songs\*

Our belle is robed in muslin,  
Oh maid! who has dressed you?  
Your teeth are so many pearls,  
Who has delved them from the sea?

- The bride's mother and her relatives sing.

Live long, O groom, live long,  
O come up by our stairs  
I will adorn thy sword with the lotus.  
O come up by our stairs

The rose is the emblem of the bride-groom in another wedding prayer:

May this rose blossom forth, O God!  
And may the streamlet of blessing run on, O God!

Spring is the season when fruit trees look resplendent in their variegated blossoms and the shepherd girl addresses, the *Marg*, a meadow

Far off forests I see all blossomed forth,  
Hast not thou heard of me my Love?  
Mountain lakes like Tar Sar are all full of flowers  
Hast not thou heard of me, my Love?

Not unoften do rural women work at the spinning wheel. To the accompaniment of this simple occupation, they sweetly hum songs, such as

On my mat in my home is perched my spinning wheel  
I wheel it and I weave threads out of it

The imagination of the folk rises to poetic heights in the cradle songs. The peasant mother, comparing her darling to her ear ring, her loved ornament, sings:

I rock thee my ear ring I rock thee  
Thou art the God of Love at evening,  
And the sun at early morning,  
I rock thee, my ear ring, I rock thee

All these kinds of folk lore contain the essentials of folksongs in that they have been verbally communicated from one generation of rustic and pastoral bards minstrels and the peasantry in general, to the other generation, and that they are sung at labour, dance, play or traditional ceremonies or craft occupations. The unique characteristic of intricate vowel sounds coupled with liquid consonants of the Kashmiri language is reflected in its folk-songs, rendering them sweet in tone and alliterative in form. The simplicity of the theme and content of folk-songs is matched by their imaginative, poetic fervour. No definite verse forms have hampered the poetic inspirations of the rustic Muse. The exquisite singing quality of the

\* Collected by Mr. Mohammad Yousof Faruqi, S.P. College Student.

folk songs is appreciated by even the ear of the foreigner

Romantic ballads, originally sung by the peasantry and which have passed on verbally, have had and continue to have universal appeal among the Kashmiri folk. Many a line from folk tales are on the lips of villagers. They sing the highly contemplative lines from *Shirin Khusrō*

Maddened by bewitching Shirin  
Khusrō went to batter the mountain  
To whom did this world prove faithful  
Alas, who killed you, you lost one

In a wedding song, the new couple may be compared to the legendary lovers *Himal and Nagrat*, thus

Nagrat will take his seat on the golden carpet  
And shall take away Himal in the pearly palanquin!

Dirges are sung by women in chorus after any death in the family. Their poignant humour is touching as in

The *Halim* came and came the patient  
(seemingly) improved  
The pyre will be made of sandal wood

*Ruph* or Dance Songs are delightful to hear when groups of guls or women stand in lines, interlocking their arms round each other's waist and heave forwards and backwards, giving themselves a wavy motion. They sing only a couplet in chorus for instance.

Awake, awake, O sweet byacntb,  
Come on, let us dance, O sweet byacntb

This couplet is melodiously repeated over and over again—producing an excellent effect of rhythm

Present day folk lore has not substantially added to the past, rich folk lore of Kashmir. Like most folk lore it is not high in point of prosody but what matters is, that it is spontaneous and through it vibrates the very life of the masses of Kashmir, whose simple habits, bygone customs, loved traditions and past and present agrarian life are fitly mirrored in it. It throws open vast fields of activity for sustained research, so that it may be preserved, revived and rendered dynamic

## ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

By Mr K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., B.L.

THE Study of the Constitutional History of ancient India is a very fascinating one. Full of fruitful lessons for the future of India, it should necessarily form part of the cultural education of the Indian patriot and politician. Until recently, very incorrect notions were entertained in India and outside about the polity of ancient Indian States. They were characterised as primitive and despotic. The phrase 'Oriental Despotism' has been dinned into our ears and India's fitness for democratic institutions was seriously doubted as they were said to be of exotic growth unsuited to the Indian soil. But these ideas will have to be largely revised if we begin to read aright the constitutional history of our country in the light of the brilliant researches conducted by a scholar of the eminence of the late Dr K. P. Jayaswal,

the second and enlarged edition of whose work on "Hindu Polity" \* has been recently published. The sources of our information extend over the vast field of Hindu literature—Vedic, Sastric, classical and Prakrita and the South Indian languages and also the inscriptional and numismatic records of the country. To arrive at a correct conclusion after careful sifting of the available data and the ascertainment of facts emanating therefrom and the adjudgment of the sound and legitimate inferences from them is, indeed, a difficult task requiring the exercise of sober and impartial judgment. We have to avoid the tendency, often tempting,

\* Hindu Polity—a Constitutional History of India in Hindu Times. Parts I & II. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Hons. Patna Univ.). The Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs 7.

to import consciously or unconsciously our own modern ideas of democratic institutions into the statements, and terminology used by the ancients—ideas which might have been remote from the minds of the authors.

Fortunately for us, there is a branch of technical literature on 'Hindu Politics' called the Arthashastra which contains a wealth of material. Many works have now been lost. But those that remain furnish still useful information for instance, the Artha Sastra of Kautilya, Somadeva's Nivakyamrita, Kamandaka's Nitisara and Sukraniti. These contain references to still older authors and treatises. The topic of Raja Niti or Raja Dharma is also dealt with in separate chapters by the Mahabharata, and by the Agni Purana and by other Dharma Sastra writers. Thus the range is vast, the period covered is immense, going back to dim antiquity and the references are copious.

There is no doubt that the Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of state and political machinery. The earliest reference to popular assemblies and institutions is found in the Vedas. We find therein frequent mention of the Samiti and the Sabha in many contexts. From all these Dr K. P. Jayaswal rightly concludes that the Samiti and the Sabha were national assemblies of the people who had the power of electing the king, whose deliberations the king should attend and who discussed questions of State policy. That every young man had the opportunity to take part in the Sabha is well seen from the oft repeated Vedic prayer "Sabheyo Yuva" "May the youth be fit for the assembly." In short, in Vedic times the Samiti, Sabha and Sena seem to have been three coexisting institutions with specific allotted functions civil, criminal and military respectively.

Perhaps, the most revealing portion of this study is the clear proof of the existence of Hindu republics, showing that monarchy was not the only form of government known to the Hindus. The late Dr Jayaswal's most notable contribution is here. He was the first to establish the

true significance of the terms 'Gana' and 'Sangha' which were wrongly interpreted by Orientalists like Dr. Fleet and Monier Williams, as denoting a tribe. The Avadana-Sataka a work relating to the time of the Lord Buddha refers clearly to the fact that at that time some countries were ruled by Ganas and some by kings. A whole chapter in the Santhi Parva of the Mahabharata is devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of these Ganas. This discussion makes it clear that 'Gana' refers to a political community, a kind of Parliamentary government. The names of some of these republics such as the Kshudrakas and the Malavas are mentioned by the great Grammarian Panini and also later, by Greek writers who were historians of Alexander's invasion of India. The Andhaka Vishnu who are also mentioned by Panini and the Greek writers are famous in Purana literature. To them belongs the great Sri Krishna, the Paradevata of the Vishnuis as the Bhagavata says. It is clear, even, from the Puranic references that there was no king among this community. It was a kind of a joint league of two republics. They were a Sangha as mentioned by Kautilya. Dr Jayaswal states that the Adhaka Vishnu league had a joint Federal Constitution, where executive power was vested in two leaders with their respective vargas representing each division. Panini refers to the Akrura Varga and the Vasud-va Varga. The dual groups are mentioned by Katyayana as Sini Vasudeva, Ugraseni Vasudeva and Akrura Vasudeva. Most probably, the leaders changed from time to time and were elected. Though Vasudeva was the leader of the Andhaka Vishnu league, he was not a king. When the Agra Puja or the first honour was proposed to be given to Sri Krishna among the assembled kings at the great Rajasuya sacrifice performed by Yudhishtira, Dristapala, King of the Chedis, strongly objected to this step on the ground that Sri Krishna was not a king and that he did not therefore deserve the first honour among the assembled hosts of kings. He argued that the rule observed was to give the first honour to one who was either a priest

or Acharya or a King and Sri Krishna was none of these. In the spirited defence made by Bhishma, this point was not contested. But he praises Krishna as the great Narayana who has incarnated into the world as Vasu deva and says that, therefore, he was priest Acharya, and King all rolled into one (vide Sabha Parva Ch 33 Sl 22). It is also noteworthy that nowhere in the Mahabharata or in the Bhagavata is Sri Krishna referred to as the King of the Andhaka Vrishnis. The Bhagavata uses the word 'Isvara'. There is a very interesting episode in the Santhi Parva Chap 81, which throws a flood of light on the position of Sri Krishna among the Vrishnis and the polity of the Andhaka Vrishnis. There a conversation between Krishna and Narada is narrated, in which Krishna is said to put his difficulties as the leader of the Vrishnis to his friend Narada and the latter is said to give his solution. The advice given by Narada has a quite modern ring about it and may very well be taken to heart by the party leaders of the present day, too. He says, 'In a republic dangers are of two kinds, the external one and the internal one. It is the internal difficulty which is present in this case, use then a weapon which is not made of steel, which is very mild and capable of piercing all hearts. The weapon is this: Recognition of merit in others and honouring them: mildness, straightforwardness, toleration and constant entertainment. None but a great man, one of master mind and commanding a following can successfully exert himself in carrying on high political responsibility.'

Even in the monarchical states during Vedic times and the period to which the Buddhist Jatakas relate, the Kingship was on the basis of election. Though in later history, kingship became hereditary, still in the Coronation ceremonies especially in the Coronation oath, the theory of election was presumed. When there was a failure of heirs, the ministers elected the King with the consent of the people. The great Greek writer, Megasthenes, wrote that 'when a failure of heirs occurred in the Royal House the Indians elected their sovereign on the

principle of merit'. According to the Coronation oath, sovereignty vests in the King by reason of the formula 'To thee this state is given, thou art the Director and Regulator, thou art steadfast and bearer to thee for agriculture, for well being for prosperity for development'. After this formula is pronounced he is made to sit down. Even during the epic period the power of ministers to select the King on failure of heirs seems to have been in existence. When Dasaratha died and Rama was banished to the forest, it is said in the Ramayana, that the ministers called Rajakartra (King Maker) sent for Bharata and decided to install him on the throne. When Bharata is persuaded by the ministers to accept the throne, stress is laid by them upon their unanimous opinion that he should be made King. They argued that Bharata would never be in fault if he accepted the throne in response to their unanimous opinion. From the Artha Sastra and other evidence, we can realise that the Hindu monarch was more a constitutional sovereign than an autocrat. His actions were always controlled by the Chief Ministers and by the Council of Ministers. The Nivakyamrita clearly states that the King who overrides the ministers ceases to be King in the eye of the Constitutional Law. As the Mahabharata put it, 'the king was always Paratantra' under the control of ministers.

Thus a very close scrutiny of the Constitutional History of ancient India gives ample satisfactory evidences of the long existence of democratic institutions of constitutional importance and that, far from India having been ruled all over by despotic kings, it was divided in ancient times into monarchical states and republics, and that even in monarchical states, the kings were constitutional sovereigns controlled entirely by the Council of Ministers and the popular institutions of Paura and Janapada and subject to the reign of Law established by the sages, law givers and other wise men among the people.



# Bernard Shaw—His Mind and Art

By MR S V RAJAGOPAL DAS

MAX BEARBOHM has two subtly precise sentences in admiration for Bernard Shaw. The first is one of good humoured envy. 'Mr Bernard Shaw can do his work anywhere, all he needs is a tomato and a typewriter'. The second is one of critical insight. 'Magnetic he (Bernard Shaw) has the power to infect almost everyone with the delight that he takes in himself'. These two tributes sum up Shaw's greatness as a writer. They are the distilled quintessence of all appreciations of the myriad minded genius the Superman 'Shaw'.

Bernard Shaw's singular greatness was that he was wise before he was great. He was wise enough to realise that his countrymen are too lazy, too dull to see greatness unless someone looks the trouble of pointing it out to them. Of course, in his case Shaw was the pointer as well as the pointed. Otherwise, to speak frankly, how could his pot boil? Moreover he would be ignored which is a worse fate than to be hated. The whirling of Time rolled and rolled before the hopes of the Egoist materialised. But sooner or later the inevitable happened. Shawian ideas were passed as sane. And for years now Shaw has been masticated, digested and assimilated till at last he has become superannuated.

In the foreword to his book 'The Quintessence of Bernard Shaw' Mr Henry Charles Duffin writes 'The most astonishing thing about Bernard Shaw is that after sixty years of literary and political activity, he is still 'new'. Mr Duffin offers sound reasons for once. Any silly interview with Bernard Shaw, any obscure article of his to an equally obscure daily, will be reproduced in the newspapers all over the world. His inevitable quizzical face appearing in print Mr Duffin exclaims 'what a world!'

It is not for us to discuss here whether Shaw is now superannuated or not. But we must face the fact that though the

name "Shaw" is still "news", most of Shawian ideas are stale, out of date and even forgotten, as were those of Plato, Socrates, More or Ibsen. Shaw cries: 'People get nothing out of books except what they bring to them'. So it becomes necessary to remind ourselves every now and then of what Shaw wrote lest his wise utterances might go in vain.

Mr Skimpole defines Shaw as "a Laughing Philosopher". Another view—nearly contradictory to this—is that to go to Shaw for entertainment is like "going to Church to hear some good music". Of course both these statements have in them some truth. Shaw, no doubt, is a Laughing Philosopher but his laughter is not the comic relief, the easy humour of a stern serious thinker. In his Philosophy are blended wit and wisdom in perfect proportions, and his laughter, being highly intellectual, moves our hearts. He describes himself (by words put into the mouth of one of his wise characters, Father Keegan in "John Bull's Other Island") 'My way of joking is to tell the truth, it is the funniest joke in the world'. We will not therefore get useless entertainment (which enables us to forget our worries) from Shaw; his plays interest us only because they make us absorbed in life's many problems.

Shaw chases himself with the "artist philosophers"—those men whose art form presents an observation of life 'co-ordinated into a philosophy or a religion'. He hates the dictum, "Art for Art's sake", and for Art's sake alone he "would not face the toil of writing a single sentence". His heretical contention (in the preface to 'Pygmalion') that 'Art should never be anything else but didactic' gives the reader a keynote for Shaw, just as one has a starting point for Browning in his assertion that "little else but the development of the soul is worth study" and for Keats in the declaration that he has "loved the principle of beauty in all things".

When once we know that Shavian art is nothing, if not didactic and Shaw's plays are nothing if not discussion plays, we can profitably study Shaw's fanatical convictions.

To begin with morals. In both morals and religion, the average man simply cannot conceive the possibility of these being two points of view on familiar questions. Stephen Undershaft (in *Major Barbara*) states the case of the average man admirably. "Right is right and wrong is wrong, and that man who cannot distinguish the two is a fool and a rascal." Neither he nor the multitude he stands for, is capable of hearing without impatience the truth of his father's dictum "Morality differs from man to man." Johnny Tarleton (another creation in the gallery of Shaw's immortals) is equally concise. "You can draw a chalk line and make other naps toe it. That's what I call morality" (this again is the average man's conception), and is deaf to Lord Summerhayes' dry comment, "Very true. But you don't make any progress when you are toeing a line."

Here Shaw is at one with Nietzsche and Ibsen. Like Nietzsche (Shaw was a Nietzschean before he ever heard of Nietzsche) Shaw seeks to investigate "those judgments of values, Good and Evil, and to discover what intrinsic value they possess in themselves." And Ibsen has said "the golden rule is that there is no golden rule." Shaw echoes him when he says "conduct must justify itself by its effects upon life and not by its conformity with any rule." Times change and we with time, and everyman's soul has its own court of judicature.

Immorality becomes not a form of sin but a mode of freedom for 'whatever is contrary to established manners or customs is immoral.' And 'Man is great not by mortifying his nature but by doing what he wants to do.' Shaw then loves a rebel as dearly as Carlyle loves a "hero". Shaw hates sentimentalities, conventions, prejudices. A sentimental hog is he (says Professor Higgins) who has a thick pair of

lips to kiss his wife with and a thick pair of shoes to kick her with. Now for prejudices. Says Andrew Undershaft, 'what is wrong with the world is that it scraps everything except old prejudices—religious, moral and political.' Shaw again has said somewhere. The reasonable man adjusts himself to the world but the unreasonable man adjusts the world to himself. So all progress depends on the unreasonable man. These stray quotations disclose Shavian view of morals, virtues\* and customs.

Critics are fond of generalising too much. Here is an example. A critic of Shaw hazards the guess that 'Shaw, like life, and unlike Shakespeare, is a little uncertain on the subject of woman.' Without questioning the critic's knowledge of either Shakespeare or Shaw, we shall only say, 'Nobody who has read Shakespeare and Shaw can agree with this broad criticism.' Not only is Shaw quite certain on the subject of woman, but Shakespeare here as in everything, is rather uncertain on the subject. It is not a tribute to Shaw. The great Shakespearean women (*Lady Macbeth*, *Cleopatra*, or *Coneril*) are great portrayals because their portrayals are complex (as complex as human nature). But Shaw's characters are not life like, in the sense that they are rigid and simple, easily definable and clearly scrutable. And most of Shaw's characters are essentially himself, a poor testimony to a playwright who should enjoy full freedom from his creations to successfully represent life in all its varied aspects.

It is pertinent to recapitulate Shaw's stray ideas on love, family and home.

Love in Shaw is at least theoretically, devoid of romance. It is neither mysterious, nor divine. Above all, it affords no basis for a worship of woman by man. When passion is encouraged by opportunity, civilized gentlemen give it a decent name 'Love.' And marriage is a mischievous culmination of "Love."

\* Virtue consists not in abstaining from sex in its desiring it.—Shaw

Shaw explodes the myth of "family affection" with rage and contempt. A passage of his own explains the forces of his conviction: "Now if anyone's childhood has been embittered by the dislike of his mother and the ill temper of his father, if his wife has ceased to care for him and he is heartily tired of his wife if his brother is going to law with him over the division of the family property, and his son acting in studied defiance of his plans and wishes it is hard for him to persuade himself that passion is eternal and that blood is thicker than water."

'Home is the girl's prison and he woman's work house', says Shaw. How realistic a comment!

Economics too is a favourite topic for Shaw. His economic thought first began with himself: he was born poor. Not only that, almost all his youth had been spent in dire poverty. Therefore whatever Shaw says on the subject of economics is very practical because it is steeped in his personal experiences. The best utterances of Shaw on the subject are: "Property is theft" and "Poverty is the worst of all crimes. What does Poverty mean? Weakness, ignorance, ugliness, disease and death, wealth, on the contrary, is strength, knowledge, beauty, health and life. Equality of riches is Shaw's watchword. Still he hates a man who is poor. Better die than live poor!"

The most characteristic works of Shaw are his "prefaces." Here we have an insight into the powerful workings of Shaw's gigantic brain, with all its knowledge, wisdom, wit. They seem journalistic in form as well as in content. But Shaw assures us that it is no drawback, he even goes so far as asserting "good literature is ever journalistic." Only what is good and necessary at one time can be good and necessary at all times.

If the "prefaces" is the quintessence of Shaw, his "Saint Joan" is his masterpiece. The play is a landmark in the history of

Shaw's reputation. It drew attention from all varieties of men, politicians, academicians, clergymen, artists, mob, thereafter, what Shaw said (whether wise or otherwise) was simply gospel truth.

When all has been said, comments on Shaw's art and style should be made. Shaw's art though didactic in its appeal is never dry as dust. Instead, all the problematic aspects in the world, are discussed and solved in brilliant sparkling dialogue. Though his plays have no substantial plot construction, yet the drama in any situation is intense and moving. That explains the popularity of his plays. Art is in his blood, and, however much he may struggle, he cannot escape being a super fine artist.

Shaw is a great stylist too. He has something to assert and he asserts it effectively without rhetoric or eloquence.

Effectiveness of assertion is the alpha and omega of style. But whatever he says, effectively or no, he only says it in an irritating way because "nobody will trouble himself with anything that does not trouble him. Better not say anything at all, than say it softly!"

There are a few Shavian precepts (or tricks if you like). By themselves they may sound awkward but when used by a powerful writer like Shaw, they are effective.

Something has to be said of Shaw—the man. It is interesting to know his own opinion about himself. "You must take me as I am, a reasonable, patient, consistent, apologetic, laborious person with the temperament of a school master and the pursuits of a vestryman" (Preface to "Man and Superman"). Again in a private talk with Mr. Henderson (one of Shaw's biographers), Shaw said of himself: "Many people seem to imagine that I am an extraordinary sort of person. The fact is that ninety-nine per cent of me is just like everybody else." Shaw is an enigma to us as to himself.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Indian Troops for Indo China and Indonesia

THE use of Indian troops to suppress nationalist movements in Indo China and Indonesia has been rightly condemned from one end of the country to the other. Leaders like Maulana Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have repeatedly warned the Government against this attempt to employ Indian troops abroad. Herself not free from foreign domination, India would be doubly dishonoured if her men are in any way employed in this unholy work. Patriotic Indians, here as elsewhere, resent such employment of India's manpower for purposes so wholly at variance with the country's wishes. No wonder the Indian Merchants Chamber has sent a telegram to the Viceroy, expressing "serious pain and extreme perturbation at the use of Indian troops against the nationals of Indo-China and Indonesia." "India", says the telegram,

is yearning for her freedom and she has naturally every sympathy with subject countries striving to get themselves free. In such circumstances the use of Indian troops against the nationals of such subject countries is opposed to Indian sentiment.

The Chamber requests the Viceroy to give a categorical assurance that Indian troops will not be sent out of India and that those who are already stationed abroad will not be employed for such purposes.

Our countrymen abroad are equally emphatic in their denunciation of actions calculated to jeopardise the freedom movement in Asia. A resolution recommending

a commission of the United Nations to liquidate the present position in Indonesia and Indo China and supporting the 'demands of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples for complete independence' was adopted at a meeting of the Indian Independence Union in London. The resolution declared

This meeting reiterates the demand universally expressed throughout India that troops of the Indian Army should not be used to suppress nationalist movements in Indo China and Indonesia, neither should they be used to hold the rings until the arrival of French and Dutch troops for re-establishment of French and Dutch rule.

## Plea for Free Elections

Mr Arthur Henderson, Under Secretary for India, is reported to have stated in the House of Commons that Government was satisfied that 'anything like a general amnesty was not desirable'. He went on to say that the number of those detained is "falling steadily" and that "there will be all reasonable freedom of movement for parties contesting the elections". It is difficult to reconcile this refusal to consider a general amnesty for all political detenus in India with the oft repeated declarations of the Government that everything would be done to see that the forthcoming elections were free and fair. How could the elections be said to be either fair or free with so many of the so called authors of the August disturbances still behind the bars? And then think of the bureaucratic 'pin pricks' in the shape of the denial of such indispensable facilities as the installation of a telephone for the

Central office of the Congress? Fancy the deprivation of the telephone service to the Carlton Club or Labour Headquarters during the last general elections in England?

Mr Henderson says glibly that there would be no restrictions on the right of free speech. But does he or the members of the House of Commons know that bans still exist on public meetings even in cities like Calcutta and Dacca? How can there be free and fair elections asks the Congress President when meetings cannot be held without the sanction of the police and candidates and supporters continue to be confined in jails?

When the Defence of India Act was before the Central Assembly Sir M Zafriullah Khan, the Member in charge, gave the following assurance

It is admitted on all hands that the powers are wide that they are drastic but they are wide and drastic in order to meet an emergency the like of which has probably never arisen before. But I can express the hope that those who will actually be invested with the carrying out of these powers into effect will use them with discretion and will use them humanely and in such a manner as to cause the minimum of inconvenience to the public.

How far this assurance has been translated into action is a matter of bitter experience. For the extraordinary powers vested in the executive have not always been exercised with either justice or generosity. The country has groaned under the tyranny of the petty official ever since the war began. But now that the emergency has passed where is the need to continue the hated regime?

### India Ignored

It is common knowledge that Nationalist India preferred to stand aloof in respect of war effort, mainly because the very fact of India's belligerency was announced without even the courtesy of consultation with the Indian Legislature. Congress, provoked by the dictatorial conduct of the Government took up the challenge, though unwilling to impede war work in any way. The reaction to this estrangement has been evident in the deadlock that has persisted these five years. Yet Government do not seem to have learnt the lesson. It would be uncharitable to think that they deliberately intended to insult Indian feeling. Yet one cannot understand why the Government of India meaning the Governor General in Council should have announced the ratification of the United Nations' Charter without any reference to the Indian legislature. No excuse for by passing the legislatures can stand the test of facts. As Sir Chimanlal Setalvad points out

There was ample time to convene a meeting of the Central Assembly to consider the Charter before the life of the Assembly automatically expired at the end of September. If the interval between the receipt of a copy of the Charter and the date of the automatic expiration of the life of the Assembly was considered too short, the life of the Assembly could have been extended by a short period.

The further question arises, what did the eleven Indian members do in the matter, he asks.

Were they consulted about this and if they were did they agree to the ignoring of the legislatures?

The public is entitled to know the facts

### The Soulbury Report on Ceylon Reforms

The Report of the Soulbury Commission on Constitutional Reforms for Ceylon have been received in the island with a keen sense of disappointment. Mr D S Senanake, leader of the State Council in his note to the Board of Ministers meeting revealed that in his conversations with the Secretary of State for Colonies, he had pressed for an immediate declaration of full Dominion status. And the people of the island impressed by the promise of full self Government for Burma have been looking forward for something at least like the Cripps offer to India—i.e., Dominion Status with the theoretical right to secede coupled with a treaty reserving certain rights for defence etc for a time.

Fancy their disappointment when they are told that their recommendations will 'in due course enable Ceylon to assume the status of a dominion thereby bringing nearer the ultimate ideal etc. This is something like 'the progressive realisation of responsible Government of which, we in India have been hearing for the last quarter of a century. What exactly is offered to Ceylon is a petty measure of self Government through an executive purporting to be responsible to the legislature. But it is no self Government in the real sense of the term. The exclusion of defence and foreign affairs from the portfolios of the Ministers the veto power of the Governor General Government nominations to both the Houses of the Legislature and other checks and balances in the powers of the Executive, reduce the so called Self Government to a virtual nullity.

The question of minorities in Ceylon as in India is bristling with difficulties. The proposals recommended by the Commission have already roused the fears of the Tamilians the largest minority community in the island.

The Committee of the Ceylon Tamil Congress calls the report as

unacceptably stereotyped on the Westminster model and slavishly based on the Sinhalese Ministers' partisan plans to wrest complete powers

of a fascist government for themselves under the respectable cloak of British democratic institutions.

The Congress feels that in the report the minority races are permanently denied Self Government and are condemned to eternal subjection under Sinhalese racial domination. It adds

The Soulbury Commission's report is a charter of slavery for the ancient Tamil race and its implementation will be a last of shame on the fair name and greatness of Britain.

Strange that the Commission should have managed to make recommendations equally repugnant to the nationalists and the minorities!

### Indian Citizenship in U.S.A.

The passing of the Indian Immigration Bill by the House of Representatives in the United States marks the end of a twenty year old struggle—the struggle of a handful of Indians for the rights of ordinary citizenship in USA. The Bill, in short, seeks to secure two things—firstly, that qualified nationals of India may become citizens of the United States, and secondly, that about a hundred Indian nationals may be allowed to enter the United States every year as immigrants.

According to figures quoted by a writer in the *Hindustan Times* there are only about 3000 Indian nationals in the United States—a number which did not exceed 6000. And then the student or tourist who goes to USA naturally returns home to India when his work abroad is over. So it is not a question of numbers far less one affecting anybody anxious to leave India and settle down in America. But it is a fight for a principle. We just don't want to be considered inferior, said Mr J J Singh, whose persistent efforts have thus borne fruit. The India League put the case briefly and pointedly.

Every country of course has the right to have such immigration laws and fix such quotas as it may see fit. The people of India have no desire to ask for any special privileges of treatment. They do not seek unrestricted immigration to the United States but they do wish and ask that the stigma of inferiority may be removed—as has been rightly done very recently in the case of the Chinese.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Colonies in Revolt

WE now have two signs of peace. The Great Powers have returned to their pre-war rivalry and the Colonies refuse to return to their pre-war slavery, writes Louis Fischer, the well-known American journalist.

"The peoples of Indonesia and Indo-China, of Korea and other colonial areas seem to have taken seriously the news that the world war has ended. To them it seems to mean that the pre-war world is also ended. They are to-day reminding the Big Powers what the war was for. It was a war for the Four Freedoms the United Nations said. Does that include the freedom to be free?' Mahatma Gandhi asked me, when I spent a week in Seagram in 1942. This is the very question which the several hundred millions of inhabitants of Eastern Asia are now asking.

When Great Britain, Russia, the United States, France and Holland announced that the war was a war for freedom, this was intended to indicate that it was a war to keep them free from Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militaristic dictatorial Japan.

Another interpretation has been volunteered during the last few weeks by the fighting Japanese and Annamites. The oppressed races of Asia appear to believe that it was likewise a war for freedom from Great Britain, Russia, the United States, France and Holland.

The colonies do not want a future that is like their past. The key to peace is to change away from the ugly, bloody, hungry, unjust past. The second world war will either have brought a new world or will have brought a new world war."

## The British Budget

Britain's first post-war Budget will bring no relief to the most heavily taxed people in the world for another six months.

But from April next year, the standard rate of Income Tax will be reduced by one shilling in the £ to 9 sh., and certain untaxed allowances on earnings will revert to pre-war level relieving 2,000,000 persons of Income tax.

These concessions were announced by Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Britain's Socialist Government, in his first Budget speech on October 23.

Other main points of his proposals in the 'interim Budget' were an increase in surtax, the cessation of new post-war credits for Income tax payers, and a reduction of the Excess Profits Tax 60 per cent as from January 1.

The Income tax changes would cost the Exchequer £90,000,000 annually, said Dr. Dalton. 'I hope the encouragement given by the general relief from tax will lead to intensified production.'

## Civil Government in Burma

The Civil Government was re ushered into Burma by H. E. Sir Reginald Hugh Dorman Smith, Governor of Burma, who set foot at 10 on October 16, on the shore of Rangoon, the capital city, which he left 3½ years ago, following the Japanese invasion, to function from Simla.

Burma is the first liberated country in South-East Asia Command, to come under a Civil Government.

His Majesty the King, in a message to the people of Burma, on the occasion of the return of the Civil Government, restates Britain's declared policy of bringing Burma to complete self-government as a member of the British Commonwealth.

### President Truman's 12 Points

Outlining 12 points of the "fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States" President Truman declared on October 27,

Firstly, we seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other State, large or small. We have not an objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nation.

Secondly, we believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

Thirdly, we shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Fourthly, we believe that all peoples who are prepared for self government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. This is true in Europe, in Asia and in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

Fifthly, in co-operative action with our war allies, we shall help defeated enemy States to establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice.

Sixthly, we shall refuse to recognize any government imposed on any nation by force of any foreign Power, in some cases, it may be impossible to prevent a forceful imposition of such government, but the United States will not recognize any such government.

Seventhly, we believe that all nations should have freedom of seas and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

Eighthly, we believe that all States which are accepted in the society of nations should have access to trade and raw materials of the world.

Ninthly, we believe that sovereign States of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the hemisphere must work together as good neighbours in solution of their common problems.

Tenthly, we believe fully that economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential for the improvement of living conditions all over the world and establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

Eleventhly, we shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout peace loving areas.

Twelfthly, we are convinced that preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations organization composed of all peace loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to ensure peace.

### The French Elections

The result of the general elections in France is a clear verdict in favour of Gen de Gaulle and a democratic constitution. Voters went to the polls to take part in a Referendum which was to decide the future of the 1875 Constitution. In the Referendum, as has been pointed out by a contemporary, people were asked two questions firstly, whether they wanted to scrap the old constitution with its double, chamber legislature, and secondly whether they supported General de Gaulle's proposal for a single chamber Assembly to draft the new constitution. By an overwhelming majority the French people have decided against the reactionary constitution of the Third Republic. As regards the second question of the Referendum the vote has gone in favour of the de Gaulle scheme. The General's scheme was that during the interim period of seven months when the constitution was being drafted by the newly elected Assembly, a provisional Government should be formed and in order that it might maintain political stability it should not be made dependent for support on the Assembly. The procedure for forming the Government suggested was that a Head of the State should be selected first and he should invite party men to form the Ministry. This proposal was opposed by the Communists and the Radicals as being anti democratic. The French people have, however, approved of it, apparently as a gesture of gratitude to General de Gaulle as 'the first resister.'

### New Labour Peers

The creation of seven new Labour Peers, as "an exceptional measure of State policy" was announced by the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee on October 24. The creations are designed to increase the representation of the Labour Government in the House of Lords to "the extent sufficient to ensure that business in the Upper House is conducted with proper dispatch and efficiency."





# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**THE OTHER HARMONY** By The Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastri Edited by T N Jagadisan and published by S Visvanathan, Post Office Street Madras Rs 3  
Mr Jagadisan whose excellent collection of *Sastri's Letters* was reviewed in these pages has with the zeal of a discerning scholar, dug up more Sastriana to share with the public. His recent edition of *Sastri's Life and Times of Pherozshah Mehta* was an admirable treat alike for the warm and intimate delineation of a striking personality and for the balanced appreciation of a great public character. Apart from its attractions as a biographical *tour de force* it will remain the most treasured source book of the times that Pherozshah dominated.

Evidently this browsing at large over Sastri literature has proved a fascinating occupation for the Editor who has quickly followed up with yet another collection—*The Other Harmony*. Those who are familiar with Sastri's smooth and flowing diction will be quick to endorse this apt but obscure reference to Dryden's phrase. Here are 15 papers of charming interest beginning with that classic piece of Confessions reproduced from the pages of the *Indian Review*. The first three chapters are frankly autobiographical in which Sastri reveals himself with admirable naivete all the more attractive for the glamour of his style and his method of approach. In one of these Mr Sastri recounts the story of his admission to the Servants of India Society how a copy of the Prospectus of the Society which was handed to him by Mr G A Natesan decided his course irrevocably. And Mr Sastri describes the ceremony with the amorous precision of Gibbon\* about to engage himself on his

great life work—*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

It was the 10th January of the new year . . . . The place was the upper storey of a house in Rowland Road, Ballygunj, and the time early morning etc.

Then follow chapters on Gokhale, Ranade, Mehta and Gandhi and luminous discourses on Democracy and Education, and characteristic exposition of the Balanced Mind, Values in Life and Christmas Spirit. We are glad to see included in this selection, Sastri's masterly speech on the Joys of Freedom delivered on the occasion of his accepting the Freedom of the City conferred by the Corporation of London in 1921.

**STUDIES IN THE RAMAYANA** By T Sundarachariar Published by P Varadachary & Co Available of G A Natesan & Co Madras Rs 28

All lovers of Ramayana will welcome this stimulating volume comprising the series of lectures delivered by the author in 1944 at Kumbakonam before a vast and learned audience. The present study covers only Balakanda and according to the author the Ramayana is an Immortal work of art and it has presented to the Hindu mind those ideals of conduct and character which have ever since been the watchwords of the Indian striving. He has taken much pains to indicate the artistic and moral excellences of the work and throw new light on some of the favoured episodes. On some of the philosophic conceptions like the idea of a personal God, the theory of incarnation and the theme of the struggle between Devas and Asuras the author has much to say that is elevating and illuminating. Sir S Varadachariar, Judge, Federal Court of India has contributed a crisp and lucid foreword to this highly thought provoking study of this great work.

\* The memorable passage in Gibbons' *Autobiography* reads: It was at Rome on the 10th of October 1644 as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind.

JUDGE OR JUDAS? By N G Jog Thacker & Co, Ltd, Bombay Rs 7 14

This is quite a crushing reply to Beverley Nichols "Verdict on India" in which the author had slandered India its people its art and its culture, not to mention the many misstatements about Mahatma Gandhi the Congress and the Nationalist Press of India. The Hindus and the Anglo Indians were his chief victims and the Muslims his favourites. Mr Jog quotes chapter and verse to prove that Beverley Nichols was none but a hireling engaged by interested people to visit India and then produce the book full of misstatements and *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*. Mr Jog avers that Beverley Nichols was helped in this task by officials in England and India, and this propaganda book found extensive circulation in America. For several years past America has been the main target for British propaganda. Says Mr Jog

It seems as if India a battle for freedom has to be fought neither in Britain nor in India but in the United States! Books and pamphlets background material and guidance notes, topical contributions and spot news—all highly coloured, most of it anti Congress and anti Gandhi—is being liberally mailed from the British Embassy in Washington which has an Indian propaganda branch attached to it. Editors columnists (led by the redoubtable Dorothy Thompson), novelists, dons and masonaries are being roped in, thus anti Indian racket and even the Royal Bank of Canada and the Federal Council of the Churches in America are reported to have taken a hand in it!

According to Mr Chaman Lal who made an extensive tour of America in 1944 and had thus an opportunity to study facts at first hand, the Government of India spends about two and a half million rupees and the British Government about ten to twelve million dollars every year for anti Indian propaganda in America. About 10,000 persons are engaged this mission of advocating the cause of British Imperialism in America.

To recite the many false statements made by Mr Nichols would be giving it further publicity. We shall therefore be content with recommending to our readers Mr Jog's brightly written book 'Judge or Judas?'. For, even those who are not normally interested in politics will enjoy the literary flare and polemical wit of the book.

TREATY RIGHTS OF INDIAN STATES By Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar Indian Council of World Affairs, Bombay Branch Rs 2

In this inaugural address delivered to the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar elucidates at length the meaning of treaty rights and paramountcy and points out that the States cannot pursue a policy of isolation and shield themselves under sovereignty but must accept some central control on questions of All India policy in legislative executive and judicial matters. He briefly analyses the respective population, finance material resources and political status of the 601 States and scans their future in an all India set up whether they should go into a confederation or be absorbed into British India or merged with other Indian States. Finally he puts forward a strong plea that the States should aim at the well being of the peoples and must evolve a responsible government with the advancing tide of the times.

BROADCASTING By Seth Drucquer (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs Oxford University Press No 27) As 6

In this pamphlet Seth Drucquer surveys the growth of broadcasting in India and its great possibilities and gives some suggestions for its expansion. To day the A I R broadcasts from nine stations and two lakhs of people own radio sets. The author who is a layman points out the example of Russia with a population of less than 200 millions having 500 stations and indicates possibilities for expansion in India. But, this can be done only when the present low standard of the people has been raised to an appreciable level, for radio to day caters only the middle class and the rich in towns and villages. As a medium of education it is a powerful force and the author suggests that sets should be provided in all schools and colleges.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

— 0 —

- October 1 Fighting in Indo China Anna  
mines massing at the gates of Saigon
- October 2 Gandhi Jayanti celebrations  
—Fighting ends in Indo China
- October 3 Failure of London Conference  
of Foreign Ministers  
—Indonesia demands full independence
- October 4 Appointment of new Provincial  
Governors announced  
—Sir Chandulal Trivedi appointed Governor  
of Orissa
- October 5 MacArthur dismisses Jap Home  
Minister  
—Sir Ardeshir Dalal announces setting up  
of Tariff Board
- October 6 Japanese Cabinet resigns re  
sented MacArthur's dismissal of Home  
Minister.
- October 7 Dr Soekarno leader of Indo  
nesian Nationalists invites four leaders of  
freedom including Pandit Nehru to Java
- October 8 New Jap Cabinet approved by  
MacArthur
- October 9. Laval sentenced to death  
—Soulbury Commission report on Ceylon  
reforms published
- October 10 Pandit Nehru's call to Japan  
to promote peace in Asia
- October 11 Lower House in U.S.A. passes  
Immigration Bill
- October 12 Interim plan for Palestine  
reached with Arabs
- October 13 Ban on Bharati songs lifted  
—Commander in Chief outlines plan for  
India's defence forces
- October 14 Allied Military Government  
takes over charge of Batavia
- October 15 Pierre Laval executed
- October 16 Civil Government re established  
in Burma  
—Dutch Government refuses to treat with  
Dr Soekarno
- October 17 Lord Pethick Lawrence speaks  
on Indian self government at reception  
held by London Mijlis
- October 18 Maulana Azad protests against  
Government failure to grant general  
amnesty
- October 19 Sir Sultan Ahmed resigns and  
Sir Akbar Hyderi to officiate as Member  
of Viceroy's Council
- October 20 Mr Attlee defines labour policy  
and programme  
—PEN Conference at Jaipur presided over  
by Sir Mirza Ismail
- October 21 Congress candidates to Central  
Legislature announced
- October 22 Australian team arrives in  
Bombay
- October 23 Dr Dalton presents first  
Labour budget
- October 24 Qusling executed  
—Mr Bevin defines British policy in Java  
and Indo China
- October 25 Government turn down request  
for postponement of INA trials  
—Royal Charter given to National Institute  
of Sciences
- October 26 Congress Election manifesto  
issued  
—India Government's 15 year plan for Postal  
Service published
- October 27 M.P.s demand official decla  
ration of independence for India
- October 28 American occupation of Korea  
—Rift in U.S. Russo relations
- October 29 Sarat Chandra Bose seeks elec  
tion to Central Assembly as Congress  
candidate from Burdwan Division
- October 30 Failure of talks re Burma  
Executive Council
- October 31 Sardar Patel's 70th birth day  
celebrated  
—Brigadier Mallaby murdered in Java  
Mrs Vijalakshmi meets President Truman



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

An appeal to "every lover of the country" to fight for India's unity is made by Sir Muza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in a signed article in the *Concord*.

Sir Muza says:

In the present distressing situation, when disruptive tendencies are sedulously at work undermining the very foundations of our national life when the dark miasma of communal hatred has polluted the wells of sane goodwill, it should be the duty of every lover of the country to bestir himself to clear the foul air and to fight for unity.

Behind the endless diversity of races, languages and creeds, behind the rise and fall of dynasties there is and has been a fundamental unity and continuity of Indian culture. That culture is deep rooted in the soul of the people. The clouds of political prejudice may for a while perplex and trouble us, but no agitation can shake the hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, loves and hates of hundreds of millions of men during hundreds of years.

Supporting his observation with a survey of the mutual impact and influence of Islam and Hinduism upon each other in the realm of art, architecture, poetry, music, religion and philosophy, Sir Muza says:

Throughout their long history, both the Hindus and the Muslims have known the art of living together. In all fields of human values to all that makes life worth living, Hindus and Muslims have worked hand in hand in a spirit of mutual understanding, trust and helpfulness, contributing to the common fund of Indian culture, which holds them together as one people.

Sir Muza Ismail suggests that there is one potent means of bringing the different communities together—next only perhaps to inter marriages—and that is the starting of industrial enterprises in close association with one another. He says:

If people can earn money for their, they forget their religious, racial or other differences. Common industrial enterprises can act as a powerful cementing force, resulting in the erasing, if not in the complete elimination, of communal antagonism.

## FREEDOM

"To fight for freedom, to work for it and live for it is an excellent ideal", writes Krishna Hatheresingh in the special autumn issue of the *Saturday Math*, the excellently-got up Calcutta weekly.

Countries which sacrifice their freedom are in danger of stagnating as freedom of person and of the mind are the essence of civilization and progress. Without freedom we shall decay and that we have not done so in spite of 200 years of foreign domination shows how great our past civilisation and culture must have been for us to have withstood all that we have done all these years.

To think that freedom is possessed by those only who are in a position to restrict others is entirely false. The claims that are forged by love are far stronger than any of those imposed by hate and repression. Freedom does not mean the power to do exactly as one likes, to come and go when it pleases one or to carve and follow a path of one's choice. It implies much more—it means mental freedom which can be acquired by casting off shackles of prejudice, racial contempt, religious fanaticism and national hatred.

One can acquire freedom of mind when one can face problems rationally, is unswayed either by sentiment or prejudice, says the writer. Everywhere people are enslaved by hate, fear, worry, greed and other emotions. They are chained by shackles of tradition, conventions, customs, superstitions and repressions.

Freedom should not mean licence. It should not be imposed from without but should come from within.

Men and women need to educate themselves spiritually to understand life and themselves—to think for themselves and interpret their emotions correctly.

If the aim of each individual is to be free for all then each person must co-operate to secure it. Our importance as individuals lies in the service we can render the community. So in the present struggle for the freedom of our country we must co-operate and work for it. The liberty of many a country is still threatened. We still have to achieve ours, but what we must ensure for ourselves and our children must be something very different from what the West considers liberty, freedom and democracy.

## CONGRESS AND MR JINNAH

Congress is being criticised by different people for different reasons. One section condemns the Congress for its failure to form coalition governments with League leaders during Congress Raj while others find fault with it for its policy of appeasement at any cost. Mr D F Karaka special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* and former President of the Oxford Union in a letter to the *New York Times* says:

My countrymen pleading India's cause in this country have harped on the theme that India has a right to freedom. The issue to-day is no longer whether India is entitled to independence.

The point is rather should this transference of power take effect subject to Mr Jinnah's demands which would mean that India would cease to exist as anything more than her geographical expression being replaced under the Jinnah scheme by two new units—Hindustan and Pakistan. Hindu India and Moslem India.

Mr Jinnah's demand is not one which can be accepted by any thinking Indian but the fact remains that because of Britain's India policy since the days of the Round Table Conference Mr Jinnah to-day is in the position of calling the trumps. Mr Jinnah has come to the present position in India partly because Britain built him up as a foil to the growing power of the Indian National Congress and partly because of the shortsightedness of the Congress in India which underestimated his strength and his danger.

The result is that while Britain is still, de jure, the paramount power, ironically because of their own Indian policy, Mr Jinnah has the *de facto* control of India's destiny. Britain always said that no transference of power could take place in India without the consensus of opinion in India.

Mr Karaka, in conclusion, says:

Like Nelson the Congress have looked for Mr Jinnah's rise to power with their blind eyes. Therefore I feel it pointless to speak in this country about our right to our freedom without telling the American people of the mistakes our

own Indian leaders have made in making this freedom difficult to achieve.

Hitherto the fact could never be proved that there was a Hindu Moslem problem. The Gandhi Jinnah meeting, however, provided exhibit "A" for Britain and provided British imperialism with a new lease of life in India.

The deadlock in India is the triumph of British Tory policy and will continue until the influence of Mr Jinnah is obliterated and there is a reorientation of the Congress policy.

Congress attitude to the League has been fully clarified during the last session of the AICC. Both Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal plainly told the Congress that no further endeavour to appease Mr Jinnah will ever be made.

## BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION

Dr H C Mookerjee, writing in the *Modern Review* for October, discusses how bribery and corruption, which were rampant in England, disappeared with the transfer of the ultimate control of the Government to the House of Commons. He says:

The old governing classes of England all drawn from the exceedingly well-to-do sections of the population continued distributing patronage in the old way and for the old purposes and the system was changed only with Lord Derby's Reform Act of 1867, transferring the ultimate control of the House of Commons from the ten pound householders in the boroughs to the town artisans to whom franchise was extended under it.

Probably feeling that the control of patronage which was gradually slipping out of their hands would be safer with an independent Civil Service Commission, the governing classes had the wisdom to yield in time so that at last even people without political influence had a chance to enter the Home Civil Service.

Three years after the passing of the above Act, Gladstone introduced open competition throughout the English Civil Service by an Order in Council. Absolute purification of the English Civil Service followed with the Reform Acts of 1884, 1918 and 1928, so that today Britain possesses an incorruptible body of public servants but this it is maintained, is mainly due to the political power conferred on the people through adult suffrage. This was referred to by the Rt Hon Viscount Samuel in the 1941 Herbert Spencer Lecture delivered before the Oxford University in which he is reported to have said

"It was only when the people gained control, that the fresh air of publicity, blowing through the lobbies of Parliament and corridors of White Hall, swept out the corruption that had infected the eighteenth century."

Let those who criticize India for the prevalence of corruption remember how far we still are from this all embracing public control!

Let them not demand twentieth century public morals from a country administered according to an early nineteenth century constitution from the franchise point of view and, under which, in the view of an Englishman, the Executive are advised by the hereditary rent-collectors of Bengal in (their) dealings with the tillers of the soil and by the factory owners of Bombay in (their) regulation of factory labour.

## EDUCATION AMONG TRIBAL PEOPLE

The total population of all the Tribes, or of the so called Aborigines and Hill-tribes of India is not less than 254 lakhs out of the total population of 3890 lakhs, writes Mr A. V. Thakkar in the *Social Service Quarterly*.

The total tribal population amounts to 6.5 per cent of the total population. This is as per census of 1941. All the people enumerated as tribes are neither Aborigines nor are they all Hill tribes, and that is why I have used the

word "so called" above. It is very difficult even for scientists and anthropologists to determine who migrated first into Hindustan—either from the North west or the North east. In a way, even the large Aryan population may be called Aborigines, nor are all the tribal people 'Hill Tribes'. A very large percentage of them do, as a matter of fact live in the plains and may have come down from the hills in the distant past. At any rate, a very small percentage, of the Tribals, which may be estimated at between ten and twenty per cent may be called by the name by which they are generally known namely, Aborigines and Hill Tribes. So the word "Tribes" or Tribal People is a more correct description of them to distinguish them from other castes of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

It is beyond controversy that the education among these people has progressed very little, as compared with the progress made by the communities of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

As a rule their education has been neglected by the State for the last 150 years, and more so than even that of the Depressed Classes or Harijans or Scheduled Castes. The latter community was subject to some social disabilities, but the tribes had no such handicaps. Being isolated in remote hilly parts and forest zones of the country, as well as in their own colonies in the plains, they were very backward to begin with and remained so in spite of the general advancement. It was only in such areas as Chhota Nagpur, specially Ranchi district, where Christian Missionaries have been at work among them for nearly a century past, and in the hill districts of the Nilgiris in the South that education has advanced appreciably. At all other places, they have remained very backward and will remain so unless the State takes special measures for their advancement. The task is too big for private agencies, which can only pioneer,

Though the work is not yet complete, A. V. Thakkar has been able to collect a list of 112 graduates from the Tribes, including a dozen lady graduates,

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### POST-WAR BUDGET

That Hyderabad's finances have successfully withstood the shock of World War II, as evidenced by the fact that all the seven war time budgets of the State have been surplus ones, despite minimum imposition of new taxation in the shape of the Excess Profits Tax and Excise Duty on tobacco was the point stressed by Nawab Liakat Jung Bahadur, the outgoing Finance Member, who presented the war time budget (1945-1946) at a press conference.

Apart from the above, a non lapsing grant of Rs 10,00,000 has been made for meeting partially, but immediately, the problems of resettlement and re-employment of demobilised soldiers and technicians, a measure which naturally takes priority in all Government plans.

The most encouraging feature of the current year's Budget is the substantial increase in the provision made for financing the activities of what are generally known as nation building departments.

### THE GODAVARI VALLEY SCHEME

H. E. H. the Nizam has sanctioned the Godavari Valley Development Scheme costing 24 crores. The scheme is expected to bring eight lakhs acres of land under irrigation in the districts of Warangal, Karimnagar and Adilabad, besides making available about 75,000 K. W. of cheap electric power, enabling the establishment of a number of industries in Godavari Valley area, especially chosen for its proximity to coal and iron fields as well as a number of important raw materials. H. E. H. the Nizam has appointed Nawab Mahomed Yar Jung Bahadur Secretary Post-War Planning Department as the Chief Commissioner, Godavari Valley Development Scheme.

## Mysore

### 5 YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The plans prepared by various Departments of the Mysore Government for developments within the next five years were outlined by the Dewan Pradhana Siromani N. Madhava Rao, on October 10 when he opened the Dasara Session of the Representative Assembly.

It is proposed to construct new irrigation works to bring an additional extent of 90,000 acres under wet cultivation. Arrangements are being made to increase the generating capacity of the jog hydro-electric project. A length of 600 miles of new roads is to be constructed. The number of primary schools is to be raised from 8,000 to 10,500. Existing hospitals are to be extended and more dispensaries opened.

After describing the State's war effort and its great contributions in men and material, the Dewan said:

'It is expected that about 5,000 persons belonging to Mysore are likely to be demobilised from the Indian Army. One or more employment exchanges will be established in order to resettle these persons in civil life. An attempt will also be made to organise some of the workers in groups for continuous employment on public works.'

He then briefly described the progress made in the planning of the economic development of the State in the years to come.

### MYSORE BAN LIFTED

The order of the District Magistrate of Mysore banning processions, meetings and other gatherings in Mysore City and within a radius of five miles, passed in May, on the eve of the proposed session of the Mysore Congress, has been withdrawn.

**Kashmir****NEW HOSPITAL AT SRINAGAR**

His Excellency the Viceroy performed the opening ceremony of Maharaja Hari Singhji Hospital at Srinagar on October 11.

Inviting His Excellency to declare the Hospital open, the Prime Minister Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramchandra Kal, in the course of his address said —

Five years ago the foundation stone was laid by Your Excellency's predecessor.

When His Highness succeeded 20 years ago, our medical budget was Rupees 7 lakhs, the number of hospitals and dispensaries 64 and the number of patients treated yearly about 9 lakhs. The current year's budget is Rupees 16 lakhs on maintenance alone exclusive of the cost of construction of new hospitals and dispensaries. The number of hospitals and dispensaries is 109 and the number of patients treated last year was about 17 lakhs. The strength of the Medical staff has risen from 533 to 1025. In addition there are subsidized dispensaries in rural and outlying areas which number 76. At these dispensaries 204,084 patients received medical treatment last year.

**Patna****CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS**

The Maharaja and Ruler of Patna at a Darbar held on the Dasara Day at Balangir, the headquarters of the Patna State, inaugurated the Patna State Legislative Assembly. The Darbar was largely attended by all the prominent subjects of the State from all corners. The Maharaja in a very impressive speech exhorted the people, specially the elected M.L.A.'s of the State to make the best use of the facilities given to them to associate them in the administration of the State.

The Assembly consists of 28 Members excluding the President who is the Chief Minister of the State, *ex officio*. Of the 28 Members 14 are elected, and 14 are nominated. Of the nominated Members 9 are officials and 5 are non-officials, thus assuring a non-official majority in the whole Assembly.

The Assembly is given a wide range of useful subjects to discuss and vote including the public revenue and budget. Of the few subjects outside the range of the Assembly are the Ruler and his family, his privy purse, his relations with the Paramount Power and the other Rulers, etc. The Maharaja assured complete freedom of speech in the Assembly.

The Assembly of the Patna State is the only one of its kind in the Orissa and Chhattisgarh States.

**Rajkot****PROFESSOR YAJNIK**

Born in a family of scholarly traditions at Nadiad, Dr. Yajnik has devoted the last quarter of a century for the cause of scholarship as a Professor and Principal and is at present Principal of the Dharmendrasinhji College. He has collected nearly 3 to 4 lakhs of rupees for the development of the college and every year, he collects thousands of rupees for the welfare of the poor students. The development of the Library with the hope that this great institution will one day be the nucleus of the future Kathiawar University.

It is but appropriate that the completion of his 50th year should have been made the occasion for the public to pay tributes to him recently. The public of Rajkot and other places in Kathiawar organized a grand reception under the presidency of His Highness the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot who gave him a fitting tribute.

The students and professors of the Dharmendrasinhji College celebrated the event with gusto.



## Baroda

### MAHARAJA'S EXHORTATION

'Let us strive together and purge from our midst communalism which is eating into the very vitals of our body politic' observed H H the Maharaja Gaekwar addressing his Ministers and heads of departments at the Laxmi Vilas Palace.

His Highness said "Baroda has given a lead to British India in many respects particularly in social and administrative reforms and I feel confident that at the appropriate time Baroda will also lead the way to further constitutional reforms.

The Maharaja next referred to post war problems and asked those assembled to face the future with confidence and fortitude. He emphasised the need for raising the standard of living particularly in the rural areas of the State and said that it could be done by industrial and agricultural development. Such development could not be confined to individual provincial or State limits.

"There must be co-ordination between the smaller units for the benefit of India as a whole. In our industrial policy, my Government are actively considering how Baroda can usefully fit into the industrial map of India. We intend to play our full part in any industry for which my State possesses natural resources.

### EX-WAR PRISONERS AT BARODA

Several hundred released prisoners of war, passing through Baroda were entertained by the Baroda State Military Department. Special band parties were deputed by the State. Senior officers of the Baroda State Army were also present. The station staff also entertained the released prisoners.

## Travancore

### PRIMARY EDUCATION ACT

The Travancore Primary Education Act, making primary education free and compulsory in the State for children between five and ten years of age was passed by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on October 18.

The preamble to the Act states that it is the declared policy of the Government to undertake universal, free and compulsory primary education for boys and girls by means of a definite programme, as a result of which they will assume, within a period of ten years, full control of all primary education in the State. The Act extends to the whole of Travancore, coming into force in such areas and on such dates as are to be notified by the Government.

The Act declares that in every area to which the Act applies it shall be the duty of parents to send their children to attend an approved school for primary education for so many days and for such time on each day of attendance as may be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction.

The Act stipulates that no religious instruction shall be imparted in any approved school during school hours, and provides that no person shall take into employment any child who is not receiving primary education in an approved school or has not obtained a certificate of exemption.

### THE TRAVANCORE BANK

Simultaneous with the industrial expansion programme of Travancore, comes a State blessed and State sponsored Bank, to aid State industries.

The bank also will be bankers to the State and the State will contribute 30 per cent of the capital. The Government have also promised to afford facilities for banking within the State.

The State Director will be the Financial Secretary, Mr S Parthasarathy, well known in financial circles, will be the Director-in-Charge.

**Kashmir****NEW HOSPITAL AT SRINAGAR**

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Inviting His Excellency to declare the Hospital open, the Prime Minister Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramchandra Kak, in the course of his address said —

Five years ago the foundation stone was laid by Your Excellency's predecessor.

When His Highness succeeded 20 years ago, our medical budget was Rupees 7 lakhs, the number of hospitals and dispensaries 64 and the number of patients treated yearly about 9 lakhs. The current year's budget is Rupees 16 lakhs on maintenance alone exclusive of the cost of construction of new hospitals and dispensaries. The number of hospitals and dispensaries is 109 and the number of patients treated last year was about 17 lakhs. The strength of the Medical staff has risen from 533 to 1025. In addition, there are subsidized dispensaries in rural and outlying areas which number 76. At these dispensaries 204,034 patients received medical treatment last year.

**Patna****CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS**

The Maharaja and Ruler of Patna at a Darbar held on the Dasara Day at Balangir, the headquarters of the Patna State, inaugurated the Patna State Legislative Assembly. The Darbar was largely attended by all the prominent subjects of the State from all corners. The Maharaja in a very impressive speech exhorted the people specially the elected M.L.A.'s of the State to make the best use of the facilities given to them to associate them in the administration of the State.

The Assembly consists of 28 Members excluding the President who is the Chief Minister of the State, *ex officio*. Of the 28 Members 14 are elected, and 14 are nominated. Of the nominated Members 9 are officials and 5 are non-officials, thus assuring a non-official majority in the whole Assembly.

The Assembly is given a wide range of useful subjects to discuss and vote including the public revenues and budget. Of the few subjects outside the range of the Assembly are the Ruler and his family, his privy purse, his relations with the Paramount Power and the other Rulers, etc. The Maharaja assured complete freedom of speech in the Assembly.

The Assembly of the Patna State is the only one of its kind in the Orissa and Chhattisgarh States.

**Rajkot****PROFESSOR YAJNIK**

Born in a family of scholarly traditions at Nadiad, Dr. Yajnik has devoted the last quarter of a century for the cause of scholarship as a Professor and Principal and is at present Principal of the Dharmendrasinhji College. He has collected nearly 3 to 4 lakhs of rupees for the development of the college and every year, he collects thousands of rupees for the welfare of the poor students the development of the Library with the hope that this great institution will one day be the nucleus of the future Kathiawar University.

It is but appropriate that the completion of his 50th year should have been made the occasion for the public to pay tributes to him recently. The public of Rajkot and other places in Kathiawar organized a grand reception under the presidency of His Highness the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot who gave him a fitting tribute.

The students and professors of the Dharmendrasinhji College celebrated the event with gusto.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

"On the 8th of August, 1942, the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's history. By its demands and challenge the Congress stands to-day. It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle cry that the Congress faces the elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies."

This is the keynote of a twelve point election manifesto issued by the Congress High Command

The highlights of the manifesto are

(1) The Congress stands for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India

(2) It stands for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them

(3) It stands for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius

(4) It stands for freedom of each group and territorial area to develop its own life and culture within the larger frame work

(5) It stands for the regrouping of Provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis

(6) It stands for the rights of all those suffering from social tyranny and injustice, and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality

(7) The Congress envisages a free democratic State with fundamental rights and

liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in its constitution

(8) The Congress stands for a Federal Constitution with a great deal of autonomy for its constituent units

(9) The Congress will tackle the most urgent and vital problems of India namely, the removal of the curse of poverty and raising of the standard of life of the masses

(10) The Congress stands for modernisation of industry and agriculture and social control of all sources of wealth, methods of production and distribution, so that India may grow into a co-operative commonwealth

(11) In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of a World Federation and

(12) The Congress will champion the cause of the freedom of all subject nations and elimination of Imperialism everywhere

### PROF. LASKI'S CALL TO MUSLIMS

Prof Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labour Party Executive in a letter to Mr Subrata Roy Chowdhury, President of the Cambridge University Majlis, says

I have long held the view that May 1942 was right when he said the proudest day in the history of Anglo-Indian relations would be the day upon which Britain could say to India that the time had come when India could go proudly on her own national way. I think the time has now arrived and I look forward to seeing a free India very soon after the elections. I hope particularly that Younger Mahomedans in India will realise that it is more important to gain freedom and unity for India as a whole than pursue communal advantage

# Utterances of the Day

## LORD LAWRENCE ON AIM OF BRITISH POLICY

Speaking at a reception held by the London Majlis to Indian students on October 17 the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, said

I do not know anything about the end of the India Office but I do know that it is my hope and it will be my endeavour to secure that the road along which you are travelling to full Self Government shall be as easy as possible. It is not the will of our Government or the people of this country to put any obstacle whatever in your progress towards Self Government, nor is it any part of our desire to put any limitations upon that Self Government.

We want you to attain full and equal Self Government at the earliest opportunity and to walk along the road that we are opening up or if you prefer it some other road that you choose to friendliness with us. Remember that we are hoping you will go forward to the desire of your hearts—complete full unfettered Self Government for India equal with the Self Government of the people in these islands.

Your nation is in many ways a greater nation than ours. It is a pleasure to us in this country that our fate is to some extent entwined with yours. I hope that whatever may be the feelings in some parts of India to-day when the history of your country comes to be written you will be glad that for a certain time—perhaps not long—your fate has been entwined with ours.

## PT NEHRU'S INDICTMENT OF BRITISH OFFICERS

Addressing a huge gathering of Hindus and Muslims at Azamgarh (U P) Pandit Jawaharlal indicted five British Officers in these terms:

I accuse Nethersole, Barret, Marshsmith, Wood and Moore for organised brutality in cold blood on my people. I accuse them for untold tyranny on innocent men and women of my province. I accuse them in public for indulging in those deeds which degrade humanity. I accused them in Balla and I do so here again.

Pandit Nehru in his indictment said:

I do not accuse these men because they resorted to firing. When a nation has risen to fight what is there to befall of, if the opposite side fires on us. But I do certainly condemn and accuse these people of ruthless barbarity which cannot be excused in any sense or by any code of arguing.

## LORD WAVELL ON INDIAN ARMY'S RECORD

Replying to an address of welcome read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar on October 15, H E Lord Wavell recounted the services of the Indian troops in the war particularly the Indian Army's record in Middle East.

Except for a small transport unit which went to France—India's original effort was in the Middle East in defence of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea—our main lines of communication to India.

When the Italians entered the war in 1940 and advanced toward Egypt the only formations of trained troops which I had available to meet the threat of those vastly superior numbers were the Fourth Indian Division and an incomplete British armoured division. With that force, we won the Battle of Siddi Barrani and saved Egypt. That was at the end of 1940. In the beginning of 1941 two Indian divisions, the Fourth and the Fifth, drove the Italians out of Eritrea and Northern Abyssinia, storming two of the strongest natural positions I have ever seen, Keren and Amba Alagi. That same summer, when the Middle East was in its greatest danger, threatened from four quarters, a brigade of the same famous Fourth Indian Division was responsible for the capture of Damascus at a critical moment in the Syrian campaign. Other Indian troops helped to suppress the attempt by a few ambitious generals and politicians to place Iraq in German hands and assisted to halt Rommel's counter-attack in the western desert.

Of all these achievements, I can speak from first hand personal knowledge and I repeat what I have already said elsewhere that without Indian troops and Indian help, the vital link of the Middle East could not have been held in those early stages of the war.

I would have you know that the liking and admiration these Indian troops aroused amongst the other Allied forces with whom they fought was not only for their military valour but for their discipline, their smartness, for their qualities as comrades. I have seen tributes to these qualities and to their fighting prowess from the British, from the Australians, from South Africans and from Americans who not only valued them as great fighters but also as good comrades. From France in the early days, I remember an impressive tribute to the discipline and steadiness of an Indian transport unit (non-combatant) which was cut off in the retreat of the French Army and captured with French troops, who greatly admired the way in which the Indians in retreat and disaster still retained their order and discipline.

## LIBERALS AND PAKISTAN

The Rt Hon. V S Srinivasa Sastri, Mr P. A. Wadia, Mr K. Natarajan and Mr Jehangir Petit, in a joint statement, oppose "the demand for the division of India into a Hindu and a Muslim India" They say

We think if our duty and the duty of all who share our views, to give expression to our concern and to raise a timely note of warning as to the direction in which we are drifting. None of us is clear as to the precise implications of the two nation theory. Much less so perhaps are those who advocate it. The country has never been given any precise details of the territorial division of the country and the lines of demarcation between the two Indians. Mr Jinnah is asked to decline the territorial demarcation, he has always evaded the issue by demanding, that in the first instance, the claim of the two nation theory should be granted as the basis of any further negotiations. Those of us therefore who are definitely opposed to the very idea of breaking up the unity of India, suffer under a handicap as we are not in a position to know precisely the nature of Mr Jinnah's Pakistan.

The authors of the statement recall how the 200 years of British rule had brought about unity in India and deplore the introduction of separate electorates 40 years ago. In their opinion, even if the ordinary alignments of parties, usual to a democratic system, had been possible in India under foreign rule, this was "effectively torpedoed by the institution of communal electorates. Religion has been turned into a vested interest, bigotry has been allowed to grow, and parties are induced to concentrate on a division of spoils.

The authors of the statement declare that the institution of separate electorates was the first act in the process of creating a divided India, of which the crowning achievement in their opinion is the proposal for Pakistan.

They maintain that religion has never been a factor in the creation of the tension between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, for the two communities have never been fighting for the domination of their respective faiths. There was no enthusiasm for proselytisation except as a political weapon to acquire numerical strength in the matter of voting.

A large majority of Indian Muslims are descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. In the villages, Hindus and Muslims are hardly distinguishable by their habits or customs, as they speak the language of the district in which they live. They even share religious festivals on a basis of mutuality, 'In essence the division between the two communities,' say the authors of the statement 'is the product of the struggle for spoils for power and economic privileges.

## MRS PANDIT ON INDIA'S FREEDOM

A nation is entitled to its independence and the only right Britain has for its hold in India is the right of conquest, declared Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in a discussion at Indianapolis on "Why India Wants her Independence."

India must be free immediately if the world is to have peace. India constitutes one-fifth of the entire human race and her cultural tradition goes back to 5,000 years.

The war just ended was supposed to have been fought for the freedom and happiness of the human race. Yet the moment the war ends we see the spectacle of this same freedom being denied to the peoples of Asia.

The imperialistic system by which western colonial possessions in Asia are ruled is the twin brother of Fascism and as long as it is allowed to flourish it will continue to breed the worst traits of Fascism. We see to-day tragic happenings in Java and the French colonial possessions, where the British with the help of American lend lease materials and Indian troops are suppressing independence movements in those areas.

## INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN CONFERENCE

The Executive Committee of the All India Conference of Indian Christians at a meeting in Bombay has decided to "act as far as possible in accordance with the aims and policy of the Congress" on matters connected with the realisation of full self government for India. Mr Balasingham Satya Nadar presided. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh and Mr. B. L. Ragharam attended the meeting.

# Educational

## LITERACY DRIVE IN INDIAN ARMY

A great adult education drive has been launched by the Indian Army. The tasks of war accomplished, the Army is now ready to begin one of the tasks of peace—education of its two million soldiers.

The aim of the Directorate of Army education is that a million troops, at present illiterate in their mother tongues, shall attain literacy and that the remainder already literate shall receive an education to fit them for their return to civil life.

At least 15 periods per week are allotted for educational purposes. Four of these periods are allotted to discussions on citizenship, current affairs and post-war reconstruction. The remaining eleven periods will be devoted to teaching illiterates to read, write and do simple calculations in their own languages.

Eleven languages—Urdu, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Nepalese, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam—will be taught. The literates may select their own subjects to fill the remaining eleven periods.

## MYSORE VARSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

"If Universities have to provide a higher type of education than has yet been provided in various subjects, the question arises how and how far this can be accomplished. It seems to me that it is impossible for every University both because of lack of financial resources and even more of manpower to provide in all branches of learning such types of research and post-graduate study. I suggest that we think of such developments along federal lines," observed Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar in the course of his address at the Mysore University Convocation.

## MADRAS SCHOLARSHIPS

The Government of Madras have instituted a scholarship of the total value of £260 to be awarded annually to the Madras candidate standing highest in the list of successful candidates in the open competitive Royal Indian Navy [Examinations conducted by the Federal Public Service Commission each year, and selected for training for entry into the commissioned ranks in the Royal Indian Navy, in order to enable him to meet the expenses of his training of the United Kingdom. The scholarship will be awarded from 1946 onwards. The candidate should be a native of, or domiciled in the Province of Madras or should ordinarily have resided in this Province for a continuous period of five years.

## NEW EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Though the Education, Health and Lands Department has been split into three separate departments, it is understood that the member in charge will remain unchanged till the general elections are over. The three departments will, for the time being, be under the charge of Sir Jogendra Singh, as at present.

Dr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser, it is understood, has been appointed Secretary of the newly created Education Department.

## DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who held the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for three terms in succession from 1936 to 1944, has been nominated a Life Fellow of the Patna University by His Excellency the Chancellor.

Dr. Sinha is the third Life Fellow of the Patna University.

## TRIAL AND DEFENCE OF I N A MEN

The first major treason trial of persons accused of leadership in the Indian National Army—that strange fighting force of Indians who either voluntarily or under duress joined fortunes with the Japanese—is to open here on November 5

The trial will bring the first authentic and documented story of how the I N A was formed and how it functioned. Some of India's most famous and able legal talent are serving as counsel for the prosecution and defence.

On trial for their lives will be the accused Captains Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, Shah Nawaz Khan and P K Sehgal.

A court martial will hear the case, but the procedure for the trial will approximate to that of a civil court. It will be a public trial, with a full record of the evidence and testimony, the court's judgment to be rendered by a majority of the four judges. The accused will have the right of appeal.

Three British Army officers and one Indian army officer will constitute the panel of judges.

In reply to a letter addressed by Mr Bhulabhai Desai and Mr Asaf Ali on behalf of the Committee urging that until the whole question relating to the I N A can be examined afresh after the Governor General's Executive Council has been reconstituted and Ministries in the Provinces have begun to function, proceedings against the accused should, if not abandoned, be at least postponed, the Government of India have informed the I N A. Defence Committee that "the court martial trials cannot be abandoned or postponed." The Committee's letter declared that it would be a tragedy if this matter were "approached and disposed of in a narrow, technical and legalistic spirit."

## PRISONERS' CAMP INCIDENT

Five persons died on the spot and many were wounded when firing took place on or about September 26 last at the camp prison at Nilganj near Calcutta, where over 1 000 Indian National Army prisoners are kept.

This was revealed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement to the Press on October 10. Pandit Nehru says. "It has been reported to me that at the camp prison situated at Nilganj near Calcutta where over 1 000 Indian National Army prisoners are kept, firing took place on or about 25th September by the guards on these prisoners. It is stated that a large number of rounds were fired and as a result five prisoners died on the spot and many were wounded. I would request the military authorities and others concerned to issue a full statement on this subject for the information of the public. Firing on prisoners within the four walls of a prison is always a dreadful thing. I should like to know if any inquiry has been held into this occurrence and if so, what have been the findings and results of this enquiry."

## SEDITION CHARGE AGAINST FORUM EDITOR

The charge of sedition against Mr Joachim Alva, Editor of the *Forum*, was withdrawn on October 17.

Mr Alva was charged before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of an article in the issue of the magazine dated April 29, entitled "Settling Accounts". The article related to the incidents in Sitara district.

"The Bombay Press Advisory Committee deserve full credit for having compelled the Government of Bombay to withdraw this case of sedition", declared Mrs Violet Alva, Advocate, appearing on behalf of her husband, Mr Joachim Alva, Editor of the *Forum*.

# Insurance

## AN "INSURANCE GROUP"

An organisation to be known as "The Burma Insurance Group" has been proposed with, among other functions, that of servicing all insurance policies in force at the time of Japanese occupation. This organisation, which will represent all non-Axis companies with pre-war activities in Burma, will have the sole conduct of insurance business past and future, on behalf of the various companies underwriting their activities during the period of its operation and sharing out new business among them in proportion to their former business in each category, reckoned on average gross annual premiums received in the three pre-war years ended 1939. The scope of the Group's activities, we are told by *Capital* will be worked out by the Management Committee, consisting of five General Insurance Companies, two representatives of Lloyd's and two Life Companies. "An obvious difficulty in the handling of life business, is the great variety of policies in existence among the companies of various nationalities, but it is felt that the composite organisation can render service by promptly securing a nucleus staff and getting in touch with policyholders, collecting premiums, accepting claims and otherwise acting as a clearinghouse. It is proposed that four out of twelve staff representatives of the organisation in Burma should be allotted to the Life Companies and the Life Offices Association has decided that these should be one representative each of UK, Canadian and Indian Life Offices and one of the Great Eastern Life Assurance Company, to handle the affairs of 'local' offices."

## SOCIAL SECURITY PLAN FOR INDIA

A scheme of social security has been prepared by the Government of India which awaits final approval with necessary modifications by Sir William Beveridge himself.

This was revealed by Mr D G Jadhav, Additional Labour Commissioner to the Government of India, in the course of an interview on the eve of his departure for Paris as one of the members of the Indian delegation to the International Labour Conference.

Mr Jadhav said that the Government of India began their enquiry on the subject in 1943 and the Labour Investigation Committee would be submitting its final report in about a month. The report has already undergone certain modifications as a result of the suggestions made by a lady officer of the British Labour Ministry who visited India recently.

## SICKNESS INSURANCE

A notable development among Indian insurance companies in recent years has been their anxiety to expand into every sphere connected with their business, and the usual result was a spate of new general insurance companies. An entirely new departure is now being made, says a contemporary, by two companies, the Rohy General and New Asiatic, who have introduced a sickness benefit scheme aimed at providing financial help in meeting doctors' fees during illness. For the present, the scheme has a limited scope, for instance it applies only to Calcutta and its suburbs, covers only half the doctors' fees, restricts the policyholder's choice of a doctor to an approved panel and eliminates undesirable risks, but against this the premium is low and within the means of almost everyone and can be extended to all the members of the family and even the servants of a household.



## INDIA'S WAR-TIME FOREIGN TRADE

As compared with the pre war year 1938-39, the value of India's foreign trade increased substantially during the war period, that of exports of Indian merchandise (private) by 16 per cent and imports of foreign merchandise (private) by 32 per cent. The peak years of the war period have been taken into account for this computation, which were 1941-42 and 1944-45 in the case of exports and imports respectively.

The quantum of trade, however, declined. That of exports after maintaining a higher level in 1939-40, declined progressively, reaching the bottom of about 53 per cent of the pre war level in 1944-45. As regards imports except for a not very appreciable spurt in 1939-40, it was lower throughout the war, the lowest point touched being 39 per cent of the pre war level in 1943-44. There was, however, an upswing during 1944-45, the war period closing at more than 71 per cent of the pre war level.

The balance of trade in merchandise (private) in favour of India progressively improved until it reached the peak of 449 per cent above the pre war level in 1943-44. There was, however, a substantial drop in 1944-45, but even this lower figure of Rs 27 crores compares favourably with the pre war figure of Rs 17 crores for 1938-39. The war time peak figure (1943-44) was Rs 92 crores.

## INDO-BURMA AGREEMENT

The fact that an agreement between India and Burma has been drafted and virtually accepted by the two Governments, is revealed by Mr Manu Subedar, M.L.A. (Central) in a statement.

He says "I understood that an agreement between India and Burma has been agreed and virtually accepted by the two Governments. Many vital issues affecting Indian interests, trade, industry and food are involved in any agreement between Burma and India apart from the status of old Indian inhabitants still in Burma, the Indian refugees who have come from Burma and who are anxious to go back and the Indian traders who wish to resume trade activities between the two countries.

Many suggestions have been put forward for the Government of India's consideration from time to time but there is a serious apprehension in the public mind that terms may be accepted without giving information to public bodies interested in the relations between India and Burma. And these terms may not be satisfactory from the Indian point of view.

In the circumstances the Government of India should immediately disclose the terms of the proposed agreement and not finalise these terms until the views of the public have been obtained. In any case, they should reserve such an agreement for final ratification by the New Central Assembly when it meets.

## TRADE WITH AFRICA

Persons and concerns in India can now carry on private trade with the Italian and French Overseas territories in Africa, but such trade is subject to the existing export import and exchange control regulations in force, and a Press Communique issued by the Commerce Department, Government of India.

## MRS ROOSEVELT CONDEMNS COLOUR PREJUDICES

Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt commenting recently in her widely syndicated column "My Day" on the refusal by the Daughters of American Revolution not to allow Mrs Hazel Scott Negro pianist, to give a performance in the Constitutional Hall, said 'It is sad that in our national capital where the eyes of the world are upon us, we should allow discrimination which impedes progress and sears the souls of human beings whose only fault is that God who made us all gave their skin a darker colour'

Mrs Roosevelt added that world peace and democracy depends upon "our willingness to accept the fact that all of us, regardless of race creed or colour, belong to one human family"

## MRS CASEY ON INDIAN WOMEN

The great part, Indian women will play in assisting India to independence and afterwards was stressed by Mrs Casey, wife of Mr R C Casey Governor of Bengal, in a recent interview

"The future of the women of India is very bright" she said "People like Mrs Sarojini Naidu and Mrs Vijalakshmi Pandit have set a great example to the rest of Indian women and if this example is followed women will accept more and more responsibility in the national life

Indian women are both charming and highly intelligent as well as 'unboiling'

## CHAMPION TYPIST OF THE WORLD

Miss Margaret Hamma of Brooklyn, New York, has been crowned the world's champion typist after setting 149 words per minute 99.1 p.c. accurately.

## CAPT LAKSHMI SURRENDERS

Captain Lakshmi, who formed and commanded the "Ranee of Jhansi Regiment" in the Indian National Army, in Malaya and Singapore has surrendered to the British forces and is now in Rangoon

An attractive and healthy Indian girl belonging to a well known family in Madras she was trained as a doctor and was living in Singapore in 1942 Like others she joined Subhas Chandra Bose, who had always advocated women's emancipation and formed the women's section of the INA, who was named after the famous figure of Mutiny days

The Regiment was recruited chiefly from Indian families in Malaya They were trained to use weapons The Regiment disintegrated with the collapse of the Japanese in Burma, and Miss Lakshmi for a time, worked as a doctor at Kalaw, attending on INA soldiers For the past one month she has been helping the British

## NO WOMEN FOR COAL MINES

It is understood that the Government of India have decided to reimpose the ban on employment of women underground in coal mines from February 1, next year.

The ban was lifted during wartime owing to the precarious coal supply position and created a world wide furor In November the Government would give notice to colliery owners that, after three months the ban on the employment of women underground would be reimposed

It is understood the Government would bring forward a legislation at the next session of the Assembly to make permanent the Labour Welfare Fund Scheme which was initiated through an ordinance This imposed a cess of four annas per ton on the turnover of coal and provided a big housing scheme milk supply to the women and other amenities

## NEED FOR STUDY OF SANSKRIT

Presiding over the Kalidasa Day celebrations under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy, Mylapore, at Ranade Hall, on October 15, Mr Justice P V Rajamannar stressed the need for study of Sanskrit for a correct understanding and development of Indian culture.

He deplored the unfortunate tendency which had sprung up in recent years to decry Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit language. If he would be allowed to use strong language, he would say that hatred of Sanskrit language or its literature was a sign of decadence and cultural decadence at that. None of them, Mr Rajamannar said, could be certain whether they were Aryans or Dravidians. In his opinion that was not what really mattered. What really mattered and every one of them could be certain about was that, if they were all Indians and he would be a rash man who could deny that almost the entirety of ancient Indian culture was unbedded in Sanskrit. In his opinion the study of Sanskrit should be made compulsory for any one seeking a Degree in Arts. He knew several might disagree with him, but he could not help it. He wished to say that when evolving a system of national education they should make the study of Sanskrit compulsory. They might probably hear it said that Sanskrit was a dead language in that it was not spoken by people. But so was the position of Greek and Latin and it would be a matter almost for horror if they suggested that a person in the West could be spoken of as culturally interested or as one who could obtain a Degree in Arts without a knowledge of either Greek or Latin.

## LECTURES ON "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

Mr St Nihal Singh has been appointed Ramananda lecturer of the Calcutta University and he will deliver a course of lectures on "Freedom of the Press". The lectureship has been founded to perpetuate the memory of the eminent journalist, Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review*, *Prabasi* and the *Bishal Bhirat*.

## NEW PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

The following appointments have been made

His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind, to be Governor of Bihar in succession to H E Sir Thomas Rutherford.

The Hon Sir Francis Mudie, Home Member of the Governor General's Executive Council to be Governor of Sind in succession to H E Sir Hugh Dow, from a date in January 1946

Sir Evan Jenkins, Secretary to the Governor General (Personal) and Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, to be Governor of the Punjab in succession to His Excellency Sir Bertrand Glancy, who vacates office on April 8, 1946

Sir Olaf Caroe Secretary to the Government of India in the External Affairs Department, to be Governor of the North-West Frontier Province in succession to His Excellency Sir George Cunningham, who vacates office on March 2, 1946

Sir Chandulal Trivedi, Secretary to the Government of India in the War Department, to be Governor of Orissa in succession to His Excellency Sir Hewthorne Lewis who vacates office on March 31, 1946

Sir Chandulal is Orissa's first Indian Governor and the second Indian to be appointed Governor of a Province, the first being the late Lord Sinha, Governor of Behar

## KING'S AWARD TO CHURCHILL

With his expressed wish "that Mr Churchill should have these medals", the King has delivered to the former Premier, Mr Winston Churchill, personally the 1939-1945 Star, the Africa Star, the Defence Medal and Ribbons, reports the *Daily Telegraph*

It is believed that this is the first time that a Prime Minister of Britain as an officer of the services has been awarded campaign medals. He is a Colonel of the Fourth Hussars

### 'ELECTRIC SIGHT' FOR THE BLIND

A team of scientists is trying to evolve a machine which will tell blind people what they are 'looking' at. Another machine scientists are trying to perfect will, if successful help them to 'hear' printed words. A committee under Professor E D Adrian of Cambridge, has been set up by St Dunstan's institution for the blind.

The work is not expected to yield early results and research may have to be carried on for several years before practical devices are evolved.

Dr Clifford Paterson, a member of the committee, says the most likely approach to the problem enabling the blind to see by touch is conversion of reflected light into electric signals, causing mechanical pressure to be applied to some part of the body probably the chest in a way which would indicate the scene on which the light fell.

It might also be possible to convert a page of printed matter into a series of musical notes by scanning lines with light which would be converted into electrical impulses.

### SUFFERING CAUSED BY ATOMIC BOMB

The suggestion that Allied doctors and scientists should be sent at once to Hiroshima to investigate hospital cases of atomic bomb victims is made by the *Manchester Guardian*.

Allied correspondents, who visited Hiroshima, have all sent home unpleasant stories of how the slightly wounded are still dying under the mysterious influence of 'radio activity,' says the newspaper. "Their facts came from Japanese doctors and scientists who could have obvious interest in making the bomb even more horrible than it is. Allied doctors and scientists might either be able to arrest the sufferings of those still alive or be able to oppose false Japanese suggestions."

### SMOKING IS A DISEASE

Smoking is not a habit, but a drug addiction, a disease. So declared Dr Lennox Johnston, a Wallasey, Cheshire, physician.

In pretty plain statement on the effects of smoking on health, Dr Johnston declared "Smokers repress their thoughts about the ill effects and thus observe the tobacco taboo unconsciously. The fundamental facts are that tobacco is a drug and smoking a drug addiction (more precisely, a means of administering a drug of addiction).

'Tobacco is spoken of freely—but as a luxury and smoking is mentioned freely—but as a habit. Drugs of addiction are not however, luxuries and habit merely supplements the main urge to smoke—an inner craving. Drug addiction, and therefore tobacco smoking, is a disease.'

Among the symptoms depression, apathy, moral deterioration; loss of energy, appetite, weight and sexual potency.

Said Johnston "Measures to combat tobaccoism are urgently called for."

### NEW USES FOR BARLEY

"The manufacture of malt extracts and other malt products from barley is practically non-existent in this country and appears to be a promising line of development. The brewing industry should also be developed on sound lines so that after the war it may not suffer from foreign competition. The development of the brewing industry in India will provide a good market for the better quality barley. There is also scope for improving and expanding the manufacture of Pearl barley and barley powder in this country" states the Report on the Marketing of Barley in India published by the Central Agricultural Marketing Department of the Government of India.

## SOCIALISATION OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND

The first act of socialisation by Britain's Labour Government—taking public control of the Bank of England—is a Bill for transferring the existing capital stock to a nominee of the British Treasury and empowering the King to appoint the Governor, Deputy Governor and Directors.

The Treasury will direct the Bank but the Bank will be managed by its Directors and will issue directions to other Banks.

The present proprietors of the Bank of England will be bought out in exchange for three per cent long term Government stock which will give the holder the same income as he is now receiving from the Bank of England's stock, namely 12 per cent.

The British Government are paying £400 long term Government stock for each £100 Bank of England stock.

The amount of capital stock of the Bank of England now is £14,553,000 and the amount of Government stock issued in payment for this will be £58,212,000.

## SMALL SAVINGS SCHEME

A Madras Press *Communique* states that the Small Savings Scheme introduced in the Presidency on February 15, 1944, was not intended for obtaining money for war purposes but to encourage the poorer classes to save regularly, however small the individual savings might be and to invest the savings wisely, thus becoming partners of the State in the national wealth and enabling the standard of living to be raised particularly at a time of temporary inflation which is inevitable during, and for some time after, a war. As the scheme was thus conceived as an end by itself, intended to foster the saving habit among the people, its continuance is not affected by the termination of hostilities. The Government of India have, therefore, decided to take steps to make this Savings Organisation a permanent service.

It would be to the advantage of the public to invest their money in National Savings Certificates.

## RESTORATION OF TRAIN SERVICES

An additional train in each direction has been introduced in each of the following eight sections of the South Indian Railway, Chingleput and Conjeevaram Villupuram and Pondicherry Villupuram and Katpadi, Villupuram and Cuddalore Jn, Nidamangalam and Mannargudi, Tinnevely and Tiruchendur, Trichinopoly Jn and Karur, and Idapalli and Alwaye.

Restoration of these services represent one tenth of the number of pre war train services which had been cancelled.

'I don't contend' said Mr J F C. Reynolds, General Manager of the S I Ry at a recent Press Conference "that these restorations are necessarily the best and the most useful restorations which could be effected at the present time from the point of view of the travelling public. But they are, however, restorations which have been found to be possible as a result of manipulating the working of the coaching stock so as to result in additional vehicles becoming available in certain localities."

Mr Reynolds also foreshadowed considerable development in the near future in electrification on the South Indian Railway system.

## NEW RAILWAY LINES FOR SOUTH INDIA

The Railway Board have sanctioned engineering and traffic surveys to be carried out by the South Indian Railway administration for the following lines of metre gauge railway.

From Arantangi to Karaikudi, a distance of about 16 miles—to be known as Arantangi Karaikudi railway survey.

From Tanjore to Pattukkottai, a distance of about 29 miles—to be known as Tanjore Pattukkottai railway survey.

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From Kollengode to Trichur, a distance of about 40 miles—to be known as Kollengode-Trichur, railway survey.

### 'ELECTRIC SIGHT' FOR THE BLIND

A team of scientists is trying to evolve a machine which will tell blind people what they are 'looking at'. Another machine scientists are trying to perfect will it successful help them to hear printed words. A committee under Professor E D Adrian of Cambridge has been set up by St. Dunstan's institution for the blind.

The work is not expected to yield early results and research may have to be carried on for several years before practical devices are evolved.

Dr Clifford Paterson, a member of the committee, says the most likely approach to the problem enabling the blind to see by touch is conversion of reflected light into electric signals causing mechanical pressure to be applied to some part of the body, probably the chest, in a way which would indicate the sense on which the light fell.

It might also be possible to convert a page of printed matter into a series of musical notes by scanning lines with light which would be converted into electrical impulses.

### SUFFERING CAUSED BY ATOMIC BOMB

The suggestion that Allied doctors and scientists should be sent at once to Hiroshima to investigate hospital cases of atomic bomb victims is made by the *Manchester Guardian*.

Allied correspondents who visited Hiroshima have all sent home unpleasant stories of how the slightly wounded are still dying under the mysterious influence of radio activity, says the newspaper. 'Their facts came from Japanese doctors and scientists who could have obvious interest in making the bomb even more horrible than it is. Allied doctors and scientists might either be able to arrest the sufferings of those still alive or be able to oppose false Japanese suggestions.'

### SMOKING IS A DISEASE

Smoking is not a habit but a drug addiction, a disease. So declared Dr Lennox Johnston, a Wallasey, Cheshire, physician.

In pretty plain statement on the effects of smoking on health, Dr Johnston declared. Smokers repress their thoughts about the ill-effects and thus observe the tobacco taboo unconsciously. The fundamental facts are that tobacco is a drug and smoking a drug addiction (more precisely a means of administering a drug of addiction).

Tobacco is spoken of freely—but as a luxury and smoking is mentioned freely—but as a habit. Drugs of addiction are not however luxuries and habit merely supplements the main urge to smoke—an inner craving. Drug addiction, and therefore tobacco smoking, is a disease.

Among the symptoms—depression, apathy, moral deterioration, loss of energy, appetite, weight and sexual potency.

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## TRAVANCORE ART

Dr James H Cousins, Art Adviser to the Government of Travancore epitomised the lost history and the splendid quality of the Travancore painting while presenting the report of the first decade of the work of the Sri Chitralayam (State Picture Gallery) Trivandrum. He pointed out

"A gap of 800 years or thereabouts between the vestiges of Thirunandikkara and the well preserved murals of Padmanabhapuram Palace and elsewhere has to be bridged in order to complete the art history of Travancore and of India. It is earnestly to be hoped that future research will bring forth examples from the intervening centuries. It is inconceivable that the evident pictorial genius that created Thirunandikkara should have taken an eight centuries rest before awakening in Padmanabhapuram. But apart from this gap it may be claimed for the Sri Chitralayam that even its partial representation of Indian mural painting which does not yet include examples from Conjeevaram and the south east temples and palaces, gives the most comprehensive view of that phase of Indian art that any gallery can boast of at the present time."

## SCULPTURE

Sculpture is the most difficult of all the arts, as the other arts only involve appreciation of flat forms shape only in two dimensions. The sculptor says a writer must strive continually to think of and use form in its full spatial completeness. He gets the solid shape, as it were *inside his head*—he thinks of it whatever its size, as if he were holding it completely enclosed in the hollow of his hand. He mentally visualises a complex form from all round itself, he knows, while he looks at one side, what the other side is like, he identifies himself with its centre of gravity, its mass, its weight, he realises its volume, as the space that the shape displaces in the air.

The sensitive observer of sculpture must also learn to feel shape simply as shape, not as description or reminiscence.

## SPORTS STADIUM FOR CALCUTTA

Calcutta will have a War Memorial Stadium, if a resolution adopted by the Governing Body of the Indian Football Association is given effect to by the Bengal Government.

The scheme which has been drawn up by Mr A E Roche, till recently superintendent of the Calcutta Football Club, was discussed by the Governing Body of the IFA which decided to send a deputation to the Governor to stress the urgent need for the erection of a stadium.

Mr Roche explained at the meeting that his scheme would cost about Rs 50 lakhs and would, he hoped, be not only a fitting war memorial, but also a fitting central home for sports in Calcutta, the home where national and international sports could be held. The stadium, according to the scheme, will have three enclosures one for football and hockey, one for cricket and one for athletics. There will also be provision for a swimming bath and buildings for indoor games, lectures, meetings and dances, also living rooms for visiting teams and others.

## MAN MOHAN WINS TENNIS TITLE

Man Mohan won the Men's Singles Title of the Upper India Lawn Tennis Championship defeating Wagner, the U S Army tennis champion, 6/2, 6/4, 3/6, 6/1, at Cawnpore on October 27.

It was a very close contest and Man Mohan, who showed greater staying power, won. Playing with a bandaged foot Wagner was brilliant only in patches. He volleyed well but more often, Man Mohan got the better of him in long rallies.

## SOVIET GIRL ATHLETE'S FEAT

The 24 year old girl athlete, Ludmila Anolina, from the Leningrad Institute of Physical Culture, made a record javelin throw of 48 metres 39 centimetres (158 ft 3/4 in) in a contest held at Kiev. This throw bettered the world record previously held by the German woman athlete Steinhauer, by 15 centimetres (6 inches).



### DELEGATION OF CHEMISTS TO U K

A non official delegation of experts engaged in Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries will shortly proceed to United Kingdom and United States to explore ways and means to enable industries in India to work in co-operation with similar industries in those countries. The delegation is composed of seven members including Mr K K Raman of Mettur Chemical Industries.

The delegation will contact leading industrialists and find out methods to eliminate needless competition in the Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries. It will visit factories to study the latest advancement during the war years. Yet another object is to visit research associations and laboratories run on co-operative lines so that on their return they could start similar institutions here.

### GIFT OF DIAMOND TO SIR C V RAMAN

The De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines Company at Kimberley has presented Sir C V Raman with 16 selected African diamonds in their natural state for purposes of his scientific investigation. When these are completed, the diamonds will be deposited as a permanent exhibit in the Science Museum, which is being established in Bangalore under the auspices of the Indian Academy of Sciences.

### NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The Government of India have recognised the National Institute of Sciences as the premier scientific body in India and steps are being taken with the authorities in England to give it a Royal Charter.

The National Institute of Science, which is being granted a Royal Charter, was founded in 1935 at the instance of the Indian Science Congress.

### NOBEL PRIZE FOR ATOM BOMB DISCOVERER

The Swedish Academy on October 7, awarded the 1944 Nobel Prize in Chemistry to the German 'atom bomb discoverer', Hahn who until 1940 was in Germany.

Hahn is reported to be in the U.S.A. now.

### IMPROVEMENT OF FILM INDUSTRY

Speaking at a reception given by the South Indian Film Chamber, at the Chamber premises, in Woods Road, Royapettah Mr S Soundararajan, a member of the Indian Film delegation which recently visited the United Kingdom and America gave a brief account of the working of studios in Hollywood and their methods of production, and said that in the Indian film industry, studio laboratories should be improved by the employment of more chemists and qualified electrical and mechanical engineers. He felt that the industry should produce pictures not only fit for India but which could be appreciated in the other parts of the world.

At the end of the meeting when Mr Soundararajan's attention was drawn to the reports that had appeared in the dailies, stating that he had booked Mr Carol Nasa to act in a South Indian Picture he expressed surprise and stated that there was no basis for it. There was no need for him, he said, to approach Hollywood artistes because there was enough talent in South India itself.

### FILMS TO BE SHOWN IN VILLAGES

One of the most comprehensive schemes for educating India's illiterate masses with free fortnightly shows of educational and informational documentary films will be shown in 700,000 villages, says Mr P N Thapar, Joint Secretary of the Government of India's Information and Broadcasting Department.

The Government of India will soon have in operation 224 mobile cinema units—one for each civil district in British India. This number will be increased to about 1,000 within the next three or four years. It would provide the programme for each set of villages once in two or three weeks.

### KORDA OF M G M

Sir Alexander Korda has resigned as head of British production at the Metro-Goldwyn Mayer Film studio, because of ill health.

## FIRST INDIA BUILT CARGO VESSEL

The Scindia Steam Navigation Company proposes to lay the keel for an ocean-going vessel of 8000 tons at their Vizagapatam ship building yard by the end of this year. The steamer is estimated to cost between Rs 30 00 000 and Rs 32 00 000.

In normal times, the construction of the vessel would be completed in eight months but owing to the present conditions of material the completion of the ship will depend upon the availability of materials.

All the machinery needed for the vessel is now lying in America awaiting import into this country. This will be the first ocean-going cargo vessel to be built in India. Its length will be between 400 and 415 feet and beam between 52 and 56 feet.

The ship-building yard at Vizagapatam has facilities for building ships up to 12 000 tons gross. The harbour has deep waters all the year round and ships can be launched from the yard at any time.

## APPEAL TO INDUSTRIALISTS

A strong plea to the Indian industrialists to concentrate on manufacturing machinery in India and to stop foreign imports as far as possible, was made by Sir C V Raman, the eminent scientist, while replying to the welcome addresses presented to him by the Indian Chamber of Industries and Commerce, Bezwada and the Chundri Charities Trust, recently. A silver casket was also presented to him on behalf of the Trust.

In the course of his reply, Sir C V Raman said that the general tendency on the part of the industrialists in India today had been to import machinery from abroad and produce numerous articles in order to accumulate enormous profits. If India was to stand on her own legs, he said, her industrialists should turn their attention to the necessity of making such machinery in India itself, so as to compete with other countries of the world.

## FARM IMPLEMENTS

United Nations' help to India by encouraging the manufacture and distribution of farm implements has been suggested by Mr Gove Hambridge, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture.

Such a plan would be of the greatest assistance to this country both in improving agriculture and expanding the implement industry. Those who are anxious to render help will need to study Indian conditions carefully however. Until Indian fields are bigger the use of tractor-hauled machines must be limited. But it should be perfectly practical to devise models light enough to be drawn by bullocks.

India already makes for herself a variety of simple implements such as ploughs and cultivators. Harvesting machines for wheat as well as rice and more efficient seed drills would make a great deal of difference to the efficiency of this country's farming.

## RURAL ECONOMY PROJECT

Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust have made a grant of Rs 15 000 per year for a period of five years towards the creation of a section on Agricultural Economics in the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona. This grant is expected to enable the work of the Institute in agricultural research to expand greatly.

It is meant that the Sir Dorabji Tata Section of Agricultural Economics would devote its attention chiefly to one concrete project to be completed within a period of five years from 1947. This project will be the study of the rural economy of that part of the Bombay Deccan which is most liable to drought and famine and where the problems of rehabilitation offer the greatest difficulty.

resources of the villages because the companies have not cared to adopt the proper technique in reaching the villages. We have not developed a net work of offices and connections to cover and serve the villages. It is a matter for earnest consideration on the part of Indian Insurance Companies whether and to what extent, by concerted action, they could extend their service to all the villages or at least as many of them as is possible. Good health, as I said, the villager has in plenty and his purchasing power must be nursed and accumulated to buy an insurance of a type that will be a real benefit to him.

#### UTILISATION OF FUNDS

I will now take up another important aspect. This relates to the investment and utilisation of the vast funds inevitably accumulated by the insurance companies. Even the foreign companies operating in India under the Insurance Act, have to invest their entire 100 per cent. of the Life Fund in the statutorily prescribed 'approved' securities. A moiety of these funds of the insurance companies must, as I have said on another occasion, be made available to build up our Indian Industry. We must develop a sense of real service in effecting the lasting benefit to our country and to our people.

Several are the venues for such service if only Indian Insurance companies, whether acting each for itself, or acting as a body in common interests, think out and plan. There is for instance, the problem of housing all over the country. The State is pre-occupied in tackling problems considered by it more urgent and important than the housing problem of the people in our country. There are no organised building societies in our country on any large scale such as operate successfully in some other countries. Thus, we have a most urgent and important problem to be solved in the country's interests, and the most competent body to solve them satisfactorily and with profit to all is the Indian insurance companies. It will be universally agreed that the moneys invested by insurance companies in houses intended for the policyholders or the public and spread over different localities are not only a profitable investment but a perfectly safe one as well. In fact, no investor, individual or institution, can finance house property investment

so appropriately as Insurance companies with their large and ever-accumulating funds which are in the nature of long term deposits. What is wanted is clear thinking and careful planning with safety and security of the shareholders and policyholders as the first consideration. Any student of the country's affairs will realise that this safety and security are never in conflict with the service of the country, both present and future. The Life funds of the companies invested in financing the housing scheme are already outlined and giving financial aid to industry on certain terms and conditions, will not only bring a better yield in its investment but also be truly national in its service. It may be feared that with 55 per cent compulsorily locked up in Government securities, not much may be left for investment in the service of the building up of our country. But the law of 50 per cent is not, I am sure,

the law of Medes and Persians which altereth not. It is a law, which I am confident the legislative authorities will be prepared to modify when they are satisfied about the bonafides of the Insurance industry to benefit the country by properly framed schemes of public welfare which, at the same time, guarantee the safety and security of the policyholders' and shareholders' funds.

Insurance companies will have justified their claim to be truly national and Indian by this act of solving an essential national problem of vital interest to the common man and supporting the great fabric of industry of overwhelming value to the country as a whole. Indian Insurance companies which have satisfactorily solved many a knotty problem can certainly tackle right enough this comparatively simple problem, if only they take concerted action and keep their good faith.

The Indian Insurance companies are now a tremendous asset and power in our country. Let us realise our power but let us not forget that the power is derived from the public and that we shall not prove ourselves worthy of the great trust placed in our hands. It has been said by Lord Acton, "All power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Let the Indian insurance industry rise to the occasion and prove it.

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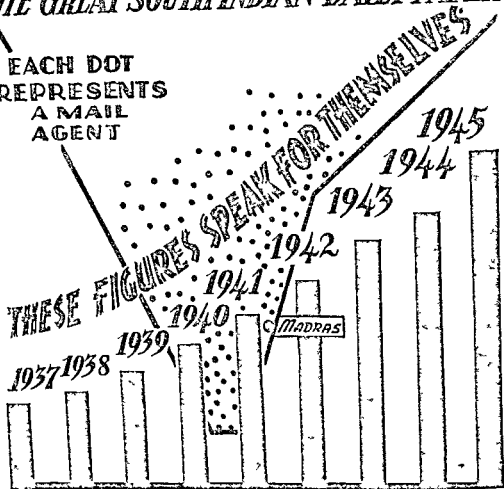
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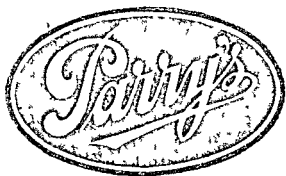
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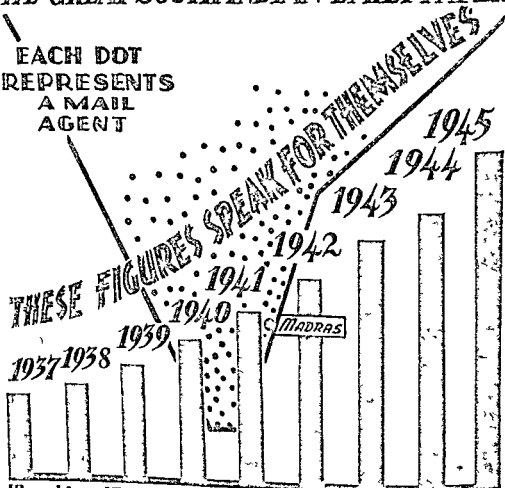


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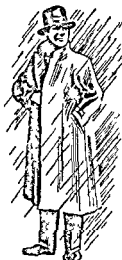


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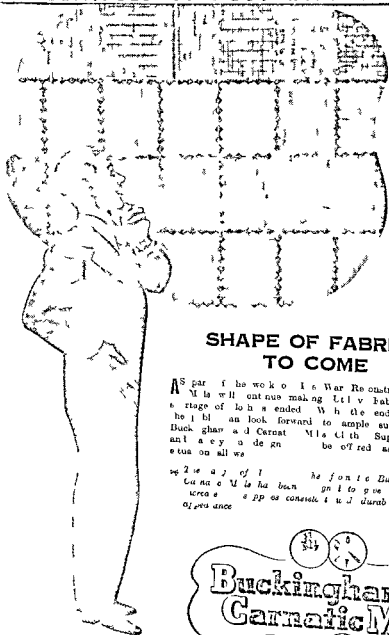
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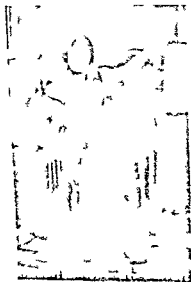
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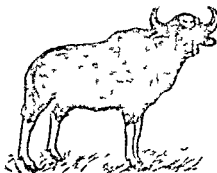
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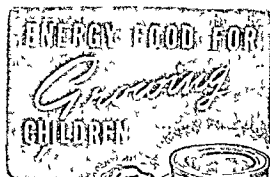
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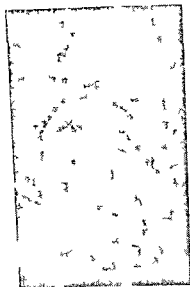


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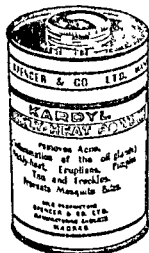
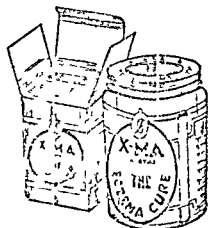
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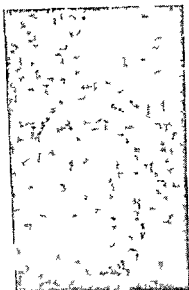
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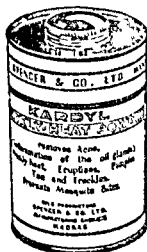
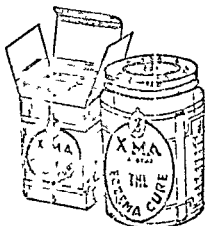
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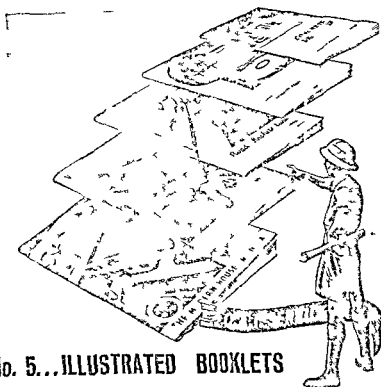
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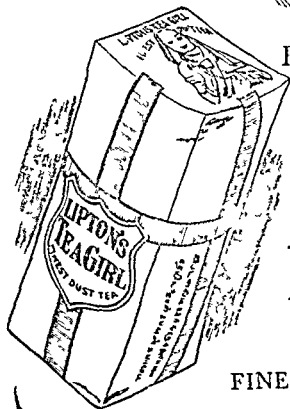
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## Mainsprings of Our Modern Civilization

BY SIR BOMANJI J WADIA

*Vice Chancellor University of Bombay*

CIVILIZATION is a condition of life which only man has achieved, man who can neither fly nor swim, and yet has ranged the seas around and scoured the skies above, roamed all over the earth for treasure or for adventure and flashed his messages from one end of the globe to the other in the fraction of a moment. The animal world has not much to do with what we call intelligence, and is guided by the urge of instinct and self preservation, often bordering on what seems intelligence and yet essentially away from it. They live as their predecessors lived before them, back into the obscure dawn of creation. But civilization is a process that is all the while going on in our minds. Man's thoughts leap ahead of achievement, always questioning, always experimenting, always inquiring. They are products of his brain and eyes and fingers, but the brain is the more effective of these three assets. The apes too have eyes and fingers and use them well, unlike other animals. But with all that is said about the missing link, the link is missing still. Keen sight and deft hands do not count for much without that discontent which accompanies man's developed brain

power. What men have always done through the eyes and are still doing is to accumulate the great and ever increasing store of knowledge and experiment which they use to extend control over the material world. This knowledge and control produce a condition of life whose development coincides with the growth of civilization. The material part of civilization is a marketable commodity of which the rich are able to buy more than the poor. The difference, however, is fast diminishing. Cheap transport, cheap postage, wide educational opportunities which are daily growing wider, are giving far more people a chance to share in this civilization which has come down to them. Nearly every one can afford a newspaper and keep in touch with the whole world, every one can afford a piece of cheap soap and can keep clean, not every one need trudge on foot. Of course we are not satisfied. To be satisfied will be to deny our human nature. But if we glance back at the bleak and precarious existence of our remote ancestors, can we doubt that our lot is more varied and brighter, and our chances of happiness easier within our grasp and more capable of fulfilment?

Civilization is really a way of life and is a social process. It is the story of a gradual development for it is the result of man's struggle with his environment. It is not, however, the story of continual advancement. There are breaks in the chain. It is like the progress of a man who climbs a ladder, comes down a few rungs and begins to climb again. Our ancestors liked to think of the history of man as a steady ascent from the primitive state to a state gradually approaching perfection. It is not all ascent for there are steep ups and downs. For centuries the civilized world appears to have achieved progress and order. Then sudden changes occur with bewildering rapidity. Then again the world has settled down to a period of relative stability but at a different level.

The story of the changes in man's values and ideals is vast. The story of how he lived under the great civilizations that the world has known in the past is vaster still. The history of ancient Egypt goes back 4 000 years and now after the latest archaeological finds it is probable that the history of ancient India takes us still further into the past. Their relation to the story of the development of modern civilization will here be out of place. But in connection with the same story it is worth mentioning that a historical writer once observed that there were certain sharply defined periods of human history in which certain ideas of civilization germinated and flourished more than in any other. There were outbursts of the creative spirit of man which largely influenced their time and the times that

followed until the outburst of a new spirit took the place of the old. The writer first mentions the classic age of Greece somewhere about the fifth century B C. From that period came the origin in Europe of every branch of Philosophy and the finest traditions of Art, Literature, and Architecture in their best forms. The Greeks set up what was in many respects the world's greatest civilization. Their intellectual and artistic glories are among the wonders of mankind, and as nothing that is great can be repeated twice, the achievement of ancient Greece in her contribution to civilization remains unsurpassed. How little material comfort makes for the essence of civilization can best be shown by referring to the way the old Greeks lived in their time. In many ways more civilized than the people of our age they lived much more simply. Electric fans, the lift, the radio, the talkies, and the wireless are today a part of civilization but they are not essential to it. The Greeks did without them all, and yet were the authors of ideas which have since lighted generations of man along the path of civilization. Her slave system counts as a black mark against Greece, but the record to her credit outweighs the debit side. Greek civilization created and carved the existence of the civilization of our times.

Rome comes next among the creative periods of history, specially the period which begins with the great days of the Republic and runs through the vicissitudes of her Empire down to the organization of the Christian Church. Besides Christianity there stand to the credit of Rome the Peace, the Roads, and the Law—in fact

everything that is involved in the ordinary administration of men on a universal scale. For more than four centuries the rule of the Romans gave a sense of stability—from Hadrian's wall to the African desert. But with the passing of the Republic and in the early days of the Empire the rot set in, and the magnificent structure that was crumbling midst a worse slave system than that of Greece at last cracked to pieces. The onrush of the barbarian hordes engulfed what had seemed to be the fixed order of nature, and Rome's proud civilization survived only in a few monastic houses which kept their heads above water. When the waters subsided the land took on the outlines of feudalism and for a long period the feudal system had a seemingly fixed pattern of life, the rich lord in his castle, the poor man at his gate, and the humble monk for ever on his knees.

This was followed by the Middle Ages, roughly comprising the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was the period in which was laid the foundation of institutions—Parliament, the University, the Common Law of England, and the revived Roman Law of the Continent. It was the age of the Troubadours and the Great Gothic Cathedrals, but it was also the period marked by the ravages of the Black Death and the peasants' revolt in the fourteenth century. It is difficult in these days of greater hygienic efficiency to imagine an epidemic which killed about twenty-five million people in Europe alone. Something good came out of it, but the price paid was tremendous. The rich tried to squeeze more service out of the poor without

payment. The exhausted and depleted peasantry rebelled and were crushed by the might of superior forces. But a new spirit came over the poor which was to have important repercussions in the future. Even though the peasants lost, the voice of what are now called the working classes began to be more and more articulate and was the forerunner of modern socialism. One fine idea also grew out of the poor soil of the times—the idea of chivalry. Across the period moved the glittering cavalcade of the knights of old, pledged to serve for religion and honour. Cervantes laughed Spain's chivalry away. But in respect of the attitude towards women the Middle Ages were more civilized than Greece at the height of her glory. Heading the famous band of pilgrims on the road to Canterbury was a gentle knight, a perfect and a worthy man, just home from the wars, and making the pilgrimage in gratitude for his safe return.

The next milestone in the history of western development was the Renaissance, a rebirth. The reborn Greek spirit had inspired a band of humanists led by Petrarch. They held up to the world the works of the ancient Greeks as the greatest achievements of a free intelligence. The dust of the intervening centuries that covered these works was laid, and the works were translated and widely read. The awakened appetite for culture spread all over Italy and beyond it, and science, art and philosophy seemed to enter upon a new life. Just as the age of discovery followed upon the introduction of the Mariner's Compass, the revival of learning

it only the dream of the poet when he wrote ?

The cloud capped tover the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples the great globe itself  
Yea all which it inherit shall dissolve  
And like this insubstantial pageant faded  
Leave not a rack behind

Despite all these changes in its growth and development, it would be still true to say with the cynic that the more civilization changes the more it is the same thing. We must distinguish between its essence and its incidents, for in its essence it is based in any country on the more or less effective reign of social law. Wherever social security is established, the arts, literature, science and all the amenities that science has brought in its train flourish. A country is not civilized because they flourish, they flourish because the country is civilized. And in spite of all the outward splendour of civilization the question still remains—is *homo sapiens* really progressing? In the optimistic years of the last century it was largely taken for granted that steady progress was developing. Yet there were doubters. An altogether new character was given to our civilization not only by the theoretical progress in the knowledge of nature and its secrets, but by the application of that knowledge in a technical sense. Yet that application has

been productive also of much destruction and misery. Liberty has been laughed at, hatred has desolated the earth, and two wars have been followed by the distant rumblings of a third. The discovery that peace is preferable to war is not new. Disarmament proposals can be traced as far back as the sixth century B.C. in China, and universal brotherhood has been the keynote of religion from the earliest times. Such discussion is always theoretical, and the lust for strife and war seems to be permanent. Our progress in science must be guided by a much greater progress in ethical standards and by a more practical sense of the essential unity of mankind. The real issues are always moral and spiritual. Scientific discovery must be adjusted to ethical development, if the future is not to be overcast and gloomy. Even if this is a sombre forecast it is useful to consider the harsher alternative if only to know best how to avoid it and to see the happier prediction fulfilled. Modern civilization is not an unmixed blessing, nor is it an unmitigated curse. It is for man to increase the one and to lessen the other. And one would fain conclude this story of over two thousand years on a note of fulfilment and hope.

## ON THE ONE AND ONLY TRANSMIGRANT

BY DR. K. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

SANKARACHARYA'S dictum "Verily, there is no other transmigrant but the Lord" (*satyam, nestarad anjale samsari*) startling as it may appear to be at first sight, for it denies the transmigration of individual essences, is amply supported by

the older, and even the oldest texts, and is by no means an exclusively Indian doctrine. For it is not an individual soul that Plato means when he says that "The soul of man is immortal, and at one time comes to an end, which is called

away, and at another is born again, but never perishes. and having been born many times has acquired the knowledge of all and everything', or that Plotinus means when he says that 'There is really nothing' strange in that reduction of all selves to One, though it may be asked, How can there be only One, the same in many, entering into all but never itself dissevered?' or Hermes, who says that "He who does all these things is One, and speaks of Him as "bodiless and having many bodies or rather present in all bodies'

The Lord of whom Sankaracharya speaks is, of course, the Supreme Solar Self, Atman, Brahma, Indra, "Of all beings Overlord of all beings King he whose omniformity is timeless and being omnipresent is omniscient Death, the Person in, the Sun, Indra and Breath of Life, 'One as he is Person there, and many as he is here in his children,' and at whose departure "we" die our "elemental selfs Immortal Self, 'Immortal Leader "the Solar Self of all that is in motion or at rest, 'your own Immortal Self and Inner Controller, "other than whom there is no seer, hearer, thinker or knower", the solar Indra of whom it is said that 'whoever speaks, hears, sees, thinks etc, does so by his ray", Brahma, of whom it is said that our powers 'are merely the names of his acts', the Self from whom all action stems, the Self that knows everything

By whatever names he is referred to, and these correspond to the aspects under which he is considered, this Lord, "from within the heart here, is our mover, driver

and actuator, and the whole source of the evanescent consciousness that begins with our birth and ends with our death" We do nothing of ourselves, and are merely his vehicles.

This Lord is that "One, the Great Self, who takes up his stand in womb after womb as the omniform Lord of the Breaths, he wanders about by his own actions, the fruition of which he enjoys. and associated with the notion 'I am,' is known as the 'lower Brahma' Neither male nor female nor neuter, whatever body he assumes, therewith he is connected, through the delusions of concept, touch and sight there is growth and birth of the Self by the rain of food and drink, the embodied Self assumes functional forms in their stations in regular order, and because of his conjunction with the qualities, both his own and of action, he seems to be "another'

This transmigrating Lord of the Breaths is *this* Breath, "the most excellent," Prajapati and Brahma, he who divides himself five and many fold to support and sustain the body, to awaken his children to fill these worlds, and to whom, as Prajapati, it is said "T'is thou, thyself, that art counterborn, to thee all thy children bring tribute, O Breath" By this Prajapati this body of "ours" is set up in possession of consciousness, he as its driver passing on from body to body unovercome by the bright or dark fruit of his acts, or rather, those acts of which he, as our Inner Person, is the actuator and spectator rather than the doer This Prajapati is likewise "the divine Breath who, whether or not transmigrating, is

neither injured nor distressed, and whom all beings serve ' and with respect to whom it is further said that "however his children may suffer, that pertains to them alone, good only goes to him, evil does not reach the Gods '

Thus this One is everywhere born and reborn "Unseen, Prajapati moves in the womb and is multifariously born ' The person expires and suspires in the womb and then is he born again when thou O Breath, givest life', Thou alone, O Sun, art born about the whole world', One God indwelling the mind, of old was he born and is even now in the womb Similar texts could be cited at greater length, it will suffice for the present to observe the emphasis laid upon the fact that it is always *One* that is diversely born He, that is, who is "undivided in though as it were divided by his presence in divided beings," being "One as he is in himself, and many as he is in his children," who are not Beings independently, but Beings by participation

All this belongs to the oldest Vedic doctrine, where it is the Sun or Fire that enters into the womb and transmigrates, thus Aditi "bears the mortal Sun unto repeated birth and death", "Thou, Agni, being in the womb, art born again" He is "of many births", as Knower of Births he is 'set down in birth after birth,' *i.e.*, in all these Beings, and by] the same token he is "omniscient of births," who "finds birth again and again" "Filling the three light realms of this, the moving and immobile universe, he cometh manifoldly into being the Sire in all these wombs,"

as "the giver of being to all thy people," and yet "in one semblance"

We have so far considered the Transmigrant, Parijman, the Spirit moving at will, only as the Great Catalyst who remains unaffected by the action he empowers The Supreme Lord and Self who is seated one the same in all beings' hearts, the citizen in every city participating in action not because of any need on his part but only sacrifically and to maintain the world process, wherein, as it were disporting himself, he remains undivided amongst divided beings and indestructible amongst the destructible So long as he is One, they cannot overcome him But as One, he cannot bring his creatures to life, and must divide himself It is not quite disinterestedly (as it seems to us) but "with ends not yet attained and with a view to enjoying the objects of the senses" that he sets us agoing and this is a dangerous enterprise, for being their enjoyer, he is carried away by the flood of the qualities of the primary matter with which he operates, and so as the corporeal, "elemental self," knowing subject over against ostensibly external objects of perception, he is bemused and does not see the bountiful Giver of Being within him, but "conceives that" This is I and 'That is mine,' and therewith binds himself by himself like a bird in the net, and so wanders around in wombs both aughty and naughty, overcome by the fruits of actions and by the pairs of opposites" Conversely 'the sacrificer, becoming a bird, goes to the world of heaven"

There is, indeed an antidote for this elemental self, *viz.* in the study and



mastery of the wisdom of the Vedas and in the fulfilment of one's own duty in its regular grades, through the knowledge of Brahma, by order and by contemplation he getteth everlasting bliss, yea, when this 'man in the cart, *sc.* the body is liberated from those things with which he was over filled up and by which come then he attains to conjunction with the Spirit,' *sc.* being very Brahma enters into Brahma and thus authentically Brahma abides. This is Nicolas of Cusa's *descriptio* for which the *sine qua non* is an *all'isti omnis alteritatis et di'ersitatis*

Otherwise stated, Prajapati 'desires to become many, to express his children and having done so is spilted and falls down unstrung it is "with love that he enters into them and then he cannot come together again whole and complete except by the sacrificial operation. It is sufficiently well known and needs no demonstration here, that the final purpose of this operation, in which the sacrificer symbolically sacrifices himself, is to build up together again whole and complete both the sacrificer and the divided deity at one and the same time. It is evident that the possibility of such a simultaneous regeneration rests upon the theoretical identity of the sacrificer's real being with that of the immanent deity, as postulated in the well known logos, "That art thou"

In still another way we can illustrate our thesis by referring to those texts in which the immanent deity is spoken of as a "citizen" of the body politic in which he is, as it were, confined and from which is, as it were, confined, and from which he also liberates himself. That the human

body is called a "city of God" is well known, the Person who as a bird becomes a citizen in all these "cities" is hermetically "Purusa" for that very reason. The solar Person and Friend of All who thus inhabits us is also the Beloved Vamadeva, the Breath, who sets himself in the middle of all that is and protects it from evil he who, being in the womb, is the knower of all the births of the Gods and whom all these Gods (*sc.* Breaths, Intelligencies powers of the soul) revere, and who says of himself that "Although a hundred cities held me fast, forth I sped with falcon speed"

Vamadeva, being in the womb, it was that spake thus Comprehensor thereof, when separation from the body takes place, forth striding upwards and obtaining all desires in yonder world, he comes together, immortal'

Here, Vamadeva is equated with our "other self" which, when old age is reached and being all in act, departs and is regenerated, reborn for the third and last time. The escape of this Dwarf (for Vamana has also this meaning) is further described when the question is asked "When this immanent, unstrung body dweller is released from the body, what survives?" and answered "That," *sc.* Brahma, the 'Atman, our real Self, the Impersishable, the Pleroma, from which all things proceed and to which all return without affecting its infinity. Thus, as Deussen justly remarks, "Atman means that which remains if we take away from our person all that is Not Self, that being, of course, all that we generally mean by our "personality" and

"individuality" Our end is to exchange our limited manner of being "So and so" for God's unlimited manner of Being simply For, as Meister Eckhart says, "Ego, the word I, is proper to none but God himself in his sameness"

A consideration of all that has been said so far will enable us to approach such a text as that of BU IV 17 without falling into the error of supposing that the "measuring worm" is an individual and definitely characterised "soul" that passes over from one body to another Much rather, it is the undivided and never individualised Atman that now, having recollected itself and free from the ignorance of the body—no longer, therefore thinking "This is I"—that transmigrates and reincarnates "Verily, this Atman is Brahma, who assumes every form of existence, good or evil" In the same way it is made clear enough by the words "Here comes Brahma!" that it is not an individual, but God himself that comes and goes when "we" are born and die Accordingly, the distinction of "the one that desires" from "the one that does not desire" is not that of one man from another, but of the two forms of Brahma "mortal and immortal" or of the two minds, "pure and impure" from one another, the latter continues to transmigrate, the former "being only Brahma, enters into Brahma" This is "the flight of the Alone to the Alone" It is with reference to the same release that the Rishi says of the solar and sacrificial Pegasus "Thy Self I saw in mind, a bird that from below flew through the sky on dustless paths" The sacrificial death of

the "horse" is the rider's "release from the body,—'see the horse careering, while its rider is invisible!'

The doctrine of the one snared bird has never been forgotten in India Swami Nityananda in the nineteenth century still sings

"I am the bird caught in the net of illusion,

I am He who bows down the head  
And the One to whom he bows

I alone exist there is neither seeker nor sought

When at last I had realised Unity, then  
I knew what had been unknown,

That I had always been in union with  
Thee'

We have now perhaps, sufficiently indicated that the scriptures of the Vedanta know of but one Transmigrant such a doctrine, indeed, follows inevitably from what the word Advaita, "without otherness," implies, the argument, "Brahma is only metaphorically called a 'life' (*Jiva*) on account of his connection with accidental conditions, the actual existence of any one such 'life' lasting only for so long as He continues to be bound by any one set of accidents" being, in the same way, only an expansion of the implications of the logos "That art thou"

We have also endeavoured to show that in this, as in so very many other respects, there is an exact equivalence of the Indian and Platonic traditions by no means, however, in order to suggest a derivation of either from the other, but rather to facilitate the understanding of the doctrines common to both From the same point of view we have still to refer to the

Judaic and Christian doctrines. In the Old Testament we find that when we die and give up the ghost "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it", and of this, as Professor Macdonald says, the Preacher "is heartily glad, for it means a final escape for man" To be "glad" of this can be thought of only for one who has known *what* he is, and in *which* self he hopes to depart hence For the Jews, who did not anticipate a "personal immortality" the soul" (*nefes*) always implies 'the lower physical nature, the appetites, the psyche of St Paul'—all that in Buddhism is excluded as "not myself," all that is meant by the "psyche in modern psychology—and they must have believed as Philo assuredly did, in a "soul of the soul," the *pneuma* of St Paul

In Christianity there is a doctrine of karma (the operation of mediate causes) and of a "fate" that lies in the created causes themselves, but no doctrine of "reincarnation" Compared with their Disposer, as St. Augustine says, other beings 'are neither beautiful, nor good, nor are at all' The central doctrine has to do with the "incarnation" of One whose eternal birth was "before Abraham" and "Through whom all things were made" This One himself declares that "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven" No stronger objections of the soul are anywhere to be found than are met with in the Christian Gospels "No man can be my disciple who hateth not his own soul," that soul

which "he who hateth in this world shall keep it unto life eternal," and which "whoever seeks to save, shall lose," for "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that (life) he hath" Again, "If any man would follow me, let him deny himself," *etc.*, let him not think "I am"

Assuredly, "the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even unto the dividing asunder of soul and spirit." St Paul who also distinguishes between the Inner and the Outer Man, when he says of himself "I live, yet not I, but Christ in me," has lost his soul to save it, he knows "in whom when he departs hence, he will be departing" and it is clear that that is saved, "what remains" (*avasyate*) when the separation from the body takes place, is not "this man, Paul," but—the Saviour himself

When this Saviour's visible presence is withdrawn, the Deus Absconditus lives with us, or rather, *in us* another "Comforter or "Guardian," "Even the Spirit of Truth Ye know him, for he abideth with you, and shall be in you . . . Which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you . . . He will guide you into all truth . . . and he will show you things to come" He who thus *intus corda docet* is the immanent Daimon "who cares for nothing but the truth" and whom, as Plato—"that great priest, who found the way long ere Christ was born"—also says,

God has given to each one of us 'to dwell along with him and in him', and is also St Augustine's Ingenium, Dante's Amor, the mediaeval Synteresis and our own Inwyt or Conscience, in the fullest meaning of this word

It is upon this immanent Spirit of Truth the divine Eros, that our very life depends, which ends when we "give up the ghost" "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh avails nothing", for as St Thomas Aquinas further says, "The power of the soul, which is in the semen throughout the Spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body He is the "Sower went forth to sow some fell upon stony places But other fell into good ground", and that amounts to "enters into aughly and naughty wombs," for while the immediate application of the Parable of the Sower is to the propagation of the word, it is not only the Word but life itself that is a gift of the Spirit,—*perche suo splendore potesse, risplenento, dir Subsisto* And finally, is not this divine Eros, the Knower of the Field *Ksetrajna* (in both senses of the word to "know") any other than the Prodigal Sou "who was dead, and is alive again, and was lost, and is found,"—dead for so long as he had forgotten who he was, and again alive "when he came to himself"?

"His world is the World indeed, whose Self, the All maker, All doer, who indwells this abyssal complex, has been found and awakened, *is* the Lord of what hath been and shall be. Desiring Him only for their 'World,' the hermit abandons this world" Not, indeed, to live all alone by

himself, but with this 'Immortal Self as his constant companion'

It has been said that 'Ye crucify him daily,' and so assuredly does every man who is convinced that 'I am' or 'I do' and thereby divides up this one conceptually into many independent and passible beings Of all the conclusions to be drawn from the doctrine of the One and Only Transmigrant, the most poignant is this, that whereas He is the Bird caught in the net, the Ram in the thicket, the sacrificial victim and our Saviour, He cannot save himself except and unless *we*, by the sacrifice and denial of *our* self, also save Him\*

\*A summary of a pamphlet by the author entitled The Indian and Platonic Doctrine of Recollection and On the One and Only Transmigrant, published as Supplement No 3, Journal of the American Oriental Society,

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# MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA

BY PROF HUMAYUN KABIR

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It is obvious that to understand modern India, one must have knowledge of the history and traditions of Indian Moslems. The unfortunate fact, however is that this is absent among a large majority of the Moslems themselves. The materials for a history of Indian Moslems are scattered in Arabic Persian and Urdu. There are useful sources in other Indian languages as well. No attempt has however been made to collect and collate these materials and give a connected and systematic account of Moslem life and history. Monographs have been published from time to time to discuss different aspects of Moslem life and history. These have been *fragmentary or even sectional* and have lacked in comprehensiveness. It is not Moslems alone who have suffered for ignorance of their past. Indian political developments have not attained possible success because of this *historical ignorance*. The Moslem has failed to examine and estimate *temporary problems* because of his ignorance of his own past and background. The Indian struggle for political freedom has also suffered. Ignorance of Moslem hopes and fears has prevented the use of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary energy of the Muslim masses.

The compilation of a history of Indian Moslems must be done by an Indian Muslim. One who does not share the memories and hopes of the community cannot have the intimacy and sympathy which is necessary for a proper interpret

ation of the past. It is only such sympathetic interpretation that can make knowledge of the past a basis for future development and success. It is therefore a pity that *no Indian Moslem* has yet undertaken this task of self-analysis and interpretation. Discussions on politics, sociology or religion have generally been diffuse and separate. In the book under review, Professor Cantween Smith has attempted to supply that long felt want in spite of the obvious disadvantages to which as a foreigner he is subject. His attempt entitles him to our gratitude. It is evidence of his competence that he has attained considerable success in the task he has set himself.

Professor Smith has tried to interpret Indian History from his own special point of view. The philosophy which inspires him may be open to question. There is *no question regarding his skill* in the application of that philosophy in the interpretation of events. A unity of vision informs his work. To find out and establish relations between movements of thought and culture on the one hand and different types of economic and political organisation on the other, he has attempted to view the diversity of events as the expression of one hidden purpose. As a socialist he has emphasised the importance of the economic factor in explaining events. There is no doubt that this has enabled him to explain some knotty problems of history with considerable success.

In the world of contemporary Moslem thought and feeling, he bases his account

\* MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA. By W. C. Smith.  
Munirva Bookshop Lahore, Ra. 10

on an analysis of the work of Iqbal. His social and political account is on the other hand based on the fluctuations in the fortune of the Muslim League. His adherence to Marxist modes of thought and interpretation is evident in all his analysis. It must be admitted that this has at times made his account mechanical and forced. It is universally accepted to day that the phenomenal success of science in Europe has been offset by a want of world vision. One evidence of this is found in the European failure to reconcile the rival claims of society and the individual. We find either a tendency to philosophical anarchism through an exaggeration of the importance of the individual or a complete suppression of the individual in a totalitarian state. Marxism made an attempt to overcome this failure of European civilisation. It also has failed through a confusion of ends and means and the syncopation an unnecessary and largely erroneous metaphysics with an economic analysis which is refreshingly free from cant or superstition. Prof Smith in his devotion to Marxist modes of thought has tended to underestimate the influence and value of other types of socialist philosophy and organisation. It is rather strange that a careful and accurate scholar like him has not realised the implication of the diverse and often contrary interpretations of Marxism itself. In his discussions on Iqbal, Prof Smith is carried away by his Marxist superstitions and fails to do proper justice to the vitality and variety of his thought.

Prof Smith shows the same Marxist bias in his discussions on the development

of the League. Where he is primarily the historian, his erudition as well as his command over facts is remarkable. Where however, he attempts to interpret events from the standpoint of the Indian Communist Party, he exhibits a strange lack of objectivity. He has skillfully analysed the conservatism and inactivity of the League from 1906 to 1936, and also its unnatural development between 1936 and 1942 as an adjunct of British Imperialism. His analysis of post 1942 League is however, astonishing. He discovers a revolutionary and militant turn in its policy which no objective student of the League has found in it. To many, exactly the reverse seems to be the truth. Since the outbreak of the present war the League has continually moved away from a militant and revolutionary role. The culmination came in its attempt to divert the anti-imperialist energies of the Moslems into communal and narrow channels. It is perhaps a secret leaning towards the so called 'Peoples' War which makes so astute and careful an analyst as Prof Smith to arrive at conclusions so unwarranted by facts. He labels the League as revolutionary because of its co-operation with British Imperialism in India after 1942. Exactly for the same reason, he holds that the Congress went astray after 1940 and has since spent itself in futile and petty efforts. In this context, it is not difficult to understand that he should characterise the Majlis Ahl-e-Ahrar as counter-revolutionary after 1940.

Prof Smith shows deep and intimate acquaintance with North and North.

Western India. He has also attempted to take into his purview various discussions on Muslim politics, society and literature in Urdu. He however seems to lack a commensurate knowledge of conditions in the East and the South. Bengal has always maintained a unique tradition of civilization and culture. While it was influenced by North Western modes it retained peculiar features of its own. For various historical reasons Islam manifested itself in Bengal in forms which are unknown elsewhere. In order to understand the reaction of Moslems to the cross currents of modern thought an analysis of conditions in Bengal is therefore imperative. We hope that in a later edition Prof. Smith will try to remove this

defect and give fuller account of conditions and developments in Bengal.

In spite of criticism on isolated points, it must be admitted that Prof. Smith has done a valuable piece of work. Men who want to understand the current of Indian affairs and specially the developments of Muslim politics will find valuable sources of information in his book. The collection of large masses of material and acute analysis of underlying forms assure Prof. Smith of a distinct position among the writers on Indian politics.

The book is well printed and produced. The price is however, too high and must be reduced in order to assure it the greater circulation which it deserves.

## THE SWISS MODEL FOR INDIA

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

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SWITZERLAND is a unique case of a federal union which appears to defy every known canon of political science. Ethnology and geography, creed and language, history and politics all combine to put a direct veto upon federal union among units and peoples so essentially heterogeneous, if not actually discordant. Yet this federal union apparently so artificial is a power that may be small but is not unimportant and there is hardly any other *confederal* state whose independence is more secure. Three different races speaking three different languages have been so harmonised by the federal constitution as to have grown

into one. The federal system has here created out of the most discordant racial and religious elements a synthetic nation full of real patriotism as ever animated any race of the most unmixed blood.

The multilingual character of the Swiss federation will be apparent from the fact that according to the last census 71.9 per cent of the Swiss people speak German, 2.4 per cent French, and 6 per cent Italian. More than 90 per cent of the inhabitants speak German in a majority of the cantons, and French is similarly the predominant language of a few. But these linguistic differences have never been the cause of any serious disharmony in

national life. Since 1848, when the federal constitution was first introduced, the principle has been well established that all the three languages are to be recognized as the official languages of the country. This principle has been applied so successfully that it is safe to say to-day that the Swiss have become a united people, and a people so united that twice within three decades they have withstood the severest possible test provided by the two world wars in which the belligerents have been akin to them in language and race.

In structure, the Swiss constitution is democratic and genuinely federal, and is not a confederation in the strict technical sense, although the country is popularly termed "The Swiss Confederation." Switzerland is a single federal state (Bundesstaat) whose Government controls to a greater or less extent the administration of the federated units, and is not a confederacy of independent states (Staatenbund) united in the execution of an agreed common policy. It is generally believed that federalism presumes duality of sovereignty, and it must of course be affirmed of each cantonal Government of Switzerland that it is sovereign within its own jurisdiction. But, the fact is that sovereignty is vested in the whole nation which claims the right to exercise it, both in national and cantonal matters, by means of such democratic devices as the veto and the popular initiative, and, in some cases, by the more drastic methods of the recall.

In the history of political institutions and in the practical working of a federal

system, the Swiss confederation holds a position which is unique. The Swiss system of Referendal Democracy, though partially representative, is neither "parliamentary" in the English sense, nor "presidential" in the American sense. Obviously, it is not parliamentary, for the federal legislature would never dream of throwing out the executive in consequence of the rejection of a Bill sponsored by the Cabinet, still less would the ministry, which is composite in character, think of resignation because their policy failed to secure the support of the legislature; least of all would the legislature dissolve itself simply because its schemes were condemned by the people or because the people anticipated its action by means of the Initiative.

If the Swiss system is not parliamentary, nor is it presidential. The President is not elected by the people, nor has he any more influence upon the Government than any member of the Federal Council, like whom he is rather an agent, if not the servant of the Federal Executive.

There is no strict separation of powers in the Swiss constitution as in the American. But, the legislature is more strictly federal than the Executive. The Swiss constitution allows the Federal Legislature a large sphere in matters of legislation while leaving it to the Local Governments to carry them into execution.

The Federal Legislature is bicameral. The Council of States represents the constituent cantons and the National Council represents the people. The



Council of States or the Ständerat consists of 44 members, the cantons—large and small—being equally represented by two members each, the demi-cantons by one. Like the American Senate it embodies the federal as opposed to the national principle, but unlike the Senate it has no special functions differentiating it from the Lower House. Thus the two Houses are in point of rights and functions co-ordinate and they act as a single Assembly in joint session in certain matters like the election of the federal councillors. The National Council contains some 200 members representing over 50 constituencies, each canton sending at least one member, and the franchise extending to all adult males. The federal legislature is however in no sense a sovereign parliament. Not only is its authority snared by the local legislatures, but it is liable to be negated by the direct political action of the electors through the Popular Initiative or the Referendum—the two democratic devices which have been grafted on to the federal constitution. The composite ministry consisting of 7 members and having a fixed term of office is not so much a parliamentary cabinet in the English sense as a committee consisting of permanent heads of the Civil Service. The Presidency is held for a year in rotation by the members of the Federal Council and carries no special significance of powers. The Federal Judiciary is not co-ordinate in authority with the Legislature and as such does not possess the same power as

the American Supreme Court. The entire federal machinery therefore is grounded on democracy.

The stability of the Swiss Government is due to factors which cannot all be easily copied elsewhere, particularly in a vast sub-continent like India with a more diverse population and more acute religious differences. Besides, the Swiss federation is the outcome of a process of historical evolution of which there is no parallel in our country. It would, therefore, be hasty to assume that this model would produce an identical effect in India. But India is a multilingual country of non-homogeneous composition like Switzerland and so the Swiss constitution must be of peculiar interest to Indian students of politics. There is no doubt that there are some features in the Swiss model which can be applied to Indian conditions with advantage, although there is much in that model which is clearly out of place in the Indian situation.

The features which deserve consideration in India are firstly, the compromise over the question of the national languages, secondly the character of national and cantonal representation in the federal legislature, thirdly, the composition of the ministry, fourthly, the principle of proportional representation, fifthly, the protection of cantonal sovereignty, sixthly, the safeguarding of the culture of each nationality, and, lastly, the principle of referendal democracy which can be partly grafted on to the Indian Panchayat system.—*Broadcast.*

# ONE ACT PLAYS IN HINDI

BY PROF. AMARNATH GUPTA, M.A.,

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THERE are certain one act plays in Hindi Literature, (of course their number cannot be large in view of the brief history of this type of Literature, roughly speaking a decade old), which bear traces of Western plays. A detailed examination of such plays is necessary in a study of the direct influence of English Literature on 'Modern one Act play writing in Hindi. An attempt, therefore, will be made in the following pages to point the resemblances between them.

"Devil"<sup>1</sup> of Bhuvneshvar Prasad, certainly, first strikes us: It bears a pronounced impress of Bernard Shaw's "Devil's Disciple" as the playwright acknowledges<sup>2</sup>. Besides a resemblance in the title, the only difference, if at all, being that in the one case it is simply "Devil," in the other it is "Devil's Disciple," there is a curious affinity in the contents of the two plays; both have the same theme for their subject-matter so that Bhuvneshvar Prasad's play gives one the impression that he wrote his play with Bernard Shaw's before his eyes. Nowhere perhaps in the whole range of Modern Hindi Dramatic Literature shall we fall upon such a direct borrowing. In the "Devil" there is the picture of a hero who is guided by his own instinctive morality and who makes light of the accepted mode of religion, economics, social conventions and mutual adjustments, without which life appears not to have a

smooth go. The title does not seem to describe the hero well. He is anything but the disciple of God, but that does not necessarily signify that he is a devil. Of course he believes that time does not move at all for him, the world is not what it had been ten years ago<sup>3</sup>. His faith in God is shattered on account of the narrow sectarianism of the people of various religions to pin God within the religious tenets; God if he were believed to exist, must needs have the whole of humanity, irrespective of national difficulties, caste creed and colour within its fold.<sup>4</sup> He worships Mammon. He has been led to do so on account of the continual pricking of destitution and wretchedness of poverty and want. To him there is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so, stealing and pilfering included. As a matter of fact Rajan, (the hero of the play) does not belong to any Church whether of God or Satan. He is a man on the other hand, with an original morality and is guided by his own instincts. Society looks down upon him as an outcast. Raja Hardeo Singh and his wife eye him with suspicion, dub him as an atheist, an irreligious person<sup>5</sup>. A revolutionary, and are afraid of him lest he does something, which may prove inimical to their best interests. They hate and curse him because their religion and morality are foreign to his nature. They

<sup>3</sup> Bhuvneshvar Prasad's "Devil", page 46 of "Caravan," Allahabad.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid page 46.

<sup>5</sup> "Devil," page 49 in "Caravan," Allahabad,

<sup>1</sup> In "Caravan", Allahabad, pages 43-58.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to "Caravan," page 6

entertain dark insinuations about him but he seems to have done nothing that is positively shady. They accuse him of devilry but cannot quote from memory any particular action that is devilish. They, however, include the one action which he performs at the end of the play in their moral code at least not very much different from it. They regard it as a deed of self sacrifice done at the call of a moral force which lies outside the instinct while for him this is done for the purpose of only a gratification of the inner will. In this drama, the playwright aims at a contrast which he institutes between the conventional moral code of Raja Hardeo Singh and his wife in the one hand and Rajan, the hero of the play on the other.

A detailed examination of the play has been necessary to point out how much this owes to Bernard Shaw's *The Devil's Disciple* which in the first act contrasts the principles of the devil's disciple with those of his puritanical mother. Even this exposition of principle is not altogether without action. It arises out of the hanging of Peter Dudgeon and the death and will of William Dudgeon. In the two succeeding acts, we have the real action of the drama, the self sacrifice of Richard Dudgeon and his rescue by Anthony Anderson. Richard Dudgeon is a contrast to both Anthony and Judith Anderson (in the same way as Rajan is a contrast to Raja Hardeo Singh and his wife<sup>6</sup>). Anthony and Judith are a respectable couple with generous sentiments, they have not got the puritanical prosody of Mrs Dudgeon but they accept

conventional morality with all its external compulsion.

When Judith finds that Richard Dudgeon sacrifices himself (sacrifice here of Rajan for Raja Hardyal Singh<sup>7</sup>), she thinks it must be for love of her, a purely external stimulus. She does not understand him when he says that he did it for himself, bred on the mechanical morality of conventional society, she does not understand a self acting hero<sup>8</sup>.

*Devil* both in conception, for the dramatic methods employed by both Bernard Shaw and Bhuvneshvar Prasad are pretty much the same, in so far as both expose the hollowness of conventional morality and an ancient Code of life by bringing them to the searching gaze and deeper analysis of irony, is modelled after Bernard Shaw's *"The Devil's Disciple,"* as a detailed examination of the subject matter of both the plays would show. Of course Bernard Shaw's play is much better conceived and is planned upon a larger canvas than Bhuvneshvar Prasad's and much more successful too yet this does not in any way underestimate the debt of the latter to the former. This is noticed particularly in the last scene, which in the case of *"The Devil"* is related to the self sacrifice of Rajan for Raja Hardyal Singh by offering himself to the Police as Raja Hardyal Singh while in the second case, it is taken up with the rescue of Richard Dudgeon by Anthony Anderson. Bhuvneshvar Prasad finishes off his play within of course the limited scope of a

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta, *The Art of Bernard Shaw*, Bombay, pages 152-153.

one act play, with the self-sacrifice of Rajan, while Bernard Shaw, as his compass is much larger and more extensive, pushes the action of the drama to the rescue of Richard Dudgeon by Anthony Anderson. Rajan strikes one as Richard Dudgeon; Raja Hardayal and his wife as Anthony Anderson and Judith Anderson.

"Syama"—travesty of marriage is another one act play which is shadowed by Bernard Shaw. He has in it the echoes of Shaw's "*Candida*." In this play the aim of Bhuvneshvar Prasad is, like Shaw's to show the hollowness of the economic system of society in its greatest and most popular institution—marriage. Marriage is founded upon a sexual contrast between man and woman and the economic slavery of the latter. Like *Candida* "Syama," therefore, is not only an economic but also a sex drama. Like James Mavor Morell, Mr. Puri, husband of Syama, sometimes Mrs. Puri, in the play, is estimated in society as a highly respectable gentleman, and is devoted to her. Mr. Puri is stunned to death, however, on the revelation in the course of the normal incidents of a normal day, that his wife is bestowing loving care on a delicate windbag of a poet, which fact incites him to a fit of jealousy. He endeavours to suppress this feeling of jealousy in the presence of his wife, which naturally vents itself in her absence before the rival in love. He importunes him not to speak of it to her, but all is overheard by her from behind the arras and as she is about to retire to the garden with this new fangled lover of hers, instinct prevails over motion, on hearing that her husband is rather feeling

bad, and she decides to stay behind with the husband, the poet in Manoj of course goes all alone to the garden to indulge in a pleasant revelry of his fancy. This play, therefore, is similar in theme to Bernard Shaw's, and is like it a study in eternal triangle *i.e.*, one woman being loved simultaneously by two men.

Mr. Puri, like Mr. Morell, sways like a pendulum between smile and tears, he is taken in by violent fits of jealousy, but in the greatest crisis of his life he acts in a manner quite characteristic of him. He does not behave like the typical jealous husband. He does not at least before his wife, drive away his rival, nor confine and punish his wife. He keeps his head cool and proceeds to act with the dignified fair-mindedness of an honourable gentleman. Wife is given a free choice. She could live with her husband or fly with her lover. Of course, she decides to stay with her husband as *Candida* chose to remain behind and not follow Eugene the poet. Morell in "*Candida*" frets and fumes and cries out, "Out with it, my wife, is my wife," which reminds one of the following speech of Mr. Puri.

Mr. Puri (Trembling with rage), Out, out of my house, you shame-faced loon? (Runs to beat him).<sup>9</sup> Both Mr. Puri and Mr. Morell show their generosity by leaving their wives in the custody of Manoj and Eugene Marchbanks, but they also show their weakness and narrowness, when in "*Candida*" on his return, he appeals to his rival saying, "Eugene, if that is not a heartless lie, if you have a spark of human feeling left in you, will you tell me

<sup>9</sup> "Syama" in "Caravan" page 14.

what has happened during my absence," and when in "Syama," after Manoj threatens to commit suicide, Mr Puri begs of him not to do so, out of consideration for the feelings of his wife whom he dearly loves <sup>10</sup>

There is again like Morell a contradiction in the character of Mr Puri. There is a conflict throughout between his strength and his weakness, his generosity and his narrowness. This play is neither a tragedy nor a comedy. It is a serious comedy after the fashion of 'a new species of drama which Bernard Shaw claims as his own' <sup>11</sup>. The play deals with a social problem in a serious spirit, the problem concerning an honourable gentleman who faces it in a grave and dignified manner. The play once again like "Candida," portrays with remarkable skill the character of the husband who is held in deliberate contrast with the poet who is unlike him in age, appearance, ideas and character. Mr Amarnath Puri is a fastidious young respectable gentleman who prizes his wife as a treasure, and is possessed of a proprietary conscience. The poet Manoj is like a gossamer who flits in fancy like a butterfly. Manoj is like the gradually wearing off intoxication and he considers Mrs Puri epicure as he is as the wine of the eye <sup>12</sup>. This contrast between the two lovers, besides adding to the vividness of the picture, makes for economy in technique also.

The conclusion of both the dramas calls for special attention as a very fine

example of similarity between the two plays. In the conclusion of both the plays both playwrights aim at the exposure of the hollowness of conventional respectability and its ideal of happiness. Like Shaw, Bhuvneshvar Prasad takes care to reclaim his play from a melodramatic conclusion, and as in "Candida" he shows Syama staying behind with her husband. The poet Manoj retires from the scene all alone. Like Shaw he attacks the domestic life within, appearances are designed to be kept up between husband and wife, which brings out the difference between husband and wife, which brings out the difference between nobility without happiness and happiness without nobility in Syama's desire to live with her husband.

'Usar' <sup>13</sup> is a play of a different kind. It is the only play of its kind in Hindi Literature. It is a dramatised form of Freud's doctrine of psychoanalysis, with the assistance of which the playwright has woven his plot. There is no attempt at characterisation here, nor any at the unfolding of the story. It merely gives us a lurid criticism of the present day society and its problem through the figure of a tutor, who is engaged to teach children in a respectable family. The method employed here, quite Western in its origin, is that of empirical psychology, by which the dark interior of the mind of a person is accurately photographed as on a photographic plate. One of the psychologists' methods of exploring the dark interior," says Cecil Day Lewis, <sup>14</sup> "is that of free

<sup>10</sup> Ibid page 13

<sup>11</sup> Dr. S. N. Gupta:—The Art of Bernard Shaw Oxford, p. 123

<sup>12</sup> "Syama" page 7

<sup>13</sup> Not published separately. Cited in A. N. Gupta — One Act Play in Hindi. Calcutta: Trivedi & Sons, Agre

<sup>14</sup> A Hope for Poetry, p. 40-20

association, a list of words is spoken to the subject to each of which he answers the first word that comes into his head." "Usar" demonstrates the new tendency in English Literature of "free association," which has affected poetry, novel and drama alike. Exponents of this new movement in English Literature are James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot and Edith Sitwells, and many more. The adoption of this method shows the tremendous strides which Hindi Dramatic Literature has taken in recent years. Drama in Hindi is growing in the endeavours of its dramatists to try their hands at new experiments and fresh methods.

"Usar" has for its scene the parlour of a bungalow in a respectable household. It has for its characters the Tutor, the boy, the fat lady, a small puppy, the owner of the house, a youth, a little girl, and the mistress of the house. It turns round the treatment which the Master of the House meets out to the poor Tutor. Both have a different ideology. The master of the house, belonging to the older generation, believed in an exploitation, whether it be of intellectual labour, matters little or nothing, and thus the money which is saved by playing hide and seek with the conscience of others and his own he expends on the comfort item of his own family. The Tutor belongs to the younger generation and has partly been driven to undertake the tuition as an intellectual experiment and partly on account of his financial straits. He appears to have been like all the young men of his generation, affected by the Socialist ideology, which

ensures equal opportunities and a fair treatment for all beings on earth. Only one man in the play has sympathies with the Tutor, and he is another young man, who is a guest at the house of the master. The play, on the whole, fails to hold us throughout. The playwright has not been able to make its meaning clear. There is no artistic unity either. Whatever little is there in it, is provided by the character of the Tutor who comes up in the beginning and eventually at the conclusion of the play.

Govind Das Seth seems to have taken cue for writing "Spardha" from John Galsworthy's "Loyalties." "Loyalties" is a study in racial pride and social convention. In it we are shown characters faithful to their own certain principles in life. "Prejudices, Anela, or are they loyalties—I do not know, criss-cross, we all cut each others' throats from the best of motives." Throughout the play runs clearly the idea that the supporters of one party are prejudiced against the other, instead of bringing the matters to a close, they are stringing the wires harder and stronger thus bringing the matters to a crisis. Of course they do this with the best of motives, yet it is the main cause of tragedy. The sufferings and miseries of the modern social life are actually brought about not by wicked people, but by persons with good intentions. Like "Loyalties" "Spardha" realistically portrays a fashionable Indian society, at this time, as the title of the play suggests, engaged in settling whether women need men's protection for their safety and security in life. In both the plays the

dramatist aims not at characterisation, but at a conflict of ideologies, which various characters represent cleverly for this they are brought in a club where they get sufficient opportunity to indulge in their long wordy warfare and idle prattle which practically leads us nowhere. In 'Loyalties,' also John Galsworthy brought two sets of characters, with different ideologies of their loyalty to a certain *esprit de corps*, pitted against each other, and endeavouring for their triumph over the other, similarly in *Spardha*, there are for instance, women who claim equality with men and deny their protection, and there are men, who are reluctant to part with their age-long supremacy over women. Discussion goes on this point and eventually ends in the suggestion of Krishna Kumari to Vijaya to withdraw her resolution, showing that discussion led none of the party anywhere and they were just at the same place in the end of the play, as at the beginning. Individual point of view of every character has been depicted regarding the problem of the relationship between men and women, nothing less nothing more. Of course in '*Spardha*,' there is no resemblance of subject matter and theme, as in the plays of Bhuvneshvar Prasad, with the play of the same class in English Literature, but that there is a subtle influence of Galsworthy on Govind Das none will deny. A conflict of ideas, a detachment practised by the dramatists in the handling of their material, stating as many points of view of the problem as are connected with its issue, naturalistic dialogue, employment of irony to expose the hollowness of the

controversial points, the ideas of waste embodied in both the dramas, the characters as types rather than individuals, are certainly some of the points in which a similarity can be traced between Galsworthy's "*Loyalties*" and "*Spardha*."

There are some one act plays which have come to our view in recent years in Hindi Literature, whose nomenclature is English. This marks another advance in the influence of English Literature upon one act play in Hindi. Such plays are I know, 15 "*I see*," 16 "*Hunger Strike*" 17 and '*Vitamin*' 18 of Govind Das. The dramatist has retained English phrases to nominate their name deliberately to naturalise the tone of Hindi Drama, for these are the very words which the Indians of today have adopted in their tongue as belonging to the natural stock. There is, however, no direct borrowing in these plays from English Literature, except the names.

'*Sab se bara admi*' of Bhagwati Charan Verma is another play in Hindi Literature, which in its method owes to English Literature.

It is a very fine instance of dramatic suspense and the only one of its kind in our Literature. We have in it the lightness of touch and the broad humour of E. V. Lucas and A. J. Gardner. Bhagwati Charan Verma is the first originator of this tendency in Hindi Literature. What a fine comparison can be made between E. V. Lucas's "*The face on the Wall*" and this play? Of course the first is a story and the second a play. Both these interesting

15 16, 17, and 18 Included in "*Ast Dal*" 1914 Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad

works are note-worthy for their smart ending, in which dust is thrown into the eyes of so many people by one clever person, but also for the under-current of keen, almost impish humour that runs throughout. In E. V. Lucas "The Face on the Wall" the narrator of the funny story cleverly brings about a willing suspension of disbelief, during the course of the story and surprises the hearers at the end saying, "Oh the third thing," he said, as he opened the door, "I was forgetting that, The third extraordinary thing about the story is that I made (it up) about an hour ago. - Good night, again." After coming to our senses we looked round for Rudson-Wayte, who had brought this snake to bite our bosoms, but he too had disappeared." In Bhagvati Charan's play some friends have assembled in a restaurant, when they are joined in by Rameshvar and they are discussing among themselves as to who is the greatest among them all, but before their discussion ends and as they are about to retire from there, to their bewilderment they realise that their pockets are empty and Rameshvar has disappeared with all their money. He, really, was the greatest among them all. The play ends on a similar unexpected note as in "The face on the Wall."

*Shankar* :—I feel there's something wrong with his head.

*Ahmad* :—(laughing) He wore a mask.

*Mr. Verma* :—Vain Chap.

*Radhey* :—But he spoke well.

*Sharmaji* :—He deserves our pity.

*Shankar* :—Let go Radhey, we hav'nt settled as yet. (Gets up. Radhey follows.

Both put their hands inside the pocket and take them out).

*Shankar* :—Purse Disappeared!

*Radhey* :—Even my pocket is removed. (Shows the pocket of his shirt.)

*Mr. Verma* :—(One after another they feel their pockets). Oh? I got a five rupee note in a week, and that's also missing.

*Sharmaji* :—Eh? where 'as my bag gone. It contained fifty rupees I brought as subscription.

*Ahmad* :—Mine-mine too, have been cashiered. (They all look up at each other.)

*Gajati* :—Prepares to put in an anna bit in the cash box, but finds that too missing (Curtain falls).

Bhagvati Charan Verma has developed for the first time an unusually pleasant and racy style, and upon him has fallen the mantle of E. V. Lucas particularly.

Thus it may be said that there are one act plays in Hindi Literature, which very closely resemble the plays in English Literature, like Bhuvneshvar Prasad's "Syama," "Devil," and "Usar," others which for their subject-matter take the cue from English phrases and words for their (names as "I know," "I see," "Vitamin" and "Hunger Strike" of Govind Das, and lastly which owe for their smart ending, under-current of impish humour, and pleasant and racy style to some work or works in English Literature as Bhagvati Charan Verma's "Sub-se-bara-Admi"; Anyway all these works point out to the richness and variety, which it has attained within such a short time of its growth and development in Hindi Literature.



# NEW ORDER IN FEMALE EDUCATION

BY MR PREM NATH, MA

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WITH the end of Great World War II a new era of reconstruction has been ushered in. In this period female education should receive our first attention if India is to prosper. Sound and universal education of girls should be the order of the day.

One would have thought that girls have gone ahead of their brothers in education but the figures show that female literacy has remained stationary at 2 per cent between the years 1931 and 1941. It will be surprising to note as the Sargent Report on Post War Educational Development points out that out of 4½ lakhs of pupils now in the upper Sections of High Schools only 40,000 are girls.

The necessity for giving a push to female education is imminent. Besides Education for education sake which will raise all round national standard a large number of educated women is required to fill in a variety of professions which have hitherto remained miserably understaffed and run by comparatively untrained women. In the field of education itself it will take a couple of years when trained women teachers will be available for nursery and primary schools. To be sure it has been recognised at all hands that teachers in nursery and primary schools should invariably be women. Similarly medical and nursing departments look with wanting eyes to the services of the trained ladies and it goes without saying that the present strength in these Departments is far too less in proportion to the bulky population

of India burdened with its poverty which has led to ignorance and diseases and epidemics. Quite as important is the need of trained ladies for social services and the like which will come to be recognised as definite departments in the national system of administration.

Any change or development in this field would require the realisation of the defects of the present day education that is being imparted to girls. It is not the scope of this article to dwell on the defects in the system of education for boys whom it has ill served. Certainly with its inherent defects it has been still more useless for girls since it was primarily devised for boys, girls had only to draw on it for there was no alternative scheme of education for them.

It should be remembered that educationists all over the country have emphasised the need of planning of education both for boys and girls to be broad based on its practical usefulness. Education as such should co-ordinate cultural value and utility and should not weigh heavy on the side of academic achievement alone. As girls have had their education mostly for the sake of ornamentation and not for employment, the yoke of unemployment arising out of the purely academic education has not been borne by them as much as by the boys. Nevertheless it will not be disputed that mental gymnastic of girls has not proved of much service to the betterment of the sphere in which they have to work.

While it is difficult to lay down with exact precision a complete system of education for girls in India because much depends upon the type and sincerity of Government that undertakes this mighty task, it can however be gainsaid that in any reconstructional scheme, emphasis will be laid on the practical utility of education which is at the same time in line with the natural tastes and inclinations of girls in contrast to those of boys.

Before any scheme of education can be devised, it has to be settled as to what the field of a woman's life is. It is on this point that divergent opinions are maintained—much the more enthusiastically by girls themselves.

One school of thought holds strong the view that girls should be offered opportunities to compete their brothers in all spheres of life and as such they should have the same education as the boys do. But this outlook labours under grave disadvantages. In the first place, it has misjudged sex differences which are not physiological alone but are psychological as well and bring to bear upon all educational problems. In the second, it ignores the fact that a girl's educational equipment should be supplementary to that of a boy.

Perhaps, the more sober school of thought recognises that home being the proper office of a woman, the schools and universities should arm the girls with such subjects as can prove them of practical use in their after life. I wonder if a home would be despised by educated girls if the importance of home is rightly understood and its problems scientifically

approached. My own analysis is that proper prestige is not attached to the home and house-mistress not respected duly which together have led the women to revolt against binding themselves to the narrow walls of home. But it should not give one to understand that a woman's life according to this viewpoint is imprisoned in the narrow bounds of home. On the other hand, after attending to home, her energies can flow in all recreative and social activities quite as much as those of men.

The school education should, on the whole, equip a girl in all household subjects. The following list of subjects is suggested, to which additions can easily be made.

1. Languages. 2. History and Geography. 3. Civics. 4. Household Arithmetic. 5. Hygiene with special reference to housing, clothing and cooking problems. 6. Dietics. 7. Physiology and first aid. 8. Preliminary Child Psychology. 9. Elementary music.

The following subjects are suggested for the college education:—

1. A three years' course in Social Sciences like the course of Tata Institute of Social Sciences. (For complete list the readers may refer to the prospectus of the Institute.)

2. Aesthetics.

3. Painting—Practical and its history and theory.

4. Music—Practical and its history and theory.

5. Advanced child psychology.

6. Languages. 7. Nursing. 8. Medical education.

The above mentioned subjects might appear to some to be alarming to the cultural and literal aspect of education. But it is far from that. Through these subjects all cultural and literal values can be imparted to students. For instance histories of music and painting go far beyond mere stories and are sufficiently critical. All these subjects can be taught in a social setting and consequently a sound training in the art of citizenship would become a flourishing institution.

There is a very vital need of preparing the texts and general books to suit the demand of a lofty system of education. But this must be realised that whatever books are prescribed are above communal and religious differences and generate healthy national spirit and teach the art of citizenship. The education as such should be able to cultivate healthy habits in girls to think soundly for themselves and fight all evils to which they have been prey so far.

## PEEPS IN MAHARATTA HISTORY

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BY the end of the 17th century the Maharatta power had become the most dominant in India. The Moghul empire was entering on its decadence and the other states were feeble. As Sir William Hunter remarks with justice, had not the British appeared on the scene, India would have been conquered by the Maharattas, and it is largely true to say that the British conquered India not from Muslims but from the Hindus.

The life of Sivaji—the great author of Maharatta glory—is well known to all of us. His capacity as a statesman and ability as a general are known to every schoolboy, as also the astonishing spirit of religious tolerance which was shown by this remarkable man, at a time when Europe was convulsed with religious wars and persecution for religion was the order of the day. What is not generally known is how careful Sivaji was in

respect of minute items of expenditure and how he insisted on the keeping of proper and detailed accounts of the revenues collected from each village. No wonder that in the reign of Sivaji Chatrapathi, the people of Maharashtra enjoyed the blessings of an ordered and efficient administration.

Sivaji's son Sambaji, though equally brave, was a contrast in moral character. Such was his sloth and indolence that, if the evidence of the Ramadas charitra is to be believed, the great saint Ramadas, who, according to some, gave valuable political advice to Sivaji, wrote a letter to Sambaji couched in the following significant terms: "Keep before your eyes the image of Sivaji. Never forget how he won his kingdom. If you call yourself a man, try and do better than he did. Make your subjects your friends. Let them love rather than fear you. Make the people one. Fill their minds with the single

thought of resisting the 'Mlechcha'." But all such advice was wasted on Sambaji. His evil minister and vile favourite, Kalasha, plied him with wine, bhang and opium and secured for him an endless succession of pretty women. The ignoble king lived under these conditions in a palace at Sangameshwar at the junction of the Alakhanda and Varuna rivers. When the Moghul army approached, the drunken Sambaji exclaimed "Kalasha is a magician, and he will by his magic destroy his enemies." The danger became too pressing and, when the scouts came to warn the king, he uttered ferocious threats of cutting off their noses, if they come again with wild tales of Moghul advance. At last, the Moghuls surprised the king. Too late the king tried to escape in the disguise of an ascetic. He had his hair and beard shaved, smeared ashes over his body and tried to sneak out. But, unfortunately, a Moghul officer detected the false ascetic by a pearl necklace he had forgotten to remove from his person.

Sambaji was brought before the exultant Aurangzib who was seated in his durbar. To thank the Almighty for this good fortune, Aurangzib got down from his throne to bow his head to God. Kalasha, captive as he was, even in this critical occasion, could not refrain from showing off his wit. He cried to Sambaji "Oh! Raja, at your gracious sight, king Alangir cannot keep his seat but has to come down to do you honour." We hurry on to the terrible punishment inflicted on the king and his minister by the infuriated Aurangzeb. They were dressed as wandering beggars and taken in procession round the

streets on camels with their faces facing the tails. Then Sambaji's tongue was cut out, his eyes gouged out of the sockets, his heart was drawn out and his limbs cut off. Kalasha was tortured to death. The bodies of both were thrown to the village dogs, while their heads stuffed with straw were paraded in all the chief cities of the Deccan. Such was the fearful vengeance taken by Aurangzib on the son of Sivaji. Indeed he never mentioned the names of Sivaji or Sambaji without calling them, thieves and other opprobrious epithets. Sambaji's son, Sivaji, was taken away to the Delhi court. Aurangzib wanted to make him a Muslim but yielded to the entreaties of his daughter, Zinat-un-nissa, who lavished upon the Maharatta prince great affection, and brought him up carefully. Aurangzib called him by the nick-name 'Sahu' ("the good one" as contracted with his father and grand father).

Aurangzib was, however, not able to crush the Mahratta spirit of resistance, which flared up under the valiant Raja Ram, another son of Sivaji. Even after Raja Ram's death, his able wife Tara Bai, who, married while very young to Raja Ram, had been his devoted life-companion, took up the task handed down to her by her husband and successfully defied the Moghuls.

Sahu, sent back to Maharashtra by Emperor Bahadur Shah, became the undisputed ruler after a civil war with the supporters of Tara Bai. King Sahu's idle life in the Moghul zenana, while somewhat weakening his character, did not however destroy his energy. In the beginning of his reign, he ruled over a small area round Satara, and had to face the attacks of Tara Bai in the

south, and the Moghuls in the north and the east. By conspicuous tact and skill, Sahu got over these difficulties and, at the time of his death his kingdom extended from the Kaveri to the Ganges and the Jumna. His love of open air life was not sapped by his luxurious life at Delhi. He remained to the last a keen *Shikari* and we learn that tiger shooting was his favourite sport. Like the Norman kings of England, he rigorously enforced the upkeep and protection of forests. He was a great lover of horses and took delight in fishing. He had an extensive collection of birds, dogs and leopards.

King Sahu was not wanting in administrative wisdom. He admonishes a sirdar: "I appeal to you to leave aside all personal considerations and serve the State. You must conquer the kingdom of the enemies and establish Mahratta rule." He writes to another: "Beware of selling justice, lest it should soil your name." He orders another: "On no account must the ryots be molested." By his tact Sahu kept all the divergent elements together and he was ably helped in this by his great ministers, the Peshwa Balaji Visvanath and his son and successor, Bajji Rao I.

The ascendancy of the Peshwas—what is called the Chitpavan epoch—began under Balaji Visvanath Sahu, with shrewd judgment, left matters of administration practically in the hands of his talented minister, and, after his death, in the hands of his equally talented son, Bajji Rao I. The ambitious policy of the Peshwas, aiming at Hindu Pad Padshahi, naturally led to clash with neighbouring

Muslim and Christian powers. The Christian power in the beginning was the Portuguese. Portuguese intolerance led to appeal by the oppressed people to king Sahu. Peshwa Bajji Rao I and his brother, Chinnaaji Appah, attacked and captured the Portuguese possessions of Bassien. Grant Duff has given an eloquent account of this expedition. A contemporary writer compares the achievement with that of Sri Krishna.

The Moghul empire was unable to resist the Mahratta attacks. A sad commentary on the position at Delhi is found in a letter written by Nadirshah long afterwards (in 1747) to Emperor Muhammad Shah. It is now eight or nine years since I returned from India. You have not utilized this interval in improving your administration. This has given the Mahrattas a free hand. Put aside your pleasures. The inspirer of the North Indian expansion was Bajji Rao. Rising to his full and commanding stature, he addressed an eloquent oration to king Sahu in his deep rich voice concluding: "Now is our time to drive the strangers from the country of the Hindus. The Mahratta flag shall fly from the Krishna to Attock!" The king, carried away by his minister's speech, sanctioned the enterprise.

Bajji Rao's domestic affairs were managed by his capable mother, Radha Bai, and by his younger brother, Chinnaaji Appah. But Bajji Rao's domestic life was not very happy. His wife, Kasi Bai, suffered from a disease in her leg for several years. Partly because of this, Bajji Rao developed a connection with a Muslim mistress called Mastani.

According to one version, this Mastani was the daughter of Raja Chatrasal Bundela by a Muslim mistress, and, in return for help given to him by Baji Rao, he gave Mastani to him. This infatuation for Mastani led Baji Rao even to habituate himself to eating meat and drinking. Several letters allude to Baji Rao's objectionable conduct. Chinnaji Appah tried his level best to reform his brother and in one letter he pathetically observes, "I tried my utmost to persuade him to mend his ways. But God wills it otherwise. I leave him to his fate".

Baji Rao built for himself a stately palace at Poona. It was called Shanwar-wada or Saturday palace; because it was, on that day, that the foundation stone was laid after the burial alive of a human victim in its site to appease the anger of evil spirits. The palace was destroyed by fire in 1823; but, from descriptions of it which are extant, we hear that it was six storeys high with several court yards. There were seven reception halls, one of which was ornamented in ivory, and, in another, the ceiling and the walls were all covered with mirrors. One of the gates led to the apartments specially built for the Peshwa's mistress, and was appropriately called the Mastani gate. The great Peshwa suffered from ill-health towards the close of his life. He writes the Guru Bahmaudra Swami, "I am worried by incessant cough and pain all over the body". Day by day, this cough became worse and he died at the age of 42. Mastani committed sati.

The next Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, continued on the footsteps of his father. He tried to solve the ever-present question of the hostility of the Muslim State of Hyderabad

by a bold stroke. In that state troubles followed the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk and his successors Nazir Jung and Muzaffar Jung. While the French were trying to place Salabat Jung on the throne, the Peshwa managed to bring Gazi-uddin, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, from Delhi where he was residing. But unfortunately, Ghazi-uddin accepted a dinner given to him by his step-mother at Aurangabad and his career was cut short by poison administered in the food. The Peshwa had to recognise Salabat Jung; but, this event had one important result. The Maharattas came to have first-hand contact with the powerful French artillery and hereafter the use of artillery and other new tactics came to be an obsession to several Maharatta generals, particularly to Sadasiva Bhaw, son of Chinnaji Appah.

In 1749, King Sahu died. Sahu's death was followed by a struggle for succession and, in this confusion, all supreme power was taken over by the Peshwa by virtue of a document issued by Sahu before his death. Sardesai holds that the Peshwas took over power in the interest of the state to prevent disruption.

Balaji Baji Rao (who was called also Nana Saheb) kept up efficient administration. But during his rule there happened the terrible disaster of Panipat in which the Maharattas were defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali. The anxiety of the Peshwa before the battle is shown by the fact that he made vows to propitiate various deities in case of victory. But, already, by that time he was losing in his health and miscalculated the position in North India. Nana Fadnis, who was with the Maharatta army, sounded a note of alarm in a letter; but Sadasiva Bhaw, the general,

was over confident Kasi Raj Shivdeo, a Deccan Brahmin employed by Shujah ud doulah of Oudh has given a vivid account of the battle After the battle the Peshwa received the cryptic message 'Two pearls have been dissolved Twenty seven gold mohurs have been lost Of the silver and copper the total cannot be counted' The two pearls were of course Sadavia Bhaw and Visveswar Rao the son of the Peshwa The Peshwa gathered that the worst had happened and he never recovered from the shock We learn that through the good offices of Shujah ud doulah the dead bodies of Visveswar Rao and Sadavia Bhaw were recovered and cremated with proper ceremony

It would however be wrong to think that Panipat gave a deathblow to Maharatta power The Maharatta power revived under Madhava Rao who was perhaps the greatest of the Peshwas He assumed government at the age of sixteen In habits he was simple and refused to wear even gaily coloured dresses His minute care of administration is shown in numerous documents The Peshwa ordered wells to be dug to improve the water supply of Poona and established gun foundries and ammunition factories He had as his Chief Justice Rama Sastri a man of unparallel impartiality independence and probity of character

Madhava Rao was also a great general and one writer asserts, that, had it not been for the early death of the Peshwa Hyder Ali of Mysore would have been destroyed As it was, the Peshwa fell a victim to consumption, a disease which had carried off several of his family including Chinna-

Appah He died in his twenty eighth year and as has been truly remarked, his premature death was a greater disaster to the Maharattas than the battle of Panipat.

Internal troubles followed in the Maharatta State largely due to the ambition of Raghunatha Rao, uncle of Madhava Rao (Dada Saheb) Raghunatha Rao was personally a good man, but he was dominated by his second wife, Anandha Bai, a shrewd but totally unscrupulous woman Her name is associated with the foul murder of Narayana Rao, the successor of Madhava Rao and the nephew of Raghunatha Rao

On Narayana Rao's death, Raghunatha Rao became the Peshwa, but the moral indignation of the nation was symbolised by the conspiracy of the Bara Bhai (the twelve brothers) headed by Sakharam Bapu and Trimbak Rao Pethe To this group Nana Fadnis also adhered Narayan Rao had left a widow, Ganga Bai, who was pregnant Ganga Bai had planned to commit sati, but Anandi Bai, who was afraid of the effect of a sati's curse, had Ganga Bai locked up in her room till the funeral ceremonies of her husband were over She then forced her to take drugs to bring about an abortion, but these had no effect Finally, Ganga Bai was rescued by the Bara Bhai who removed her to a safe place where she delivered a son Madhava Rao The Bara Bhai proclaimed him Peshwa and set up a council of regency to rule in his name

It is not necessary for us to describe how the efforts of Raghunatha Rao to retain the Peshwaship led to his inviting English support Finally, Raghunatha Rao

failed and had to live and die as a pensioner. Madhava Rao II remained the Peshwa, administration being practically controlled by his great minister, Nana Fadnis. Anandhi Bai pined away the rest of her life till she died at the age of forty-seven.

The death of Madhava Rao II gave a great blow to the power of Nana Fadnis, the patriotic statesman who was trying to build up Mahratta power. The young Peshwa suffered from consumption like his family and, one day, he fell down from the terrace of the palace, dying two days afterwards.

The death of the Peshwa led to the succession of Bhaji Rao, II, son of Raghunatha Rao. Baji Rao had been taught by his mother Anandi Bai to hate Nana Fadnis, and the great minister, whose power had gone, was saved from further humiliation by his death. Baji Rao, personally handsome, deeply learned in Sanskrit, and a skilled horseman and archer was, however, easily the worst of the Peshwas.

After deposition by the English Baji Rao was given a pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year. He chose to live at Brahmavarta or Bithur near Cawnpore where probably he lived a happier life than as a ruler.

The Chatrapathi, Pratap Singh, descendant of Sivaji, was made by the English the Rajah of Satara after the fall of the Peshwas. Grant Duff, the first Resident at his court, induced him to keep a regular diary. Twenty-one volumes of this are extant. We find Pratap Singh desperately anxious to prove his descent from the

Sesodias of Mewar. In social matters, Pratap Singh was conservative. He disapproved, for instance, the practice of girls going to school. He was deposed in 1839 by the British for treason, and his brother was placed on the throne. After his death, the state was annexed by the British.

Finally we turn to some curious details with regard to Maharatta administration and life. Capital punishment was inflicted by the Peshwas only for treason and not ordinarily for murder. But a paper of Balaji Baji Rao refers to a woman being put to death for alleged witchcraft. We hear of fanciful punishments like trampling by elephants and parts of the body being severed. A strange punishment was the offender being forced to beg. Cow killing was a heinous offence. Sale of intoxicating liquor was forbidden.

A high ideal of morality was kept up by some of the Mahratta leaders like Madhava Rao I. We hear that he even forbade quacks from practising medicine. Bride price was not favoured and remarriage of widows was allowed. We hear of a petition to Baji Rao I that the petitioner's daughter was married by a man according to the *Paisacha* form, and praying for permission to cancel it and marry her to another bridegroom. The permission was granted. Religious toleration was the rule.

We find instances of Brahmin admitting into their caste those who were converted to Islam; but, the Peshwas discouraged this custom. We hear often of Tulabharam. We understand that Madhava Rao intended to weigh himself against gold on the banks of the Tungabadra. Anandhi Bai, in a communication to Nana Fadnis, desires to



weigh herself against silver to appease her evil star

The Maharattas had always shown heroism and perseverance but they displayed also impatience of control want of co operation, and lack of unity Further, instances of moral laxity and cruelty became more and more common as we

trace the course of Maharatta History Bajji Rao II was the vilest of the Peshwas in character but the other Maharatta chiefs display love of self interest, treachery, and unscrupulous ambition When the Maharatta State lost its ideals and became a predatory State, its doom was sealed, and its fall became only a question of time

## U. S. PLAN FOR LOAN TO BRITAIN

BY MR MAYA RAM, B Com

THE sudden stoppage of Lend Lease aid created financial difficulties for Britain Britain's over seas expenditure on the eve of Japan's defeat was about £2000 million per year including essential food and non munition supplies obtained under Lend Lease but which must now be paid for in cash Britain's total resources to finance this expenditure may be put at £500 million There will thus be a deficit to the extent of £1200 million America is fully aware of these difficulties and President Truman recognised this in his report on August 19 1945 wherein he said that the attempt to force a cash or equivalent settlement of the United Nations 42 000 million lend lease debt to the United States would cause economic chaos leading to a third World War The whole thing has been under discussion in an Anglo American Conference for the last several weeks At this Conference sterling balances Empire Dollar Pool, Imperial Preference and the allocation of the credits of the USA between Britain's creditors are being discussed These negotiations are bound to have important effects from

an economic and commercial point of view India is vitally interested in these problems because any financial settlement between Britain and America is likely to affect Indian sterling balances which amount to near about 1500 crores of rupees

As the reports in papers go, the plan amongst several others, under consideration by the U S Treasury, which is very likely to be used is believed to be that under which a loan of 5 000 million dollars is contemplated to be given to Britain Two fifth of this amount will be made available to the British Empire countries for purchasing American goods over the next five years In return Empire countries will be asked to scale down their blocked sterling balances by 6 500 million dollars and also to extend a 3 000 million dollar loan to Britain in their currencies for British purchases inside the Commonwealth The repayment of both these loans would start in 1950 at the rate of 160 million dollars yearly over 55 years—100 million to America and 60 million to the Empire countries The American delegation may stand for modification if not abandonment

of the Empire free-trade preference, but as reports in the papers go, the American delegation is relaxing its former firm stand for the abandonment of the Empire trade preferences. It is likely that some agreement on commercial policy problems may be reached.

We may examine this proposed plan for financial help to Britain from the standpoint of India. The total debt of Great Britain to the sterling area countries may be put at 14,000 million dollars, which will have to be written down to 7,500 million dollars. The sterling area countries would have to provide further 3,000 million dollars in their own currencies, to finance Britain for imports from them during the next five years. From the Indian point of view, Britain's debt of 4,600 million dollars to India would have to be reduced to 2,500 million dollars. Thereafter, India would again have to give a loan of 1,000 million dollars to Britain for financing British imports from India in five years from 1946-50. Thus at the end of 1950, Indian debt recoverable from Britain would stand at 3,500 million dollars. During these five years India would get gold from Britain to the extent of 170 million dollars and she would be able to finance imports from the U. S. A. to the amount of 680 million dollars. The total of both these may be put at 850 million dollars. Deducting this amount from 3,500 million dollars, the balance of the debt which Britain would have to pay to India at the end of five years would remain at 2,650 million dollars.

The method of repaying this amount is that Britain is to pay annually 20 million

dollars for 50 years which would mean a payment of 1,000 million dollars. Thus at the end even of this long period of time Britain would have to pay to India 1,650 million dollars. This, it appears, would not bear any interest and even if it is taken for granted as contemplated under the scheme that 650 million dollars would be the working capital between Britain and India, there appears to be no provision in the scheme for repaying the balance of 1000 million dollars. It appears, therefore, that India may not be able to get even the full amount of scaled down amount.

It may be pointed out that any reduction in the sterling balances of India would be a great disadvantage to us. These balances have been accumulated at great sacrifice to India. Even a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry on War Expenditure has pointed out that goods have been purchased from India at controlled prices and not at inflated prices. Moreover, contrary to the common practice that the purchaser has to make the payment in the currency of the seller, the payment to India was made in sterling which served as the basis of the expansion of note circulation in our country. These balances were accumulated at great sacrifice to India and any reduction in them would thus cause great heart-burning. Moreover, at Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944, the Indian delegation had pressed for their inclusion was not permitted, Lord Keynes gave a categorical assurance on behalf of England that they would be honourably paid and would not be wiped off. We do recognise Britain's difficulties but Britain should also recognise our economic difficulties,

Amongst the creditors of Britain India is the poorest country and should not be called upon to make a sacrifice beyond her capacity. The public in India have purchased the goods at black market prices whereas during the War period in times of scarcity goods were supplied to His Majesty's Government through the Government of India at controlled prices. Thus India incurred a great sacrifice and made a concealed gift in that respect to Britain. Any further reduction in the

sterling balances would consequently not be liked by India.

What is therefore necessary is that any scheme for scaling down the sterling balances of India should first be subjected to discussion in the Indian Legislature and Indian commercial bodies should be allowed to have a full say in the matter. Consequently India will find it difficult to agree to any such scheme which is said to be proposed by the American Treasury for scaling down our sterling balances.

## CLOTH PLANNING FOR 400 MILLIONS

BY PROF. R. V. RAO M.A., B.T.

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For India cotton manufacture is an ancient glory past and present tribulation but always hope.—*Buchanan*

THE sub human standard of living of the Indian masses has almost become a by word. Food, clothing and shelter are absolute necessities but unfortunately in all these matters our conditions are far from being satisfactory. In spite of the fact that India is one of the leading countries of the world in the cotton industry ranking first in the number of spindles and second in raw cotton production, it is really unfortunate that we have not got sufficient cloth. The following statistics taken from the League of Nations Publication 'World Textile Industry' shows the quantity of cloth consumed in India when compared to other countries.

Consumption of cotton cloth per head —

USA	64 sq yds
Great Britain	35 "
Japan	21 linear yds
India	16 "

In fact during 1943-44 in view of acute shortage people could consume on an average only 10 yds. This state of affairs is really pitiable particularly because India is a home of the cotton textile industry which enjoyed world wide reputation long before the West knew about it. The Indian textile industry has passed through various vicissitudes. That is why several even refer to the thwarted growth of our national industry. The situation was indeed so pitiable that before the first European war of 1914-18 India consumed about 4,000 million yds., of which she produced only 25 per cent rest being imported. It has required the grim spectacle of two wars to make India nearly self sufficient, so far as her clothing requirements are concerned.

In 1928-29 when the per capita consumption of cloth in the world was 42 yds. the figure for India was 16 which persisted to be the same and the war years have no doubt seen a fall. Allowing for the defence

requirements and exports, the per capita consumption between 1941-42 and 1943-44 varied from 12 to 13 yds. In some places, it was even less. In 1943-44, 4,842 million yds. of cloth were produced by mills and 1,500 million yds. were produced by hand-looms. Deducting the requirements of the defence services and cloth exported, we had five thousand million yds. per annum for a population of 4,00 millions which comes to a per capita consumption of 12 yds. We must also remember that this includes the consumption of rich people and the real figure can easily be imagined. According to any standard it is insufficient to keep the population properly clothed. Gandhiji may be a half-naked fakir but his loin-cloth is really a protest against the sub-human living of the teeming millions of India. The Bombay plan proposes 30 yds. per head per annum as the target. Even if we are not able to reach that figure it should be increased to at least 18. Further we must remember that we have to make provision for the increasing population of India. Thus more than ever before there is a great need to expand our production in order to ensure an adequate supply of cloth. That is why several people are considering the question in all seriousness and therefore putting the question "Can post-war India clothe herself?"

#### THE PROBLEM OF EXPORTS

Several people say that we should depend upon exports also because cotton manufactures satisfy all the requirements of a desirable commodity for export. They even say that if we produce for the internal as well as external markets, the risk element is reduced to the minimum. During war, we have supplied cotton cloth to South Africa,

Australia, Iran, Iraq, and other countries and it is but natural that we expect to retain some of these markets. It may, of course, be pointed out that our capacity to retain these markets depends upon our output, quality, price, etc. It also requires an efficient export policy which we can have only when there is a national government. But those who argue in this way forget one fact, namely the international economic order of the future with intensified competition on the part of western industrialized countries which have already stolen a march over us would seem to offer no possibilities for the expansion of our goods in foreign markets. Further the industry can safely depend upon internal market and the first effects of the economic development of the country would be perfectly seen in the new demand for cloth. It is often said that cloth will be the first to feel the impact of a rise in the standard of living.

#### SOME HANDICAPS

We have sufficient supplies of raw cotton and labour. But we must remember that increased production depends upon the supply of new machinery, chemicals and coal. Now that the war is over, we may not experience much difficulty as regards chemicals and coal but the supply of new machinery is the only factor which we have to consider. But it presents insurmountable difficulties and the industrial delegation which recently visited England and America itself observes that the prospects of imports of textile machinery for at least two years to come are not bright. By that time the foreign goods may be dumped on our markets.

We must remember that much of the machinery has got to be replaced because the machinery has been overworked due to the exigencies created by the war. It is stated that for replacement of worn out machinery and increase of production to ensure 18 yards of cloth per head per annum we require six million spindles and two lakhs of looms. We must remember that the situation can be solved only when new plants are set up so that we can have an adequate supply of machinery. But since it takes a lot of time it would be in the fitness of things if the Government will see that we get an adequate quota of machinery. Since the various controls are in force only the Government can negotiate in the matter. Further one warning may also be given. It is no use mortgaging our efficiency by purchasing reconditioned second hand machinery. Only wrong prophets pin their faith in second hand things.

Another difficulty or bottle neck is the question of organization and marketing. Even though a few Ahmedabad mills have shown good progress in the matter it is regrettable that other mills have not realised the supreme need for organization and marketing.

Several people refer to the lack of capital accumulation and say that the heavy incidence of the excess profits tax, low amount allowed for depreciation while considering income tax rules are coming in the way. It would be in the fitness of things if the Government appoints a special panel to consider the post war renovation of this industry so that it can put its houses in order.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE HAND LOOM INDUSTRY

The high standard of excellence reached by hand loom weaving which is the largest of small scale industries giving employment to six million people as compared to 1/10th of the number employed by the cotton textile industry makes us feel that it has got to be supported. It is of course true that the total production is not so large as indicated by the numbers employed. While considering the causes of the present cloth famine the point is often made out that the situation would have improved if the hand loom weavers were supplied with adequate supplies of yarn by the mills but this is disputed by the Millowners Association Bombay. While it is not the place to ascribe praise or blame one feels that because the hand loom weaver depends upon this industry and since it serves as an occupation subsidiary to agriculture we have to develop it. He has managed to survive all these years and we should do everything to help him. Further the present writer feels that the hand loom weaver should depend more and more upon hand spun yarn. At a time when we are having an acute shortage of mill cloth we have realised the economic utility of hand spinning. Gandhiji and the All India Spinners' Association have been emphasizing all along the need for developing hand spinning industry which Pandit Jawaharlal hails as the livery of our freedom. Mr G D H Cole in this connection says, Gandhiji's campaign for the development of home made cloth industry Khaddar—is no more fad of a romantic age to revive the past but a

practical attempt to-relieve the poverty and uplift the standard of the Indian village. It is hoped that we realize the great need to develop hand-spinning as a cottage industry. Hand-loom weavers should spin themselves and weave hand-spun yarn. This will naturally help us to give employment to the abundant labour force in India besides serving as an occupation subsidiary to agriculture.

#### PLANS OF THE TEXTILE CONTROL BOARD

The Textile Control-Board has recently prepared a plan for the expansion of the industry and proposed a target of 9,200 million yards to be reached by 1950-51 made up of 7,200 million yards from cotton mills and 2,000 from hand-looms. The Bombay plan as we have seen proposes that production will have to be increased to 15 million yards at the end of the next 15 years. The only thing is that we have to make provision for increasing the purchasing power of the masses if there is to be increased demand for cloth. It

means that economic planning is the *sine qua non* of increased consumption of cloth.

#### CONCLUSION

The stimulus afforded by the War to the Indian Textile industry is a fraction of what it can look forward in a growing economy. The per capita consumption of cloth in India is too little and there is an internal market of vast dimensions. Much depends upon the ability of the textile industry to serve the home market which is sure to expand with an increase in the purchasing power of the people. The textile industry must remember that it has risen to its present position by the sacrifice of the masses and let us hope that it will serve the masses when normal times return. Further it should not be allowed to compete with hand-loom weavers because they are not only weavers but also tillers of the soil. It is earnestly hoped that the whole industry will be planned so that post-war India can clothe herself and the various interests live in peace and harmony.

## STORMS IN THE INDIAN SEAS

BY MR. KESHAVA SHARAN AGARWALA, M SC., LL B.

THE severe storm that caused wide-spread damage and enormous loss of life and property on the east coast of India in October last is by no means a rare occurrence in the Indian seas. In fact, storms of this nature occur frequently in the Indian waters, *i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea areas.

Storms occurring in the oceanic areas are confined to very definite regions and

are known by different names in different regions. In the Indian region they are known as "cyclones," while the name "typhoon" prevails in the far east (the China Sea and the coasts of Japan). They are called "hurricanes" in the region of the West Indies and the adjacent waters to the west and the east. All these storms are in the nature of vast whirls in the atmosphere in which the wind blows round the

centre of a low pressure area with a tremendous velocity although the storm as a whole travels only at a very moderate speed. It is the violent rotary movement of the storm that causes immense loss of life and property and proves so dangerous to shipping. The severity of the storm and the extent of damage caused, therefore, depend upon the force of the winds in the cyclonic area.

How destructive the cyclones in the Indian region sometimes prove to be will be well understood if one goes through the authoritative accounts of the recent cyclonic storm. As a result of the severe cyclonic storm in the Bay of Bengal which crossed the east coast of India between Cocanada and Masulipatam on the morning of October 18th last, terrible havoc was caused along that coast, many lives were lost, over 20,000 people were rendered homeless, standing crops were destroyed, live-stock and other property suffered severely and communications were seriously interrupted. The damage caused has been estimated at many lacs of rupees. The storm started in the Bay of Bengal on October 16 and caused violent gales and widespread and heavy rainfall along the Orissa Circars coast. The severity of the storm, however, decreased after crossing the coast. The cyclone lasted 72 hours. The onset of the storm was so sudden that persons died while moving inland from the sea coast. The districts most affected were East Godavari, Vizagapatam, Kistna, West Godavari and Guntur. During recent years the month of October has been more than ordinarily notorious for the visitation of cyclonic

storms in the Indian waters. A terrific cyclone swept over (Midnapore and neighbouring districts (Bengal and Orissa) on October 16, 1942. This storm was accompanied by a huge tidal wave from the Bay of Bengal, which washed away forty thousand persons and '75 per cent of the live-stock of the affected area; broke all normal channels of communication and caused unparalleled devastation and misery. By a strange coincidence, a severe storm also occurred on about the same date in 1940. This storm occurred in the Arabian Sea and passed close to Bombay on the morning of October 16, 1940. The gales and heavy seas during this storm caused much damage to country-craft and fishing boats as well as to standing crops and banana and other plantations between Ratnagiri and Surat, loss of life was also considerable. The total damage to property was estimated to be more than Rs 25 lacs.

In May 1941, two severe storms occurred almost simultaneously—one in the Bay of Bengal and the other in the Arabian Sea. The Arabian Sea storm struck the Malabar coast on 26th May 1941 and caused terrible havoc along that coast, it, however, died out rapidly after entering land. The Bay storm was accompanied by a tidal wave which caused immense disaster in the districts of Backergunj, Naokhali and Tipperah on the night of May 25, 1941, about 3,000 persons died and about 2,20,000 families were affected in these districts. It is indeed most difficult to determine the cash value of the loss to property inflicted by such disastrous cyclonic storms. All that is possible is to form rough estimates

which are usually under-estimates from the very nature of the case.

The classic example of a typical cyclone that occurred in the Bay of Bengal and caused enormous loss of life, is the Backergunj cyclone of 1876. The most remarkable feature of this cyclone was the rapidly advancing enormous 'storm-wave' which, as the storm passed northward, spread out from the centre and flooded the islands and the low-lying lands at the mouth of the river Megna in the early morning of November 1, to a depth of from 10 to 40 feet. This rise of water occurred in the course of less than half an hour and resulted in drowning about a hundred thousand people and destroying all the crops. The water receded quickly as the storm passed inland. A famine and a cholera epidemic followed the flood and were responsible for a further loss of about a hundred thousand lives.

The area of a cyclone—particularly in the case of severe cyclones—may be divided into three parts:—

- (i) the outer storm-area,
- (ii) the inner storm-area,
- and (iii) the centre.

In the outer storm-area the fall of pressure is slow and the winds are moderately strong. In the inner storm-area the pressure falls very rapidly and the winds are of hurricane force up to the outer edge of the central area. The centre, however, is an area of very light winds or calm. This calm region is usually a very limited one—only a few square miles in diameter; it is known as the "eye" or "vortex" of the cyclone, on account of its often being free from clouds and as

the weather in it is also usually fine in contrast to the cloudy skies and torrential rain that are the striking features of the other parts of the cyclone. The calm centre, however, is equally dangerous to mariners as a tremendous and confused sea prevails in this area. It may also be noted that quite a large number of the cyclonic storms that occur in the Indian Seas are of small extent and moderate intensity only and such storms rarely have a calm centre. Storms that occur during the months of October to December are generally severe and have a well-marked inner area of hurricane winds and a calm centre.

The occurrence of cyclones in Indian Seas—as in other oceanic regions—is somewhat of a seasonal nature. In the Indian waters, cyclones occur most frequently between April to June and again between October to December; they are rare during the months of January to March. During the period July to September, storms are frequent in the Bay of Bengal but are of infrequent occurrence in the Arabian Sea. For the year as a whole, the numbers of recorded occurrences of cyclones are very much greater in the Bay of Bengal than in the Arabian Sea. After originating over the ocean, cyclonic storms generally keep their paths in the ocean itself; on their path crossing from the ocean to the land, the storms generally lose their destructive force and often die out soon. It may, however, be mentioned that sometimes the cyclones forming in the Bay of Bengal or further east, cross the Indian peninsula and enter the Arabian Sea. The direction as well as the velocity



of movement of the cyclone vary in different cyclones, the velocity is usually under 15 miles per hour but it often very much varies in different portions of the track of one and the same storm. As regards the track itself the storm field travels on a curved or sometimes, a straight track.

The frequent occurrence of severe cyclones in the Indian Seas and the enormous loss of life and property resulting from them have made it necessary to adopt systematic measures to mitigate the damage done. An important means by which the mariners at sea as well as the people on the coast where the storm may be approaching can be warned of the coming danger is the dissemination of timely information regarding the position, track etc. of an approaching storm so that the recipients may be able to take all precautions to avert the danger as far as possible. Such information (on the basis of synoptic weather charts) relating to the storms is at present supplied by the Indian Weather Service in the form of weather bulletins and storm-warnings broadcast from coastal wireless stations to ships at sea and also through a system of visual storm-warning signals adopted for use at the Indian ports. Whenever a storm or a disturbance exists in the Indian waters, in addition to communicating information to ships by wireless, the port officers at the coastal stations are also supplied with the latest information relating to such disturbances and suitable visual warning signals are hoisted at such ports as are likely to be affected by the disturbance. But what is

most essential is that the people such as seamen in charge of small coastal vessels and country crafts, boatmen, fishermen, etc. who need these warnings most, should be in a position to take the fullest advantage of the storm signals displayed at the ports. For this, it is not only necessary that the information should be in the possession of the people likely to be affected as early as possible before the actual danger comes but all these people should also be fully familiar with the meanings of the different types of signals in use. Another essential requirement to minimize storm danger is that all the important Indian ports should have full facilities and equipment for rendering all possible help to coastal vessels and crafts in distress on such occasions.

Besides the immense suffering to human beings the loss in material wealth caused by the occurrence of storms in India totals up to many lakhs every year. All this economic loss makes it urgently necessary to set up suitable schemes for further study of the phenomena of cyclones and for the development of methods of predicting them. In addition to the use of synoptic weather charts, a method which is likely to be of some use in connection with the prediction of cyclones is the one depending upon the careful study of 'microseisms'. Earthquake-recording instruments called seismographs which are essentially meant to record the tremors which pass through the ground from distant earthquakes have revealed the fact that the ground is nearly always oscillating, these continuous oscillations are known as microseisms. Further, it has

also been found that microseisms are most vigorous at times when there are strong winds or storm over the neighbouring seas. To explain this, it has been suggested that microseisms are produced by the sea waves beating on steep rocky coasts. Thus, the study of microseisms can lead to valuable information regarding the existence of storms in the seas. Another method, the possibilities of the use of which in connection with the location of the probable track of an approaching storm, require to be examined, is based on the fact that a cyclone is always associated with unusual electrical disturbances called "atmospherics" which cause interference in the reception of wireless signals. It is possible to determine the direction from which these disturbances come and thus simultaneous observations at two or more stations may enable one to locate the storm centre. Frequent observation of the position of the storm centre in this way is expected to give information regarding the track of the cyclone. How far these and similar other methods can be adopted for actual use or will be of practical value in this country, requires to be fully investigated.

Even with the full development of scientific methods for the timely location

and prediction of storms in the Indian Seas, the need to organise immediate relief work during such visitations will remain. At present relief is provided by local organisations, municipal bodies, charitable institutions, etc., supplemented by relief grants from the local Government. The Ramakrishna Mission, for example, has been doing splendid relief work in this connection. The Mission's workers rendered help to the victims of the October 1942 storm in Bengal and Orissa under immense difficulties and at considerable risk to themselves; with normal channels of communication having been broken and not even ferry boats plying, the relief workers had to proceed on foot and cross canals by swimming to reach the scenes of occurrence. What is however needed is a permanent organisation maintained by the State which can readily provide prompt relief during such calamitous visitations of nature, and mitigate the national loss amounting to crores of rupees inflicted on the country every year, in addition to the great loss of human lives. It is high time that steps are taken to make suitable provision for this in the post-war reconstruction and development plans now under the consideration of Government.

## POST-WAR PLANS IN THE PROVINCES

BY MR. MOHANLAL P. GANDHI

IN the five years beginning from 1947, the various provincial governments and governments of Indian States in the country will spend a sum over a thousand crore of rupees for carrying out their

post-war plans for reconstruction and development.

This would be in addition to the amounts that the Government of India themselves may spend on their plans.

apart from the subsidies and grants that they might give to the provincial governments and the governments of the Native States towards the cost of their plans.

The governments have mostly published their plans and estimates of cost and submitted them to the Government. A casual perusal of the large literature on the subject shows that Bengal propose to spend Rs 145 crores on post war reconstruction and development of the province in the first five years from 1947 onwards, Madras 136½ crores Bihar 120 crores, United Provinces 118 crores, Bombay 50 crores, Sind 45 crores, Central Provinces 40 crores and Orissa 33 crores. The various States also have prepared their separate plans. The Provinces have also excluded from their estimates the expenditure to be incurred by them on national highways which is to be entirely met by the Government of India.

Nearly all the provinces have placed the greatest emphasis on the development of agriculture and improvement of agricultural methods. But the United Provinces in the foreword of their plan have set forth their aims for the improvement and expansion to be achieved in agriculture in the five year period in a neat and precise form which may well be followed by other provinces. The plan of the United Provinces Government contemplates an all-round drive for food production and its main features are.—Improvement and distribution of fifteen lakhs maunds of improved variety of seeds every year, conversion of nightsoil of some large cities into an activated sludge to add to the manural resources of the province,

distribution of 18 lakhs maunds of fertilisers and 10 lakhs maunds of oil cakes, and provision of interest free *tabatt* to cultivators for sinking *pukka* wells in unirrigated areas. The Planning Secretary further observes in his foreword—"Long-term planning in agriculture is not possible without placing agricultural research on a sound permanent basis, and without ensuring satisfactory arrangement for the application of their results. In the U P plan these two fundamental conditions have received due consideration. There are twelve schemes for organising researches or for intensifying the existing ones. The infusion of scientific knowledge is to be promoted in the villages by diverse propaganda activities by an extended and improved publicity section, by 48 agricultural farms and 157 demonstration plots and by so expanding within about 10 years the field staff of the Department of Agriculture so as to make the free services of one *kamdar* available to every group of 20 villages."

The U. P. Government have also planned an ambitious programme for the hydro-electric resources of the province.

The Government of Bihar have put their agricultural aims in a more concise form which are to increase the production of food grains in the province by fifty per cent. within a period of ten to fifteen years, so that there may be sufficient foodgrains for the entire population of the province according to the standard prescribed by nutrition experts, and also to increase the production of protective foods such as vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, fish and meat.

on such a scale as to provide a well balanced diet necessary for health.

Madras has also large irrigation and hydro-electric projects in the offing in its plan. Included in it is the construction of Polavaram Reservoir on the Godavari River, described as one of the biggest irrigation projects in the country. It is estimated to cost a total of Rs. 50 crores. It will take fifteen years to complete and in the first stage of construction during the first five-year period, the Government of Madras intend to spend Rs. 6 crores on the project. The Government of Madras are also undertaking in conjunction with the Government of the Nizam the combined Thungabhadra project in Bellary district which would bring five lakhs acres of new land under irrigation and add to the electric power resources of the province.

Madras has a plan for establishing Government farms for improving live-stock in the province and have improved breeds of one lakh bulls and one lakh cows in a period of eight years. Madras also proposes to acquire nearly 4,000 square miles of privately-owned forests in order to bring the percentage of forests to the total of cultivable land from the present 12 to 20 or 25 as recommended by the Government of India.

Apart from the combined hydro-electric schemes, the Madras plan has an ambitious programme for developing the power resources of the province. Madras with its per capita consumption of 7.5 K. W. H. a year is envious of its neighbouring State of Mysore with its per capita consumption of 49.5 K. W. H. per year which it aspires to reach. Power schemes in the post-war

plan have top-notch priority. The Pykara plant is to be extended to produce 25,000 K. W. H. more, while the work on the Machkund Hydro-electric scheme in which Orissa is also participating is to be taken in hand. Power production is to begin in the fifth year. The scheme is to take ten years for completion.

Central Provinces like Bihar is a province poor in hydro-electric resources and so the power development plans for this province has also taken the form of a thermal plant at Nagpur with a capacity of 10,000 K. W. H.

Introduction of free compulsory primary education is the aim ultimately professed by the planners in most of the provinces. Madras has placed before the province an objective for compulsory free education for all boys and girls upto VIII standard to be realised in twenty years' time and has framed its five years' plan for education accordingly. "The aim is to get the maximum number of children into schools," say the planners, "in shortest possible time and to take them upto a stage where there should be no lapse to illiteracy. This stage is considered upto grade V. This evidently is not a big problem for Madras where education has made most strides in the country. And the problem is linked by the addition of 13 lakhs children to the existing thirty lakhs in the schools. But other provinces where education is still a rarity and school-going children still in a minority and not a majority as in Madras, find the liquidation of illiteracy among the school-going children at least, within the short space of five years, find the task beyond their powers and content themselves by restricting the provision of

free compulsory primary education to one-fourth of the province in the first five years of planning. The United Provinces have kept this as an objective. Bengal has done likewise spreading its education plan over twenty years.

A tough problem in planning the expansion of education is that of finding properly qualified teachers in large numbers to take charge of new schools when they are opened. The problem is beset with such difficulties that Sind had actually to defer for two years its scheme of introducing compulsory primary education in six more talukas every year for want of teachers. It has now decided to concentrate at first on training teachers and to embark on the expansion of education proper only when an adequate stock of trained teachers is at hand. For all India even for partial liquidation of illiteracy aimed at by most of the planners over a million more teachers will be needed. Bengal alone has stipulated for fifty thousand new schools and 250 000 additional teachers in the first five years of its plan.

The nearest approach to the minimum requirement of every village having some medical aid available has been made by the planners of the United Provinces. By proposing a straight increase of 500 allopathic dispensaries to the existing 750 and by proposing to subsidise 750 practitioners in order to induce them to settle in rural areas, they propose to increase the total number of rural dispensaries to 2 000 as against the estimated minimum requirements of 2,500 to 3 000 for the province as a whole.

They also propose a flat increase of 100 beds in each divisional headquarters hospital, 40 beds in each district headquarters hospital and 20 beds in rural hospitals.

Need for ensuring a protected supply of drinking water to the rural communities has been recognised by most of the planners. But Madras alone has set before it an objective of supplying every village in the province with a protected supply of drinking water in ten years.

By far the major share of expenditure sought to be incurred in the planning is to be devoted to construction of roads and hydro electric or irrigation projects. And construction of roads have a predominant place in plans of all the provinces. The road plan in all provinces is to follow the pattern set by the Government of India and the construction of the national highways, the provincial highways, the major district roads and the minor district roads is to be carried out in accordance with the prescribed standards. The road plan generally extends to 15 years at the end of which C. P. will have a total of 23 000 miles of roads, Bengal, 30 000 Bombay, 40,000, Bihar, 35 000 miles and like. At least one fourth of the total amount of 1,000 crores of rupees that is to be spent in the first five years of planning is to be spent on roads. Roads loom even larger in the plans of some of the provinces. Bombay, for example, will spend as much as sixteen crores in the first five years out of a total planning cost of fifty crores, excluding expenditure on national highways which is to be borne by the Government of India.

A perusal of the plans of the various provinces gives one an idea of the vastly differing conditions in which they live. Orissa, a new province, for example has not built so far suitable premises for its Government and is hoping to erect them (and a building for its High Court) in the period of planning. Central Provinces, a much older administrative unit, has no modern hospital and a plan for filtering water-supply in Nagpur, its capital town. It is hoping to have both these through the plan. The United Provinces where sugar industry flourishes has the problem of molasses, a bye-product of the industry on its hand and it seeks to deal with it by the advocacy of establishing plants for the manufacture of industrial alcohol from molasses. It rates its normal productive capacity of this highly prized industrial material at 25 million gallons a year. Bengal with rivers and rivulets crossing through the length and the breadth of the province is pestered with a weed, the hyacinth which grows in water and proposes to spend Rs. 1½ crores on measures which would prevent and root it out. Bengal also dreams of setting up a passenger transport board to control public transport in Calcutta. Madras and Bengal both have plans for developing waterways and Madras also has plans for developing its minor ports of which it reckons 23 on the east coast and 14 on the west. Madras has also plans for establishing a dry dock at Tuticorin.

Most of the provinces consider their post-war plans as financially feasible, depending reasonably on grants from the Central Government. The United Provinces

has calculated to a nicety how it is going to raise Rs. 125 crores needed for the planning and how the burden of servicing the loans raised and new recurring expenditure brought about by the planning is to be met. It does not consider the expenditure to be beyond the financial resources of the province. Madras thinks similarly and hopes to finance its 142½ crore plan with the aid of 45 crore loans only. It would be content with a grant of 50 crores only from the Central Government and has provided for a reserve of six crores at the end of the period of planning. Bombay which has planned for the development of rural areas only expects to finance its fifty crore plan without much difficulty. Sind stands in a category of its own. Its cash resources would amount to nearly Rs. 20 crores for the period of planning. It would stand to get a sizeable grant from the Government of India and it would not have to raise more than one-fourth of the total amount it hopes to spend on its plan by loans.

But other provinces are financially more dependent on the Central Government for the success of their plans. Bengal is one. Bihar also depends to a large extent on the assistance from the Central Government. And so does Orissa. C. P. is more happily placed and expects to carry out its forty crore plan with a grant of Rs. 18 crores only from the Central Government.

April 1, 1947 is the date fixed for the commencement of the various provincial plans. Several Indian States have also submitted their own post-war plans and they are also expected to come into

operation at the same time. The intervening period will be utilised by the Government of India in scrutinising the various plans so that they could be viewed as a whole and co-ordinated.

While the provinces will receive substantial grants from the Central Government, the Indian States may have to carry out their schemes from their own resources. It is contended that the British

Indian provinces are financially handicapped in as much as they are deprived of revenues from customs and income tax, the Indian States do not suffer from any of these difficulties. They have full liberty to levy their own income tax and customs duties—many of them do so—and they should be in a better position to finance their own plans than the British Indian provinces.

## FREEDOM STRUGLE IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

Those who were led to believe that the end of world war II would herald the advent of a new era of peace on earth and goodwill among men have been sadly disillusioned by the turn of events in the very countries which the United Nations helped to liberate from foreign yoke. The unfortunate thing is that the defeat of the Japanese aggressor has brought no freedom or peace to the peoples of South East Asia. A minor war is going on all over Indonesia and Indo China—countries which the armies of India and the allied nations helped to reconquer. But if the reconquest means merely a change of masters and a more stable and stubborn form of foreign domination—the affected peoples are naturally apprehensive of their future. One thing is clear. The great war which has just ended has unleashed powerful national movements in all Asiatic countries and brought about ungalatled solidarity among their teeming millions. Britain and France and Holland which had carved out for themselves large slices of S. E. Asia when

these were weak and disunited and helpless would henceforth find it hard to continue or resume their unwanted authority. The forces of nationalism have gained a momentum which, it would be both improper and dangerous to trifle with.

### INDONESIA

'Indonesia' is the name given to the Netherlands Indies or better known as the Dutch East Indies which consist of five large islands—Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and western half and New Guinea besides some fifteen minor islands and a number of smaller ones. The beauty and richness of these islands have attracted many nations from far and near, through the ages. India's cultural relation with Indonesia dates from centuries before the Christian era and there are to day indelible marks of Indian culture and civilization in the arts and architectural remains of Java. Indeed contact between India and Java, not only cultural but commercial as well had been very intimate through the ages, and historians speak of the period

when these islands formed part and parcel of what was known as Greater India. But that is another story which need not detain us. Suffice it to say that with the collapse of Muslim domination in the Sixteenth century the islands became the bone of contention between the British and Dutch traders who supplanted the Portuguese missionaries. But the Dutch finally ousted the British and with the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company in 1798 the islands became the possession of the House of Orange.

Like all foreign domination, Dutch rule was only concerned with the thorough exploitation of the islands for the benefit of Holland and the woes of the helpless Indonesians have remained unheeded. Like the Belgians in Congo the Dutch came to be hated for their severity and selfishness and the Indonesians had no option but to endure it in their helplessness. Dutch rule was replaced by the Japanese in March 1942. That brought no redemption for the stricken people. With the collapse of Japan in August last, however, came hopes of a resurgent Indonesia. The emergence of the independent Indonesian Republic was hailed as the new liberators of the islands from foreign yoke. That however was not to be. For instead of helping the indigenous Republic to take charge of its own territories Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, is talking of his obligations to the Dutch rulers as if he had no such obligations to the very peoples of the islands! And the whole battery of British arms, by land and sea and air, is now engaged in thwarting the popular movement for freedom. Was there ever such a tragic

situation? The very liberators to turn into enemies of the people! The pitiful blunder of Greece is being perpetrated in Indonesia to-day, alas with the help of Indian troops too. There is the sting of it!

"I submit," says Prof Laski himself "it is not good advertisement of our intentions to use the troops of a nation aspiring to freedom to crush the aspirations of two groups of people (Indonesians and Indo-Chinese) with the same aspirations"

But what is the good? Though the Dutch forces cannot withstand the popular uprising of Dr. Soekarno's independents, Britain with her infinite superiority in resources, will do the trick for the benefit of the Dutch! But let it be remembered that such actions will only leave a scar which time cannot easily efface.

It is fantastic, as Pandit Jawaharlal says, to talk of freedom, democracy and of San Francisco Charter, and at the same time to suppress by force the independence movement in Java. *The struggle in Java is becoming more intense and it has become the acid test of the policy of the United Nations, especially of England and the U. S. A.*

But let there be no mistake about it. Any attempt to mollify the Indonesian independents with doses of "Dominion status" as contemplated in the recent offer of the Dutch Governor-General, is bound to fail. The trouble with the Dutch in Indonesia as with the British in India is that they concede "too little and always too late," as the *Manchester Guardian* has shrewdly pointed out. When Dr. Soekarno's men shout The Indies for "the Indonesians," they mean it. They are not prepared any more to allow 8 Million Dutch in far away Europe to dominate and exploit about eighty millions of Indonesians.



## INDO CHINA

Now the same tragic story is being enacted in Indo China. In both cases 'it is British policy but Indian lives and Indian honour that are staked for the unwarranted defence of the French and Dutch empires'

Indo China, like Indonesia, is not one unit. It is a collective name given by the French to the group of their possessions in South East Asia. It comprises 'five distinct units—the colony of Cochin China, the protectorates of Annam, Torgkur, Cambodia and Laos'. It is almost as big again as France with a heterogeneous population of about four and twenty millions. 'The rulers of Indo-China, writes Mr Chandra Gupta in the *Hindustan Standard*, "sold out their Country to France in the 19th century" but that did not kill the freedom urge of the people. The heterogeneous races of Indo China however "have been welded into one people in the crucible of French imperialism—their common miseries making them forget the diversity of their races

Even this obscure corner of South East Asia was once part of the Great Hindu Kingdom of Champa when modern Cambodia was known as the Kingdom of Kamboj. Indian influence in the life and thought of these people is still paramount which explains our reaction to the struggle and aspirations of the people of Indo China. Nationalist India is in full

sympathy with Indo China's struggle against French imperialism.

With the occupation of Indo-China by Japanese forces in 1940 the struggle for liberation in that country took a new phase. But the Indo Chinese never wanted a change of masters any more than the Indonesians. To the nationalists Japanese imperialism was as *hateful* as the French. The collapse of Japanese militarism was therefore hailed with unfeigned relief and satisfaction. But the allied forces are always ready, in spite of loud protestations of liberty and democracy, to buttress up any kind of European domination. And France which had itself to be rescued from Nazi domination at the cost of the lives and resources of the United Nations still claims to rule over this alien people. But Indo China is determined to get rid of this French octopus even as she tried to keep out the Jinkers of Japan.

The French ruling class has been perplexed by the twin things have taken in their erstwhile colonies in South East Asia. The diehards in France, rightly observes Mr Gupta,

are seeking to scuttle the freedom movement in Indo China by debunking it as a pro Jap movement. That is a dirty slander which will bamboozle none. The empire boosters in Britain too, are frightened at the developments in Indo China. For, that is a grim warning on the wall for all empire builders. That is why they are pooling resources to frustrate the liberation movement in South East Asia. It is significant that the French, the British and the Japanese troops are fighting side by side to repress the Indo Chinese. Misfortune surely makes strange bed fellows. But the zero hour of world imperialism has struck. Will even this unholy alliance be able to give that Frankenstein a fresh lease of life? If it does it will be the grimmest tragedy for the contemporary world.



# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## The I.N.A. Trial

ALL eyes are turned to the historic Red Fort in Delhi, where a court martial is sitting in judgment on the records of the I.N.A. officers and men. Never has a state trial of this kind created a more intense or widespread sensation. The I.N.A. and the experience of the accused persons are convulsing the whole country and the public reaction to the trial has provoked comment in both hemispheres. In India itself the whole population has been stirred to its depths. For one thing, the I.N.A. has evoked the united support of all the people irrespective of political parties or religious differences. Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers, Liberals and Mahasabites, the Justice party and the Scheduled classes, have all joined in protest against the trial. The list of the Defence Council itself is proof of the unanimity of opinion among the intelligentsia of the country. And the way that youngmen and the people at large have rallied to the cause of the I.N.A.—inspite of certain shocking aberrations as evidenced by the unfortunate happenings in Madura, Lucknow, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Calcutta and Bombay—is an index to the intensity of public feeling.

Whatever the technical offence of the I.N.A., there is ample evidence to show that they were moved by the loftiest feelings of chivalry and patriotism. It is this that has inspired universal public support for their cause. "I have not met one Indian in Burma," says an Indian Seamen in his letter from Rangoon,

who does not look at the I.N.A. without deep affection and respect. Indian lives were saved and interests looked after only because of Subhas Babu's wonderful organization. . . . Even when the Japs evacuated Rangoon last year Subhas Bose left a regiment of the I.N.A. which maintained complete order in Rangoon and the outlying areas and protected the Indian civilians until the arrival of the British troops.

It is stated that, the soldier Viceroy has in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi said that

he has "an open mind" on the question of the trial. There is reason to believe that both the Secretary of State for India and the Commander-in-Chief are disposed to forgive and forget. If that is so, why should this wasteful and unwanted trial be continued?

The trial of the officers and men of the Indian National Army, says Mr Fenner Brockway, "is a stupid blunder."

In the minds of the Indian people these men are patriots and a nation wide movement of protest against trials which has reached its climax in Calcutta should awaken the sleeping India Office to the realisation of the present temper and mood of the Indian people. Unless both the Labour Government and the India Office wake up they may find themselves confronted in India with a crisis as formidable, though it may express itself in different ways, as in Indonesia.

Hence the universal demand for dropping the trial.

The cases against the I.N.A. men should be dropped and the King's pardon granted to all except those who are guilty of atrocious crimes against their countrymen.

said Sir Feroze Khan Noon, former Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview to the Associated Press of India.

The riots in Calcutta and elsewhere are a by product of this trial, warns the *New Statesman* and *Nation*. While Wing-Commander Millington, Commonwealth Party Member for Chelmsford, said in an exclusive interview to the United Press of India:

I have been following the reports of the recent happenings in India and I have come to the conclusion that trouble could be avoided if the proceedings against the I.N.A. officers are suspended forthwith. I believe it is a mistaken policy on the part of the Government of India to go on with the trial as the present Government has no standing in the country of the democratic backing of the people. The proper authority to prosecute these men will be a National Government elected by the people and responsible to the people of India. I have noted with interest the men's contention that they should be regarded as leaders of a national resistance movement. I quite appreciate their point. The least we can do is to stop the trials.

### Mr. Jinnah's Election Stunts

Mr. Jinnah's Election speeches fully bear out the general feeling that there is no use approaching the League under its present leadership for any form of understanding. Probably vexed by his failure to set the Muslims against the Congress he has become almost morbid in his fanaticism. Where argument fails he uses abuse and the butt end of the pistol.

The terms that Mr. Jinnah has used against the Congress leaders are not at all belittling a true leader and I wonder if anybody of any other organization or any individual could ever use such terms. The subjects, Mr. Jinnah has dealt with, is not a domestic one and I am sure he could find milder and gentler terms in the dictionary.

Thus writes Mr. A. Rahman of 3, Chandni Chowk, Calcutta, referring to the speech of Mr. Jinnah in Beluchistan on Oct. 16. No wonder that Mr. Patel asks Mr. Jinnah to mend his manners. Mr. Jinnah's wild outbursts against the Congress and his rabid denunciation of Hindu leaders are openly inciting his fellow communalists against their neighbours. The Congress "is out to crush the Muslims" he cries and he denounces its plea for Purna Swaraj as "fraudulent and dishonest machinations" invented to "humiliate the Muslim League". "We must get Pakistan at any cost. For it we live, and for it we will die," he shouts at the top of his voice in Peshawar. Contrast this pitiful exhibition of separatism with the political wisdom of Eamon de Valera who pleads for a United Ireland. "From the strictly political angle" says De Valera in a recent speech, "one thing remains to be done in order to have complete freedom for the whole country, and that is to undo the partition."

But Mr. Jinnah cares a fig for freedom. The kind of Pakistan which Mr. Jinnah wants, declares Mr. M. Y. Nurie, former Congress Minister, "will always keep India in slavery."

Pakistan does not solve the question of minorities but aggravates the bitterness which is today prevailing between the two major communities, thus necessitating the presence of the British army in the country.

Jinnah's conduct throughout very clearly shows that he is against the freedom of the country, and is adopting all those tactics by which the freedom of the country is delayed. The Muslims should remember that till the country is free, their fate as a community cannot improve. It is only in a free country that the social and economic revolution can take place, such a revolution the Muslims require.

### India and Labour Policy

It is not for the continuance of the same wooden and unimaginative policy of the late Tory government that Labour was elected to office in England. And yet the official foreign policy of Mr. Attlee's Government is no whit different from the rank imperialists' British interference in the freedom struggle in Indonesia and Indo China and their vacillation in India fully justify the charge of bad faith levelled against the government by their own party men. Addressing a London meeting Prof. Harold Laski asked,

When are we going to realise our responsibility towards the Indian people? We make half-hearted offers of freedom and repeat half-truth shibboleths in public meetings but there are always things unsaid.

In all British policy, whether of the Coalition or the Labour Government, there is still a marked absence of a real will to help in the making of a free India in the full sense of the term.

Other speakers followed in the same strain. Indeed the angry protest against government's policy by the rank and file of British Labour should open the eyes of the government to the realities of the situation and help to change their policy in time. Mr. Jacobs, Secretary of the powerful London Trades Council, confessed that the Labour Government was embarrassing the rank and file of the movement by its action in India and Indonesia. He accused the Labour Government of violating its election pledges, thus betraying the British working class which, he said, in due course will rise in revolt against the very Government it put in office.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## National Convention in Indonesia

THE most important Convention since the start of the Indonesian Republic met at Batavia on November 25. 150 delegates attended, about 100 delegates were absent due to various causes. The Convention included four women.

Discussion during the session mainly concerned internal administration but among the resolutions was one protesting against the presence of the British Army in Java and suggesting that a joint force of Americans and Australians be substituted. Another sought to protest against the bombing of radio stations. Another resolution thanked Ceylon for expressing sympathy for the Indonesians.

The Republican National Committee in session on November 26 called on all peoples to give 'moral and material support to the people of Indonesia in the fight for independence so that the British may be restrained from converting Indonesia into another Manchuria for the benefit of the Dutch. The appeal was contained in a resolution passed by the Committee.

"The Indonesian people are at present in no mood to accept Dominion Status," the Indonesian Prime Minister Mr. Sultan Sharir told *Reuters* Special Correspondent in Batavia.

The 37 year old lawyer, educated at Leyden University in Holland, suggested that there was a possibility of an agreement providing for a relationship between the Dutch and the Indonesian Republic on the lines of that existing between Britain and Eire.

Mr. Sharir added 'Dutch recognition of our right to complete self rule would be a basis for the reopening of negotiations, but just now the word Dominion is most unpopular among the people'.

## New French Cabinet

General de Gaulle's new Cabinet was announced on November 21. General de Gaulle himself is Minister of National Defence as well as Prime Minister.

As Minister of National Defence, General de Gaulle will be assisted by the Minister of the Army M. Etienne Michelot (M.R.P.) and by the Minister of Armaments, M. Charles Tillon (Communist).

Four ministers without portfolio are the Socialist M. Vincent Auriol, M.R.P. representative M. Francisque Gay, the Communist leader, M. Maurice Thorez and the Conservative, M. Louis Jaquinot.

There are five Communists in all in the new Government.

The next day (22nd November), the French Constituent Assembly adopted by 304 votes to 242 a motion put forward by the Socialists for the appointment of a commission of 24 members to study and draft the text of a new constitution.

A vote of confidence in General Charles de Gaulle's new Government was passed with acclamation by the French Constituent Assembly on November 23 after his speech outlining Government's programme.

General de Gaulle, announcing his Government's programme declared that the Government would immediately present to the House bills concerning nationalisation of credit and nationalisation of electricity. Plans relating to various branches of insurance would also be submitted shortly.

### Yugoslavia declared a Republic

The 11 years' reign of King Peter II of Yugoslavia ended on November 29 when the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly formally proclaimed a Republic.

The announcement which decides the fate of the first of Europe's list of "Monarchs in Exile," was made after a joint session of the Yugoslav Assembly at which "the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" was proclaimed.

The proclamation explained that this Republic is "a unified people's State, with a Republican form of Government, a community of equal peoples, who have freely expressed their will to remain united with Yugoslavia."

The announcement added that the Monarchy had been "finally abolished", and that King Peter, together with his entire dynasty, was deprived of all rights previously vested in the House of Kara Georgevich.

### Revolution in Iran

Armed insurgents from Azerbaijan Province marched down the railway towards Teheran the capital, after taking the town and railway station of Manieh in a battle in which seven Persian officials lost their lives.

Insurgents, armed with rifles and machine-guns, isolated Persian garrisons in three key cities in the north.

A statement, demanding autonomy within the framework of the Persian State, was issued on November 25 by the "National Congress" of Azerbaijan, north-west province of Persia. The statement has been communicated to Britain, the United States, Russia, China and France, as well as the Persian Central Government.

The National Congress was formed in Tabriz on November 20. Composed of over 700 delegates from all parts of the province the Congress has elected a Committee of 39 members to administer the internal affairs of Azerbaijan.

### The Problem of Palestine

A Joint Anglo-American Committee has been set up to inquire into the problem of European Jewry and to review the question of Palestine, and make recommendations to the British and U. S. Governments for both and interim and permanent solutions.

Announcing this in the House of Commons, Mr Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, indicated that ultimately Palestine would come under some form of trusteeship. A permanent solution when reached would be submitted to the United Nations' Organisation.

Mr Bevin however, added this warning: This Majesty's Government in making this new approach wish to make it clear that the Palestine problem is not one which can be settled by force and that any attempt to do so by any party will be resolutely dealt with.

### Allied Order to Jap Government

Gen. MacArthur's Allied Headquarters has ordered the Japanese Government to introduce a 100 per cent tax on war profits, and a capital levy up to 70 per cent.

At the same time, the Japanese Government were forbidden to engage in any credit operation pending a sweeping reorganisation of their finances.

This was the most drastic instruction yet issued by the Allied Headquarters. It specifically laid down that the Imperial household is not to be exempted from profits tax or capital levy.

One purpose of the War Profits Tax, the Allied Headquarters indicated, is to show the Japanese that war does not pay. At the same time, both the measures are designed to raise money for Government, and stabilise the purchasing power.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## THE DEMAND FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Quoting Henry Wallace's dictum that "full employment in the United States is the first step on the road to permanent world-wide peace", Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya urges in the *Modern Review* for November the same prescription for the needs of India. According to her,

a government which aims at full employment should be ready to spend more than what it takes away from the people in the shape of taxes. The State outlay must be designed with a view to laying low the social evils that haunt society to-day such as want, disease, overcrowding, ignorance and the like through a bold and comprehensive programme of public investment and construction. The economic returns will be as big and sound and real as the social. Economists are agreed that planning this way on an expanding scale will reduce the cyclic fluctuations.

Full employment gives each individual who is able to produce, the opportunity to do so. Thereby we ensure the maintaining of the desired standard of living for as large a section of society as possible through the supply of the required goods. It also means non-wastage of economic resources.

Moreover, she argues, a condition under which there are more jobs than worker-applicants, is of greater advantage to the workers and likely to augment their bargaining strength. The outlay is in no way an additional burden as is often mistakenly supposed. Therefore, the question whether a government can afford the plan or not hardly arises. In reality unemployment is caused by the uneven distribution of spending power which gets transferred from the pockets of the many to the pockets of the few. With the result, demand declines and industry deteriorates and workers get thrown out. For full employment this process has therefore to be reversed so that the national income may be so redistributed as to increase the purchasing power of the many who are to-day deprived of it. Where private enterprise falls short of the volume required to keep industry up to the mark required for full employment, the gap must be filled by government investments and constructive schemes. In fact the principle now recommended by several economists of note is for the government to maintain the normal procedure of keeping all factors of production in full operation.

## INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

There is ample evidence on record, writes Prof. B. Banerjee, M.A., in the annual number of the *Joint Stock Companies* warranting the inference that India had developed mercantile marine before the Seventh Century B.C. and used to have trade relations with far off countries.

Indian shipping, continues Prof. Banerjee, was used for two distinct purposes—one for trade purpose, just as the present-day mercantile marine is used and another for colonisation.

Java, Ceylon, Malayanesa and Indonesia were conquered and colonised. It was a proud day for India when it was not only an advanced, civilized nation and its religious preachers made a moral conquest of China, Japan, Ceylon and Indo-Asia, but her sea going vessels visited the foreign countries for trade and commerce as well as for conquest and colonisation.

But it is of no use sighing over the past. After all is said and done the fact remains that if India is really to come to her own, if she has to convert herself by industrialisation, from an exporter of raw materials to one exporting finished goods and to that end, if she has to capture foreign markets for disposal of her surplus products, if in other words she has to strike a favourable balance of trade, she must have a mercantile marine of her own, not only for her coastal trade but for international trade as well.

India, adds Professor Banerjee, has a sea board of over 4000 miles and a number of first class ports between which about 55 lakhs of tons of goods are exchanged annually exclusive of passenger trade. The freight on cargo alone will work out at 12 crores of rupees.

As to the transport of international cargo to and from India, statistics reveal that steamship companies earn on an average 44 crores.

All this, concludes Prof. Banerjee, will be a saving to India if the government encouraged Indian shipping.

## INDIAN LITERATURE

*Perspective* is a new journal of Indian Affairs published from Delhi. The first number contains some articles of striking interest on different phases of Indian Life. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty discourses facetiously on Indian literature in his article on "The International Mind in Modern Literature." "As an Indian", he says,

I feel naturally diffident in upholding the supremacy of our literature, which I feel has indeed maintained a finer and more consistent spiritual tradition than in other countries. But no country can hold a monopoly of such traditions; all that we can claim is that our poetry, from the ancient ages to Rabindranath Tagore has proved its essential humanity by linking up our highest thought with the actualities of existence. Problems of war and peace, and of large-scale social beneficence have figured prominently in our Sanskrit verse, and in India's great modern poet the highest values of humanity have ever been related to the context of a national and international mankind. Our cherished traditions, those which have held our civilization and filled the people's lives, have been and are pacific. Relics of war have not been reverently preserved, nor have the names of great megalomaniacs warring aggressive wars been honoured and sung. The saga of daily humanity swings through Indian verse with the burthen of the seasons, the harvests, the flood or the famine, but the bulk of them ache with aspiration, and shine with the deeds of saintly men.

What is more, while ruthless despots repose in India's plentiful dust and "dictators, unstatued, tread the path of vanished summer storms."

Individual kings like Albar and Asoka and Vikramaditya are on children's lips, and remembered with gratitude. But we have never paid much attention to high rank and position; the great welders of the people who often lived in the forest Ashrams, the peace-makers who united religions, the patrons of the arts and the civic sciences have established their prowess in our civilization and have found an eternal place in our literature. Indian saints and sages, both Hindu and Muslim, have themselves composed great poetry which they often left behind in oral form or on palm leaf manuscripts. The spirit of Indian thought can be seen in our old frescoes, rock carving, and painting where scant courtesy has been offered to blustering events. Our art has celebrated great social deeds and religious legislation, sometimes of living men whose fame had already made them historical. Even today when pestilence and war surround us, our literature seeks to express a deep social and spiritual fervour allied with a far-sighted political vision.

## WOMEN AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

"We have different post-war plans before us, namely, the government plan as sponsored by the Reconstruction Committee of Council, Government of India for the central and as well for provincial governments, the economic plan by the well-known industrialists of India, known as the Bombay Plan, the Roy Plan and then the Visvesvaraya's Five-Year Plan but in none of these has the role of women been made clear. Are the women of India going to work along with the men as in Russia or are they going to compete with them as in the capitalist countries," asks Mr. Santosh Anand in an article in the *New Horizons* for November. The particular case of each individual woman will depend on how these issues take shape. We can nevertheless draw a general scheme of how the women are going to fit in the New Order—we shall take it for granted that the scheme will be sponsored by a national government on a comprehensive scale embracing every field of life and for the betterment of the masses and the country as a whole.

To start with education, the girls can have common education with boys upto the matriculation standard, learning the same subjects with extra training in sewing and cooking, but after matriculation every girl must chalk out her career and take training accordingly. Only a few girls who seriously mean to work in a chosen field should take up specialised academic training with boys, otherwise money spent on any specialised high education by girls is definitely a waste. After matriculation girls should have separate colleges upto the B.A. standard where they will learn subjects of special interest likely to be of use to them in their homes and in house-keeping, such as child-psychology, fine arts, general economics and politics, dancing, music, and painting and domestic science and elementary nursing.

The girls can take up training with boys in subjects like teaching, medicine and even in scientific research when they mean to stick, to these and follow these as careers.

There are specialised subjects for which women are most suited, like nursing, social service in villages and among poor and illiterate population of industrial centres, for which there will have to be separate training centres for women. As for the majority of women they will and should follow housewifery as their career and for this they should educate themselves instead of blindly receiving education suited to men.

The best course for women would be to train themselves mainly for their homes and house-keeping and at the same time to take as active a part and as much interest outside their homes as they possibly can, not against their housework but as a supplement to it.

There are varied things which require their attention outside their homes, such as social services, adult education, health services, particularly nursing and work in numerous maternity and child welfare centres.

In these they can take a live part by devoting one or two hours daily in any of the fields they are interested in. Apart from these they can take interest in wider fields for instance in politics and economics by understanding different political, national and international issues and by exercising their rights of voting in elections. In understanding different government economic policies involving food problems, rationing, milk, fluctuation of prices and other intricate problems created by the war and which the different schemes are planning to solve, not neglecting the cultural side of our development.

## RACIAL CONCORD IN ANCIENT INDIA

Dr Kunhan Raja points out in an article in *The Dawn of India* that the influence of Indian civilization is seen in regions far out of what is really 'India' in regions that constitute what is termed "The Greater India".

There is no evidence to show that Indians had actually conquered these regions and colonized them thereby planting their civilization in these regions through their military power. It was more a willing acceptance of a greater and higher civilization by less civilized people being drawn to it by its inherent worth. The Indians had introduced a civilization a mode of life, an outlook upon man and his destiny which was acceptable even to people in other regions differing from them in languages, race and ways of life.

India is also known to be the only country where in ancient times, there was perfect religious tolerance.

The State, as such, had no religion; there were religions in the States. There was no register of those who accepted a certain religion. There was no agency, no church which could admit into, or send out of, the religion any one who adopted that religion or denied that religion. There were religious teachers; there were followers for such teachers. But a citizen, as such, was absolutely free to adopt any religion or no religion. Tolerance and freedom went hand in hand. This is the secret of the permanence of Hindu Dharma.

## CALL FOR A CRUSADE

An emphatic impeachment of the leader of the Muslim League is contained in a statement attributed to the Fakir of Ipi, the head of the Independent tribes of the North-West Frontier. The Fakir of Ipi, writes the *Free Press Journal*, had dispatched some time back a few trusted observers to India and stationed them in the towns of Bombay, Delhi, Lahore and Karachi. These observers were charged with a mission to study the activities of the Muslim League organizations, and submit a report thereon.

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Similarly, Mr. Jinnah, under the guise of the Pakistan slogan, is creating a perpetual gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. He is leading the Muslims to a position where they are bound to say a good bye to the noble traditions and the heritage of Islam, and preserve merely a sectarian label. Verily he is leading them to hell.

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The hundred and fifty years of British rule which has claim was necessary to save Indians from themselves has resulted in nothing but the real starvation of 350 million poverty-stricken peasants. Indians can expect no relief from the British Labour Government and its Imperialist Foreign Minister Bevin.

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By means of the "Levy Collection Order" the Government has made it compulsory for every cultivator to sell a portion of his foodgrain produce on every acre brought under cultivation. The levy grain so collected is either shifted to deficit areas or used locally by means of co-operative distributing agencies. Government has also given the cultivators the option to deposit  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their levy grain as share capital into the local Grain Banks. This grain is given as a loan at 25 per-cent. interest to the members for cultivation purposes or for domestic use. With the grain banks so constituted the problem of food shortage in the villages and of seed stocks will be solved. The measure is intended to relieve the cultivator from the pressure of indebtedness and to increase his prosperity and standards of life. Nearly 3,000 grain banks have so far been registered. It is expected that in the course of the next three years every one of the 20,000 villages of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, will have a grain bank.

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**Travancore****ABOLITION OF LAND REVENUE**

The Travancore Government is contemplating far-reaching Land Revenue reforms in the near future.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, revealed this in an interview to the Associated Press of India recently.

He said: "In addition to its primary education policy, the Travancore Government has certain other far-reaching proposals under consideration. One of the most important proposals is the abolition of Land Revenue as such, and the substitution of it with a nominal basic tax and a graduated income-tax, which will depend, not upon periodical land settlements but on the net income derived by land-holders."

The yearly jamabandi enquiries and investigations regarding failure of crops will not be conducted on the old lines, as every land-holder will pay tax only on the net income from his crops, after paying for his expenses."

The Dewan further pointed out that in the Travancore State, out of a total annual revenue of Rs. six and a quarter crores, only a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs is derived from Land Revenue.

"Under the new proposals," concluded the Dewan, "the small land-holders will have to pay only a nominal amount as basic tax for their holdings."

**LADIES IN JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT**

For the second time, a lady Advocate has been chosen for appointment in the Judicial Department of the State. She is Miss Aley Zachariah, B.A., M.L., Advocate, Trivandrum. She has been appointed acting third-grade District Munsif and is posted as temporary District Munsif, Neyyatinkara in South Travancore.

The first lady to be appointed to an office in the Judicial Department was Mrs. Anna Handy. She is now second and Additional Sessions Judge at Quilon.

**Jodhpur****VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN JODHPUR**

The Government of Jodhpur have sanctioned a sum in the neighbourhood of Rs. 25,000 to be distributed among the village Panchayats at the rate of Rs. 100 per Panchayat irrespective of the consideration whether the Panchayat is situated in the Khalsa or the Jagir area. Panchayats have also been permitted to introduce taxation, both in Khalsa and Jagir areas, if they so desire. The Khurda and Jhumpi tax, which is something like a house-tax levied in the Khalsa area and which was so far credited to the Land Revenue Department, has been directed to be made over to the Panchayats. It is hoped that these measures will considerably strengthen the financial position of the Panchayats in Marwar, and give them the necessary facilities for their further progress.

As regards the Jagir area in particular, the Government has appointed a committee, with Rao Bahadur Rao Raju Narpat Singhji as Chairman and the Director of Local Bodies as Secretary, to examine the general question of taxation in Jagir areas and to explore ways and means of financing post-war development schemes of education, medical relief and local self-government in Jagir areas.

**Cochin****COCHIN BUDGET**

The Cochin Government Budget for the coming Malayalam year 1121 (Aug. 17, 1945 to Aug. 16, 1946), is based on an anticipated revenue of Rs. 294.25 lakhs, which is Rs. 41.25 lakhs more than the revised estimate for the current year, the expenditure being estimated at Rs. 282.48 lakhs, representing an increase of Rs. 34.64 lakhs over the current year's revised estimate.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## Malaya

### ARRESTS OF MALAY INDIANS

Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, President of the Malaya and F. N. A. Defence Committee of South India, in an interview explained the objects of the Committee. The main objects of this Committee are

(1) 'To render such legal assistance as it can afford provided, of course, the necessary facilities are accorded by the Government of India for passage and for stay in Malaya in the disturbed conditions obtaining there at present

(2) 'To press upon the Viceroy and the Government of India the need for a careful examination of the cases of the prosecuted in Malaya so that unnecessary prosecutions might be withdrawn

(3) "To impress upon the Viceroy and the Government of India the need for their undertaking the expenses for the defence in proper cases and

(4) "To request the Government of India to give full and detailed information in regard to the state of affairs in Malaya as also the nature and kind of offences for which Indian civil and military personnel are being prosecuted in Malaya"

"The Committee will be in a position to issue a further statement in regard to its future programme and work only after getting a reply from the Government of India and after gauging the response which it receives from the members of the bar and the public" he added

## S. Africa

### LATE SUFI AHMED MIA

We regret to learn that death has occurred of Sufi Ahmed Mia, aged 64, one of the best known members of the Indian community in South Africa. He is the author of ten books on mysticism and introduced Indian medicine in that country to which he went in 1915. He was educated in Delhi.

## Malacca

### PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN MALACCA

About 15,000 destitute Indian labourers in Malacca alone are undernourished and need urgently clothing and food, according to a telegram sent by the Malacca Indian Association to the Congress President. The Association prays the Congress President to send representatives to study the conditions in Malacca and help these destitute labourers urgently with clothes and food.

## Ceylon

### INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has requested the Government of India to furnish the Council with information regarding the position of Indians in Ceylon since the newly proposed constitutional reforms for Ceylon.

In the opinion of the Council, the Soulbury Commission has entirely ignored the case of Indians in Ceylon, as it does not recommend any measure to secure full citizenship rights for one million Indians in Ceylon.

## Siam

### MR ANEY'S MISSION TO SIAM

Mr M. S. Aney, Government of India's Representative in Ceylon, is going on a special mission to Siam to enquire into the condition of Indians in that country and also to look into the cases of persons alleged to have collaborated with Japan. Mr Aney is accompanied by Mr Dayal, Under Secretary to the External Affairs Department, and they are already in Kandy awaiting passage to Bangkok. It is understood there were nearly a lakh of Indians in Siam during the war, belonging to the I. N. A. and the Indian Independence League, and including internees and other civilians.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO INDIA

### SIR A. R. MUDALIAR ON WHAT INDIA STANDS FOR

A British parliamentary delegation is to leave for India as soon as possible to meet leading Indian political personalities and learn their own views at first hand. Announcing this in the House of Lords, the Secretary for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, said: "I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution-making body by which Indians will decide their own future as a matter of the greatest urgency."

The India Secretary stated that the object of the parliamentary deputation would be "to convey in person the general wish and desire of the people of this country, that India should specially attain her full and rightful position as an independent partner State in the British Commonwealth and the desire of Parliament to do everything within our power to promote speedy attainment of that objective."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence referring to the "difficult transition times" stated that "the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility which rests upon it, and upon all Provincial Governments, of preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve the constitutional issue by force."

"Realisation of full self-government," he added, "can only come by orderly and peaceful transfer of control of the machinery of State to purely Indian authority."

Professor Harold Laski, Chairman of the British Labour Party, said at a public dinner in New York:

I accept as an acid test of the *bona fides* of the Labour Government of Great Britain that it shall not merely declare its desire to see a free and self governing India, but that it shall organise conditions necessary to the fulfilment of its desire.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organisation, in an interview to Ronald G. Bedford, *Reuter's* special correspondent in London, said on November 24

I speak not in the name of the Government of India but in the name of India when I say that the people of my country have never been happy about the use of the Atomic Bomb by the Allies.

I say this after listening to the Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons recently on his talks regarding the Atomic Bomb with President Truman and the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King—that, while opinion has been divided here on the question of the Allied use of the Atomic Bomb, there was hardly anyone in India who felt its use was justified. Throughout the war which had just ended, opinion was constantly expressed that the methods adopted by the Axis Powers of the bombing open cities, of indiscriminate killing of civilian women and children and the use of rocket weapons which had no particular military targets were wrong and indefensible.

The use of the Atomic Bomb, therefore, could never be defended if it is admitted that these criticisms were just because the Atomic Bomb did on a more dreadful scale what indiscriminate bombing and rockets were intended to do.

It will be the intention of India at the United Nations Organisation to try to recapture the spirit which prevailed among nations at San Francisco.

India wants to see Atomic energy developed for the benefit of mankind instead of for its destruction. It is true that such a development would help in a great measure to raise the standard of life in India, but India does not view this thing selfishly. We want to see Atomic energy made available to all peoples of the world in order that our standards of life may be improved at the same time as theirs is raised.

Atomic energy is only one phase of the great era of scientific development. We are at the threshold of new wonders and India would like to see all scientific discoveries turned into peaceful channels and used for the benefit of all the world.

India has a great role to play in the near future for her centuries of culture and her outlook on life have equipped her to lead nations of the world into an era of peace and prosperity.



# Utterances of the Day

## SIR RADHAKRISHNAN ON MORAL VALUES

Sir S Radhakrishnan addressing the PEN Conference at Jaipur on October 22 on the *Moral Values of Literature*, said that human beings were at the stage of intellectual consciousness and human life on earth could not be regarded as the crown of evolution.

Men must become men of vision. There is a solitary side of human life dreams the realm of imagination and the soul. Literature is what man does in his solitariness. Today a literature is on the intellectual level only. Literature subordinated to military glory. Men are converting themselves into machinery. When Hitler is defeated perhaps dead his philosophy is undefeated. Are we not at it clinging to the old policies which will make world not a home of the human species but their grave yard? Great life nature produces a feeling of Brahmanand. *Dahodam*. Unless you yourself are a great seer you cannot produce great literature. *Valmiki* says 'He is a seer who has passed through much suffering, which has not made the heart dry'. You must grasp the internal significance of the universe itself.

Sir S Radhakrishnan, continuing, said:

Moral values of literature are incidental. We are not writing treatises on ethics. You convey truth and thereby you transform men. There is one authentic voice that is the voice of compassion which is good and beautiful.

There is a heavy responsibility which rests on the intellectuals of the world, added Sir S Radhakrishnan.

They have betrayed their mission. They boosted bad men and supported groups instead of humanity as a whole.

Here there was a conflict between cover environment and individual self. Mahatma Gandhi's path of civil disobedience should be adopted. It is the duty of intellectuals to stand for the highest ideals. Buddha, Socrates, Christ and Gandhi are the great examples.

## MRS. PANDIT'S WARNING

At Springfield, (Ohio) Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit stated "I have little faith in states men to bring about world security. I believe common peoples are the ones who will make an entire world structure for peace if they get their thinking straight on major matters in all countries of the world."

"If, however, the world remains composed of possessor nations and nations possessed," Mrs. Pandit added, "there will be war

after war until peoples of the earth destroy themselves.

"I said at San Francisco that a challenge of the next war would come quicker than anyone suppose, and would come from Asia, and has come, for there is war going on in Asia now betraying the principles for which men and women of Allied arms died. We cannot forgive the British yet because they exploited our country (India) not because they denied us the rights belonging to human beings, but because they have crushed the soul of the Indian people."

The situation in India is grave. India is in revolt, and if there is war, it will be a race war. However, there need be no war if the victorious nations share what they are interested in and employ principles, and not political expediency in their thinking.

## DR. LATIF ON THE LEAGUE'S CLAIM

Addressing the Madras Institute of Public Administration on November 9, at the University Buildings, on the subject of 'The constitutional status of Pakistan, internal and external', Dr. Syed Abdul Latif examined the latest ideas of Pakistan as envisaged by the Muslim League, and pointed out that the claim of the League could not be sustained.

Dr. Latif was emphatically of opinion that the picture of the independent sovereign Pakistan which the League leaders had raised before the minds of the Muslim masses at this critical hour was not a picture of either an Islamic State enforcing Shariah Law or an Independent State or a full Dominion in any accepted sense of the term.

Dr. Latif appealed to the League leaders to pause and reflect. The British trend of mind was distinctly against any absolute partition of the country. It was up to the Muslim League to seriously consider whether it was not desirable to give up its intransigence and reconcile itself to the union of sovereign states for India each state enjoying full internal sovereignty or full autonomy and jointly looking after subjects common to the entire country.

## CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

The highlights of the Congress Election manifesto are:

- (1) The Congress stands for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India.
- (2) It stands for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them.
- (3) It stands for full opportunities for people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius.
- (4) It stands for freedom of each group and territorial area to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework.
- (5) It stands for the re-grouping of Provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis.
- (6) It stands for rights of all those suffering from social tyranny and injustice, and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.
- (7) The Congress envisages a free democratic State with fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in its constitution.
- (8) The Congress stands for a Federal constitution with a great deal of autonomy for its constituent units.
- (9) The Congress will tackle the most urgent and vital problem of India, namely, the removal of the curse of poverty and raising of the standard of life of the masses.
- (10) The Congress stands for modernisation of industry and agriculture and social control of all sources of wealth, methods of production and distribution so that India may grow into a co-operative commonwealth.
- (11) In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of a Federation of free nations.
- (12) The Congress will champion the cause of the freedom of all subject nations and elimination of Imperialism everywhere.

## RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Radical Democratic Party was severely criticised by Dr. Rajendra Prasad at an election meeting in Shahabad district.

"The whole of India knows the history of the party", said Dr. Prasad. "In 1942 when the people in our country were facing bullets, were being looted and burnt, they sided with the Government and even helped them to suppress the movement. Not only that, they were against the release of the Congress Working Committee Members. They not only propagated against India and Indian interests in this country but in foreign lands. There can be no greater betrayal of the motherland."

## THE JUSTICE PARTY

The urge for freedom has become so universal that erstwhile reactionary parties line up with the Congress in their demand for independence.

Addressing a gathering at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, on November 19, Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar, a candidate seeking election to the Central Legislative Assembly, emphasised that he stood firmly for the termination of British rule in India as soon as practicable. Though the Congress party urged that the I.N.A. trial should be postponed until after the formation of a national Government, he wanted the release of all I.N.A. men, and that they be treated as the Burmans were treated.

Sir P. T. Rajan, Leader of the S. I. L. P. (Justice Party) speaking at the Gokhale Hall, accorded official party support to the pledges, including that on "Quit India", given by Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar.

Sir P. T. Rajan said that the Justice Party stood for the independence of India quite as much as the Congress did, and added that he had declared on many occasions in the past that, if Englishmen did not quit India of their own accord, they (the Indians) should "kick them out". "I could have been hauled up for saying this, under the Defence of India Rules," observed Sir P. T. Rajan: it is not my fault if I was not."

Soon after the results of the Elections were known Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar, advised the leader of Justice Party to wind up the party and added that his policy hereafter would be not to fight for Non-Brahmins as against Brahmins but to fight for merit and talent wherever it was found.

"I am therefore advising the leader of the Justice Party" he said, "to wind up the Justice Party inasmuch as non-Brahmins do not any longer want the Justice Party."

## BAN ON I. N. A. DEMONSTRATIONS

Condemning the ban imposed on public meetings and demonstrations in various parts of the country to protest against the I.N.A. trials, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, in a communication, says:

"The I.N.A. trials are held far away in the north. Meetings are held in different places to express popular disapprobation of those trials. No local matter is involved in any of these places. What necessity is there to issue orders under Section 144, Cr.P.C.? It is these orders that convert it into a matter for local conflicts. And then, it becomes a matter of prestige for the Government to maintain them against all protest that the orders constitute a restriction of the right of the people to meet and express their opinion on a public matter. How is public opinion to be expressed except in a public meeting? When these orders, *prima facie*, unnecessary, are passed, it is no matter for surprise that men of ardent temperament are moved on occasions to defy such orders as a matter of public duty.

"In these cases, who are responsible for the disorders—those that issue these orders, or those who desire to meet and express their disapprobation of the trials? And having issued these orders, shootings and killings follow and the authorities have to throw the blame on goondas and provoking agents. But for the prohibitory orders, meetings will go off quietly, merely registering their protest against the trials. It is for authorities not local but far away, to attach as little or as much importance to the opinions so expressed by the people.

"It would seem as if the authorities everywhere considered it treason for anyone to express in meetings disapprobation of these I.N.A. trials."

## COMMUTATION OF DEATH SENTENCE

The death sentence passed by a Court Martial about four months ago in connection with Indian National Army activities on four persons who are now in Bengal jails have been commuted, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* understands. The four persons are: Sardar Amar Singh Gil, Mr Jyotish Bose, Mr Haridas Mura and Mr Pabitra Roy.

It is understood that Gandhiji has been in communication with the Viceroy for some time past, adds the paper, and it is mainly through his efforts that the commutation of the death sentences has been effected

## DEATH SENTENCE FOR JOHN AMERY

John Amery, son of the former Secretary of State for India, who was alleged to have been broadcasting over the German Radio during the war, was sentenced to death at London's Central Criminal Court on November 28.

The Judge in his judgment said:

"I have read the depositions in this case and I am satisfied that in what you did you did it intentionally and deliberately and after you had received warning from more than one of your fellow countrymen that the course you were pursuing amounted to high treason. You stand a self-confessed traitor of your King and country and you have forfeited your right to live."

After the sentence of death had been passed, Amery bowed to the Judge and walked down to the cells without any sign of emotion.

## POLITICALS IN JAIL

According to figures available 6,127 people were undergoing imprisonment on September 1, in connection with the Congress movement. The figure compares with 22,000 who were in prison in the middle of 1943.

### MRS DESAIS PLEA AT COPENHAGEN

Mr Dinkar Desai, on behalf of Indian seamen, urged at a meeting of the Social Insurance Committee of the Maritime Preparatory Technical Conference at Copenhagen that proper provision should be made in drafting international regulations to the effect that special schemes of social insurance for seamen should immediately be introduced irrespective of the fact whether such schemes are in existence or not for industrial workers in general in a particular country.

Mr Desais suggestion was accepted by 12 to 6 votes.

British ship owners speaking against the proposal, stated that it was not practicable to have a special scheme of social insurance for Indian seamen. They advanced the argument that Indian seamen were not whole-time workers and took to agriculture as their occupation when they could not go to the sea.

Mr Desai in a spirited reply refuted the arguments brought forward by the British ship owners. He stated that Indian seamen looked to maritime employment exclusively as their occupation handed down from father to son.

It is to be greatly regretted that the representative of the Government of India did not vote but remained neutral while the representative of the British Government voted for Mr Desais proposal.

### FAIR DEAL FOR INDIAN INSURANCE

Commenting on the status of Indian Insurance Companies, Mr B. M. Birla, Chairman, Ruby General Insurance Co., Ltd., presiding at the 9th General Meeting held recently, observed:

'The voice of Indian Companies so far has been very feeble in the Insurance Associations which are dominated by foreign interests. The time has come when the representatives of the Indian Companies should have greater voice in the various Committees. The various Indian Insurance Associations should be strengthened and

should further the cause of Indian Insurance vigorously."

Referring to the progress of the Company, he said:

"Despite the war situation characterized by stringent control resulting in depletion of stocks, etc., with a consequent decrease of premium, our accounts disclose a very successful year of trading. The Company has now attained a position of great stability derived from a substantial volume of business distributed throughout the country which bespeaks of the confidence inspired by its method of working."

### SOCIAL INSURANCE FOR INDIAN SEAMEN

The hope that the problem of adapting social insurance to the particular needs of Indian seamen would be successfully solved with the help of Prof. Adarkar was expressed in an interview by Dr. Laura Bodmer of the I. L. O. at Simla at the request of the Government of India to assist in the preparation of a social insurance scheme for Indian seamen.

Details of the scheme, which were under consideration, she added, might cover unemployment, injury and sickness as well as old age and death not due to accident.

Giving an insight into the conditions under which seamen at present lived and worked, she recalled her recent tour of the ports of Bombay and Calcutta and said she realised how much the problem of social insurance was complicated by prolonged unemployment of seamen, many of whom lived in miserable conditions and in debt by having borrowed money they required for their maintenance while awaiting employment. The success of social security scheme for seafarers, she felt, would depend to an appreciable extent on a satisfactory system of recruitment.

The seamen's trade unions were anxious to see the introduction of the social insurance scheme and assist in its implementation.

## FINANCIAL AID TO PROVINCES

A new decision with regard to the starting of post-war developmental programmes by Central and Provincial Governments has been taken, it is understood, as a result of the tour of the Provinces recently made by the Finance Member Sir Archibald Rowlands. The original plan to begin these projects in 1947 has been changed and it is now decided that Central Government should go ahead with selected schemes immediately.

In the selection of schemes for commencement in the current year and the next, special emphasis has been laid on those which add to the national income and at the same time create the maximum employment. In order to encourage the Provincial Governments to embark on the new policy, it is understood that the Government of India have not only offered the fullest assistance by way of loan required for self-financing projects like irrigation and Hydro-electric schemes, but also to reimburse Provincial Governments, if desired, to the full extent of the expenditure incurred on other approved schemes, for instance agricultural development, minor irrigation communications, forest, soil erosion, etc., in 1945-46 and 1946-47. These reimbursements to Provinces will be advance payments which will not be removable but will be set off against central grants to Provinces for their five-year plans.

It is pointed out that the Central surpluses out of which central grants to Provinces were expected to be made are not yet in sight. The inauguration of this new policy is the result of the unexpectedly sudden termination of the war and the recognition that the active prosecution of measures necessary for maintaining and developing the economic condition of the people should not be frustrated by narrow and out of the date financial considerations.

## EXPORTS, IMPORTS AND TRADE BALANCE

Exports of Indian merchandise increased from Rs. 163 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 204 crores in 1939-40. Thereafter there was a decline to Rs. 187 crores in 1940-41, again an improvement to Rs. 238 crores in 1941-42 and again a decline to Rs. 188 crores in 1942-43. There was, however, a progressive increase in the last two years of the war, the value improving to Rs. 199 crores in 1943-44 and to Rs. 211 crores in 1944-45.

Imports of foreign merchandise also improved in the first year of the war, increasing from Rs. 152 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 165 crores in 1939-40. There was a decline to Rs. 157 crores in the following year, an improvement to Rs. 173 crores in 1941-42 and again a decline to Rs. 110 crores in 1942-43. As in the case of exports, here too there was a progressive recovery in the last two years of the war, the value of imports rising to Rs. 118 crores in 1943-44 and to Rs. 201 crores in 1944-45, the peak figure for the war period.

The balance of trade in merchandise (private) in favour of India, after rising from Rs. 17 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 48 crores in 1939-40, declined to Rs. 42 crores in 1940-41. There was a phenomenal increase in the succeeding three years, the figures being Rs. 80 crores, Rs. 85 crores and Rs. 92 crores in 1941-42, 1942-43 and 1943-44, respectively. In the last year of the war, however the favourable balance registered a precipitous drop to Rs. 27 crores, owing to a phenomenal increase in the value of imports alongside only a moderate increase in that of exports.

## LAKSHMI'S STORY

The most feared woman in Burma—that is the description given to Captain Lakshmi by Alfred Wagg, correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* who narrates an interview he had with her, in the *National Call*

The most feared woman in Burma is an Indian. At 31 she is attractive to the point of rare beauty for a leader who has for her one purpose, starting a revolution. She lives for the day when she may proclaim with her friends the accomplishment of India's freedom. She believes it will only come through open revolt. This is her crusade in which she is admirably honest and sincere whether you agree with her principle or not.

No other person in Burma can honestly say that they speak for Indians on Burma soil more than Dr Lakshmi Swaminathan. She is their firebrand, their stimulus to want and strive for Indian independence even away from home while guests on foreign soil. As Lieut Colonel Lakshmi she was the Commander of Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army until they were sent to Malaya in April 1945 when Colonel Lakshmi offered her medical experience to the Japanese army.

The most conspicuous thing I noticed in her rather barely furnished room was a large two and a half foot colour portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, hanging side by side with another of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Apart from possessing abundant charm the outstanding impression left in my mind by this charming young Indian girl was that she had in her qualities of leadership which India needs in her present struggle if properly directed.

## TRAINING OF WOMEN WORKERS

The scheme of a 'Kasturba Village' is being evolved out of the various suggestions received by the trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, it is learnt. The site of the village will be near a railway line and will cover about two hundred acres of land. It will be centrally situated and will contain institutions for the training of women workers for the villages.

The scheme is estimated to cost about Rs. 1,500,000 and its running expense

will amount to about two lakhs every year. Provision is made for the training of about 300 women workers in (1) medicine and surgery, (2) village industries and crafts and (3) basic education. In the medical department, Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine and Naturopathy will also be taught. There will be a two year course of instruction, which is expected to start from June or July next if lands and other materials are purchased within two months.

## EMPLOYING WOMEN IN COAL MINES

Reimposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines from February 1, 1946, has been decided on by the Government of India, says a Press Note.

This step is in accordance with the declared policy of the Government that as soon as the emergency was over, the employment of women underground would be stopped. It will also restore the position in respect of the International Labour Convention that was ratified by India in 1938.

The employment of women underground in mines was reluctantly agreed to by the Government in 1943 in order to meet the requirements of the war. The position has been reviewed from time to time and the Government now feel that the cessation of hostilities justifies the abrogation of a war time measure even though the position of coal still remains difficult. They have therefore, decided to reimpose the ban with effect from February 1, 1946, thus giving the mining industry some notice to make necessary adjustments.

## MRS AMMU SWAMINATHAN

Mrs Ammu Swaminathan, the Congress candidate, was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Madras City Non-Muhammadan constituency with 10883 votes as against 2,154 votes polled by Mr. P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar, the Justice candidate.

## SIR FRANCIS LOW ON INDIAN PRESS

Sir Francis Low, Editor of the *Times of India* and Chairman-elect of the India Section of the Empire Press Union, addressing the London Association of British Empire newspapers said that the Indian Press had shown the country a remarkable example of unity in defending its rights, against the pretensions and encroachments of the bureaucracy. Its two organisations, namely, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society and the All-India Editors' Conference, embraced journals and journalists of every caste, creed and political outlook, who worked together harmoniously and effectively in their common interest.

## RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF MAHABHARATA

The Mahabharata is to be translated into Russian by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Full translation of this work, a small fragment of which was first published in Russian in 1787, is announced by the Soviet News Agency, Tass.

## BAN ON BHARATI SONGS LIFTED

The Government of Madras have informed the District and other local bodies, including Municipal Councils, that there is no objection to the use of the book "Deseeya Geetangal" in schools. "Deseeya Geetangal" contains selections from Poet Subramania Bharathi's national songs.

## THE "NATIONAL HERALD"

The *National Herald* resumed publication on Friday, November 30, 1945. The first issue appeared with a suitable message from Pandit Nehru. We welcome the appearance of this stalwart paper, with Mr. K. Rama Rao, its tried Editor at its helm again.

## BOOKS OF NEHRU AND RAJAJI

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's "Letters From A Father To His Daughter" (English) and Rajaji's "Thavarankalin Illaram" (Tamil) have been approved by the Madras Text Book Committee as books suitable for use (non-detailed study) in elementary schools for Standards I to VIII.

## LALA RAM SARAN DAS

The death of the Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das, Leader of the Opposition in the Council of State, at the age of 69, has removed one of the most prominent zemindars and industrialists of the Punjab. He was a Director of the Imperial Bank of India and the Chairman of the Punjab Branch of the Indian Institute of Bankers. He visited London in 1933 as a delegate to the Reserve Bank Committee. He was President of the Sanatana Dharma College Managing Committee. He was returned unopposed to the Council of State from the Punjab Non-Mahomedan Constituency in 1936.

## DEATH OF PROF. P. P. S. SASTRI

We regret to record the death of Prof. P. P. Subramania Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, at the age of 51.

Mr. Subramania Sastri was an erudite Sanskrit scholar and had his early training under the late Professor Rangacharya and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppaswami Sastri. He took a keen interest in the development of Sanskrit studies in the province. Among his works may be mentioned his translation of the Ramayana for Mr. Natesan's classics.

## NEW GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve that Lieut-General Sir Archibald Edward Nye, K.B.E., C.B. M.C., be appointed to be Governor of Madras in succession to His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C., whose extended term of office expires on March 12 next, says a *communiqué*.

General Nye was born on April 23, 1895. During his career, he was Commander of the Nowshara Brigade in 1939, and Director of Staff Duties, 1940. Since 1941, Gen. Nye has been Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

## NEW DRUG TO FIGHT TYPHOID

Professor Nikolai Krassnikov, forty seven, head of the Microbiological Institute Academy of Sciences claimed the development of a new drug "Aspergillin" somewhat similar to penicillin but superior in many respects. The famous Soviet biologist told the United Press of America that aspergillin will be found to be extremely successful in the treatment of diphtheria when present experiments were concluded and Krassnikov believes aspergillin will find an antidote against all bacteria causing intestinal inflammation such as typhoid.

According to Krassnikov aspergillin is obtained from a fungus called 'Aspergillus Niger' but unlike penicillin which grows in organic matter aspergillin may be developed in a medium which is more practical. Aspergillin can also be applied in liquid forms to wounds immediately after surgical operations.

## NEW ANTI MALARIAL DRUG

The discovery of an entirely new and revolutionary anti-malarial drug was announced recently by Lord Leverhulme at the annual meeting of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

The new drug discovered by the Imperial Chemical Industries Research team will be distributed as Paldrine. It is a much simpler compound than any anti-malarial drug previously known and ten times more powerful in action than quinine. More than 100 cases have been successfully treated with Paldrine at the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and the drug has proved less toxic than quinine or other new drugs.

## NOBEL PRIZE TO PENICILLIN DISCOVERERS

The Nobel Prize for Medicine has been awarded to Sir Alexander Fleming of London University, and Dr Ernest Boris Chain and Sir Howard Walter Florey of Oxford University in recognition of the discovery of penicillin.

## TRAINED NURSES' ASSOCIATION

"I have no doubt that, given suitable accommodation and satisfactory conditions of service, educated Indian women will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers to staff our existing hospitals," said Sir Jogendra Singh, Member in charge of the Department of Health, at the opening of the 34th Conference of the Trained Nurses Association of India, at Delhi, on November 20.

Referring to the position of nursing in India, Sir Jogendra Singh said that the development of the nursing and other auxiliary services had not kept pace with that of the medical services.

There were roughly 51,000 hospital beds in the larger hospitals of the country. If these hospitals were staffed according to the standard generally reached in Western countries, there would be one nurse to about three beds.

For 51,000 beds there would be 17,000 nurses. The actual number was 7,000 of whom only about one half were trained. In the small hospitals, the position was still worse there was roughly one trained nurse for 20 beds.

## VITAMIN 'A' FOR LONGEVITY

Increasing vitamin A consumption is good for young and old, it appears from studies of rats by two Columbia doctors, Sherman and Campbell, according to an American report.

Liberal intakes of this vitamin, found in such foods as butter, egg, yolk, carrots and green leafy vegetables, tends to postpone aging and increase length of life, Dr Sherman and colleagues have previously reported.

Now they find that the offspring in rat families on the liberal vitamin A intake grow somewhat more rapidly and with less individual variability. This indicates, the scientists point out, that liberal vitamin A intake has both a favourable and a stabilizing influence on growth.



## PROBLEM OF STERLING BALANCES

The City of London directly interested and formed an "unofficial preliminary committee" to draw up a formula for the liquidation of India's sterling balances. These quarters emphasised that this unofficial body so far has no connection with the Exchequer.

Mr. D. P. Kaura, Indian financier and Managing Director of India International Finance Company, Limited, was mentioned in this connection.

Mr. Kaura sailed for Bombay on November 12 aboard the Swedish ship Drottningholm, which is scheduled to arrive in India in December. It is understood that during the months he will spend in India Mr. Kaura will explain the unofficial committee's view-point and canvass the opinion of its counter-parts in India.

## BANK SHARES

The demand for Bank shares, says *Mysindia*, has pushed up the price of Central Bank shares to the neighbourhood of Rs. 100—four times their paid-up value, affording a yield of 3 per cent. tax free. The Bank of Baroda shares have moved up to Rs. 165. The United Commercial Banks have continued to be in demand at advancing prices rising above a premium level of Rs. 42 per share. Jaipur Banks show a renewed interest at Rs. 69. The Travancore Bank shares are in demand at a premium of Rs. 48.0.

## DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT COINS

For the first time in the history of the State, the existence of punch-marked coins in Travancore has been brought to light by the archaeological discovery of a hoard of 188 silver coins unearthed in Akalakunnam Pakuty, Kottayam Taluk. The coins believed to belong to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. when the great Mauriyan Empire was at the height of its power and prestige.

## NEW RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

A total of 2,800 miles of new railway lines are to be constructed at an estimated cost of Rs. 60 crores during the next seven years, it is officially stated.

The total mileage of the schemes, which will be investigated, amounts to about 5,000. The existing railway mileage in India is about 41,000.

The projects for investigation include new construction, the restoration of dismantled lines, and some conversions from one gauge to another.

The proposals are provisional and subject to reconsideration when the results of up-to-date engineering and traffic surveys are available and in some cases after further correlation with steamer services and existing, or projected roads.

Among the more important projects under contemplation are the Bombay-Sind broad gauge connection and the linking of the north and south metre gauge systems.

## MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

Mr. John G. Stolper, Chief Engineer, Tata Locomotive Works, told a meeting of the Rotary Club of Calcutta early last month, that India would be self-sufficient in regard to locomotives in five or six years when the three proposed plants were installed.

Mr. Stolper expressed the opinion that locomotives made in India would be cheaper than those imported.

## G.I.P. PROGRAMME

The Railway Board has sanctioned the undertaking of two major projects on the G.I.P. Railway, estimated to cost Rs. 190 lakhs within three years. The work on these projects will commence during the current financial year and will necessitate the employment of 3,000 skilled and 8,000 unskilled.

## 1,000 RAILWAY WAGONS IMPORTED

It is understood that over 1,000 broad gauge wagons have arrived in India from the United States and Canada. These wagons are now being assembled at Hyderabad (Sind).

## NATIONAL ART EXHIBITION

'Art, if it does not spring up from the strength of our nation, is a lifeless art. If it has no connection with the problems and realities of life it is useless and dead like the pictures of women in the Ajanta caves' said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the National Art Exhibition at Lucknow on November 17.

Pandit Nehru observed that the artist with a living mind could produce art full of life. An artist with a dead mind could produce only lifeless art. Art which could not grapple and face the great problems of our age could not be helpful in our life. The main function of art was not only to please the eye but to guide man in the struggle for existence.

Pandit Nehru bitterly criticised the present system of teaching art in schools. He remarked amidst laughter, 'I have seen my pictures hanging on the walls in schools. If my face were so ugly as depicted in some of those pictures I would have committed suicide.'

Pandit Nehru dealing with the art of living said that the people were living in the most wretched conditions. They had been brought up in an atmosphere in which aestheticism was unknown. Leaving aside the question of the poor labourers, the middle class and the upper middle class were living a most contemptible life.

The taluqdars of Lucknow did not escape Pandit Nehru's sharp criticism whose houses he said made him feel most disgusted. These people he felt, had a knack of doing things wrongly which could be done in a right way.

## GUPTA ART

In the Gupta period metal work reached a high degree of proficiency. The colossal copper image of Buddha now in the Birmingham Museum and Art gallery belongs to the Fifth Century A.D. It was found in Sultan Ganj (Bihar) and weighs a ton.

## GOLDEN JUBILEE OF COL C K NAYUDU

An influential committee with Justice W R Puranik as the Chairman has been set up to celebrate the golden jubilee of Col C K Nayudu.

Nagpur, which is Nayudu's home town is preparing to celebrate the jubilee in a fitting manner. A festival cricket match is being arranged in the fourth week of January. Cricketers of all India representative have been invited to participate in the festival.

The proceeds of this match, together with donations which are expected to pour in from friends and admirers of Col Nayudu in India and outside will be presented to him as a purse.

It is also proposed to publish a souvenir on the occasion of the jubilee.

## OLYMPIC STADIUM AT BANGALORE

In connection with the All India Olympics to be held at Bangalore in February next, rapid arrangements are being made for the construction of the Stadium.

The centre of the Stadium will be occupied by a turfed oval (to serve as hockey and football fields) which will be surrounded by a cinder track (30 feet wide) for running. In its turn the cinder track will be surrounded by a 20 feet wide track with bitumen surface for cycle racing. The latter track will be steeply banked at the turns in accordance with racing practice.

The galleries around the Stadium (for which the earthwork has been completed) will for the present be built only on a temporary basis for two reasons. The work has to be completed in time for the Olympic Meet in February.

## AUSTRALIANS IN MADRAS

The Australian Services Cricket team beat South Zone by six wickets in the three day match at Chepauk. This is the Tourists' first win in India. Of the eight matches they have played so far only two were decisive, the first being at Calcutta where the East Zone beat them by two wickets.

## THE ATOMIC BOMB SECRET

President Truman has declared unequivocally that the secret of the atomic bomb will not be shared with additional nations. He told an unheralded Press Conference that the secret is known to industry, since other nations have access to scientific knowledge that led to its development.

President Truman asserted that Great Britain and Canada share the industrial 'know how' and while he has not discussed his decision with them, he said he was certain they will agree that its secret shall not be shared.

Mr. Truman said he considered that the Council of Foreign Ministers in London was in no way a failure. He added there was no clash of American interest with Russia, and that Russia had been as badly misrepresented in the United States as America had been in Russia.

Mr. Truman said Great Britain spent 100,000,000 dollars on the development of atomic energy before it turned its work over to the U. S. which spent 2,000,000,000 dollars before the bomb was perfected.

Mr. Truman said flatly that none of the United States' Allies had asked for the secret of the atomic bomb.

## NEW X-RAY MACHINE

Scientists at the General Electric Research Laboratory, U. S., have now a new huge machine for exploration of the basic secrets of nature. The machine produces X-rays of 100 million volts and bombards and splits atoms in streams of electrons of the same intensity.

Through its operations, the 130-ton machine, known as the "Betatron," permits science to enter the new field of atomic research.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN

Prof. Sir C. V. Raman of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has been declared duly elected as the President of the Faculty of Science of the Andhra University: he will hold office for a period of three years with effect from September 18, 1945.

## VISUAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

The view that in a country like India where literacy was not up to the required standard, visual education along the most modern lines could alone bring about enlightenment among the masses was expressed by Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Education Minister of Sind, while inaugurating the educational film shows scheme in Karachi.

The Minister said that he was convinced of the utility of such shows and at present he was considering ways and means to find out a workable scheme whereby visual education could be imparted to students and the general public of the province.

The Minister felt that a vast majority of students and rural population would benefit by visual information if it was conveyed in an effective manner. Under the scheme, it would be possible to present to the public pictures on India's industrial development, arts and crafts, health and hygiene and agricultural problems.

## NEW SOUND EFFECT FOR TALKIES

Hollywood's latest technical development will improve sound effects. Instead of the sound always coming from the loudspeaker behind the centre of the screen, the new aim is to make the sound come from the apparent source of the disturbance. When two people are talking from opposite sides of the screen, their voices will come alternately from one side and then the other.

At first the sound improvement may not be very noticeable, but once audience got used to it, they would immediately notice its absence in old-fashioned cinemas, say the experts. It is a most complicated technical advance as the sound has to be routed through a number of circuits so that it may be switched from one to another. All that remains now is for the sound engineers to perfect the details of their broad plans.

## FILM OF BURMA VICTORY

The Burma Victory, an official film of Burma campaign by the Ministry of Information, be presented shortly at Watford Theatre, Leicester Square, London.

## IMPORTED CARS FOR INDIA

New British and American motor cars will be available to the Indian public early next year.

Indicating this possibility Sir Sultan Chinoy, who recently toured America and England, said that he expected American cars to arrive in India about the end of December. After they are assembled, they should be available for distribution in February 1946.

English cars Sir Sultan thought could be expected earlier. But the question of deliveries and distribution rested with the Government of India at least for a short while.

Asked if cars would be cheaper than in pre war days Sir Sultan said that so far as he could gather during his recent tour of America and Britain the prices of American cars would be 30 per cent more than the pre war level and British cars would be 50 to 60 per cent higher.

## NEW BUS COMPANIES FOR MADRAS

Final touches it is believed are being given to the scheme for the formation of bus companies in which shares are to be taken by the Government, railway companies and existing bus operators under the railroad co-ordination scheme.

The whole proposal has been sent up it is stated to the Railway Board for scrutiny and approval before the Government of India sets its seal thereto. There will be, it is understood 7 or 8 such companies in the Presidency.

## PRICES OF AMERICAN CARS

The Office of War Information has authorised the Ford Motor Company and the Studebaker Car Corporation to charge more for their new cars than they did in 1942 but at the same time has given the assurance that the basic retail prices of all new cars will average about the same as in 1942 without including taxes and special accessories. Retail prices of Ford cars will be about 10 per cent more than in 1942. Studebaker 9 per cent and Chrysler one per cent.

## DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL AVIATION

Bombay will become a major air port in the near future according to aeronautical circles. This is the direct result of the war and the new developments in civil aviation.

It is learnt that the Government of India have elaborate plans for developing Bombay as the biggest air port in India. While the trans continental air route will still continue to pass through Karachi and Calcutta Bombay will become the chief air port of entry for long range aircraft from Europe and Africa.

There is already a proposal for an additional route between England and Australia passing through Bombay, South India and Ceylon.

Post war aviation plans of the Government of India include a scheme for building 'an extensive system of internal air lines which with Government built and operated air ports will be run by private enterprise. There is also a proposal to have new air routes opened to the Middle East points, Burma, Malaya, Siam and North China.

## HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT FACTORY

It is now learnt that the transfer of the management of the Hindustan Aircraft Factory from the United States Army Air Force to the Supply Department of the Government of India which is effective on and after December 15 is a temporary makeshift arrangement during which period the factory will principally serve the needs of the Royal Air Force.

The question naturally arises what will be the future of the factory which employs over 13,000 people and is reputed to be the biggest factory of its kind in India. The Associated Press of India learns that the Mysore Government which holds a third share in the factory is keen on converting it into a regular factory for the manufacture of planes in India and have already moved in the matter and appear also to have enlisted the support of the Indian Government.

## STEEL INDUSTRY

The Government of India are basing their plans of industrial development on the possibility of doubling India's steel production from roughly 1-1/2 million to 3 million tons. Although war demands are rapidly ceasing and the steel industry the world over is switching over to peace-time civilian requirements, the outlook for the steel industry is reasonably good for the next three to five years. There is no prospect, in the near future, of a slump in the steel market.

These were the highlights of an interview given by Dr. John Matthai, a Director of Tata's to the A.P.I. Dr. Matthai said: "With the cessation of war demands for steel, I expect new demands will arise from two sources which will help to sustain the world market. These are, first, the normal demands for steel which have been in abeyance during the last six years because of the war and secondly, new demands for steel for the implementation of various reconstruction plans and industrial projects in many countries of the world.

"I do not expect that in the next three to five years there is likely to be anything in the nature of a real slump in the steel market, although there may be a decline in prices during the time-lag which will intervene between the end of war production and the inflow of peace-time demands."

## TARIFF BOARD SET UP

A Tariff Board has been constituted to enquire into claims from war-time industries for protection or assistance. New conditions are laid down for the grant of protection or assistance and these are described as more liberal than existing ones under the policy of discriminating protection. The Board is to consist of Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti (President), Mr. C. C. Desai and Prof. H. L. Dey. The name of one more member will be announced shortly.

## INDIAN DELEGATION TO FOOD CONFERENCE

Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, Mr. Rajwade and Mr. Radhaman, members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organisation Conference, have left for the United Kingdom and from there they proceed to Washington.

Sir T. V. Achariar told the Associated Press of India that the Indian delegation have prepared a memorandum for full investigation of food and agriculture problems of this country with particular reference to the extension of cultivation of food crops

## AGRICULTURE IN WAR-TIME BRITAIN

Since the Army of the land was called to action on September 3, 1939, says the *Land at War*, 300,000 farming "strong points in the battle against hunger were armed, equipped and manned"; 6,500,000 new acres have been ploughed up; 117,000 women have replaced 98,000 skilled farm hands, who were called to the Services; milch cows increased by 300,000; other cattle by 400,000. But sheep, pigs and poultry went down by one million.

Many crops were doubled; thus wheat 3,449,000 tons, an increase of 109 per cent.; barley 1,641,000 tons, 115 per cent. increase; potatoes 9,623,000 tons, 102 per cent. increase. Sugar-beet, vegetable and fruit production went up to 34 to 58 per cent.

## POST-GRADUATE TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

In view of the important role which agricultural research will play in the post-war scheme of development, the Government of India has decided to expand the existing facilities for post-graduate training at the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, says a Press Note.

## CATTLE IN INDIA

A third of the world's cattle is in India but 70 per cent. of the cows give no milk.

### BETTER WAGES FOR RAILWAY LABOUR

Prof Humayun Kabir, M.L.A., and President of the Bengal and Assam Railway Employees' Association in a cable to the British Premier, with copies to Mr G A Isaacs Mr Ernest Bevin, Mr Pethick Lawrence Mr Arthur Greenwood Sir Stafford Cripps Mr A Bevan and Mr E Shinwell says

'Organised Indian labour demands a change of outlook from the British Government towards India. Condition of labour in India is unspeakable and the standard of wages is miserably low and unwarranted by the existing economic condition. Net profit on railways during the session 1943-44 was approximately 60 million sterling. Lowest wage of a railway worker is hardly 5 shillings a week. Even with dearness allowance the lowest wage did not exceed 8 shillings.

'The Association proposes that the minimum weekly wages should be 15 shillings for unskilled labour, 18 shillings for the semi-skilled and 22 shillings for a skilled labour and the ministerial staff. Repeated representations for increase of wages have been refused on the plea of wartime difficulties despite the fact that wages were increased by 50 per cent in Britain during the same period.'

### IMPROVING FACTORY WORKERS LOT

The Labour Department of the Government of India has recently set up a new organisation to advise the Provincial Governments on improvement of working conditions in factories.

The Chief Adviser, Factories is the head of this organisation which will not only give technical advice on the design and lay out of factories on standards of housing and suitable working conditions to assure efficiency of production and welfare of workers but also arrange for the training of workers in safety measures and welfare methods adopted in progressive countries. The establishment of an industrial museum on the lines of the one in the U.K. is also contemplated.

### IN A OFFICERS

The columnist of the *National Call* of Delhi writes

A foreign lady correspondent sitting next to me spontaneously remarked "What fine youngmen! They are the very picture of youth and how awfully handsome," as the three accused turned round to take their seats and the press had a full view of them. All three are of medium height and of medium build. All three have a rich growth of jet black hair. Capt Shah Nawaz has fine chiselled features, a distinctly Greek nose and Semitic lower jaw. Capt Sehgal is rather round faced with a distinctly Aryan cut and deep alert eyes. Capt Dhillon though sparsely built, has heavy eye brows, large dark smiling eyes and a distinctly Roman nose. Physically they represented the best in the Muslim, Hindu and Sikh blood.

### C R FOR LEGISLATURE

That he would welcome Mr C Rajagopalachari coming back to the Legislature because he knew that Mr Rajagopalachari was head and shoulders above all Congress men in the province in ability, integrity and sincerity is the view expressed by Sardar Patel, in his reply to a letter from Mr K S Sivaguruswami, a Congress worker of the district and Secretary, Nanjundapuram Congress Committee.

### DIAMOND JUBILEE OF NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Diamond Jubilee of the Indian National Congress, which falls on December 28, this year, will be celebrated next year. The majority of the members of the Congress Working Committee to whom this question was referred recently favoured a postponement of the celebrations to next year, because other important questions faced the country at present.

### SIR A R MUDALIAR TO HEAD A COMMITTEE

Sir A Ramaswami Mudaliar, head of the Indian delegation was unanimously elected Chairman of Committee III of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organisation now sitting in London.

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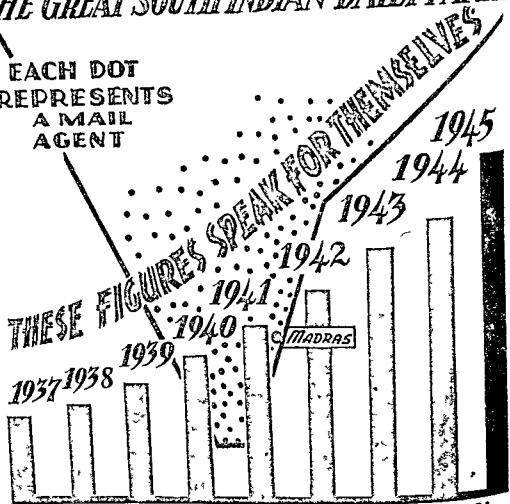
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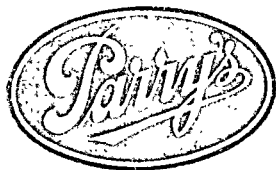


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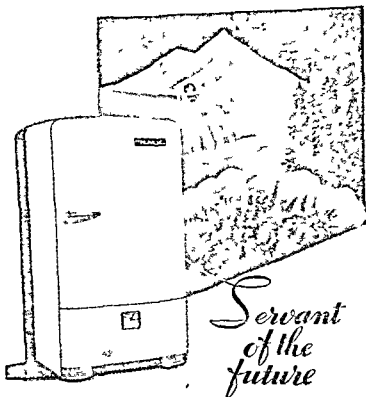
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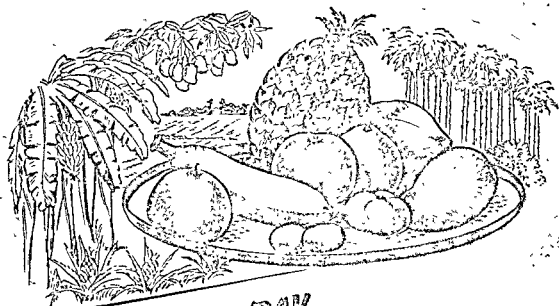
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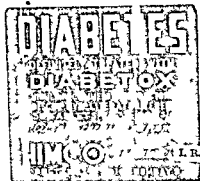
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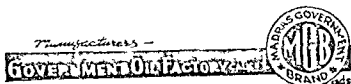
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